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THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION (*Murillo*)

# A GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

# CHRISTIAN ERA

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOLUME TWO

*Modern Times Since 1517*

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*A Textbook for High Schools and Colleges*

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BY

NICHOLAS A. WEBER, S.M., S.T.D.

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AT THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA AND TRINITY COLLEGE

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To
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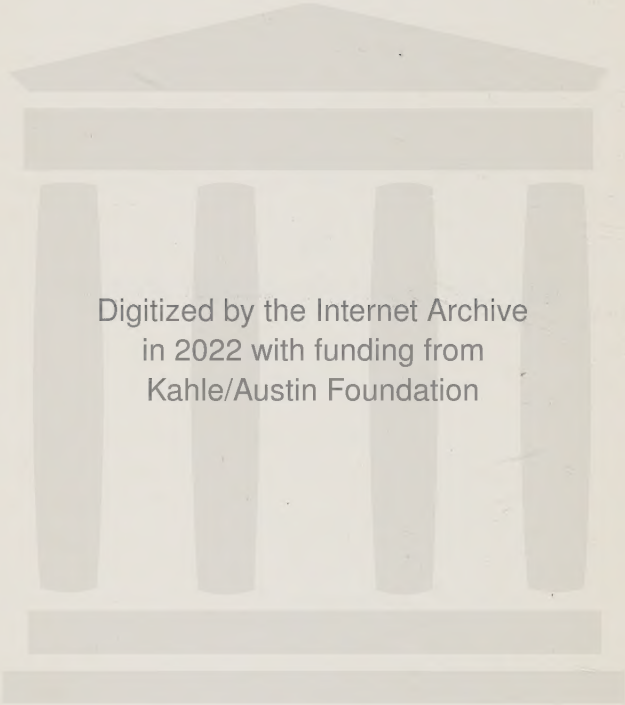
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# PREFACE

Although the full title of this work is A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA, it has seemed preferable not to include here a direct and extensive treatment of the history of the United States, since the students for whom this work is intended are provided in their curriculum with a more complete text and a special course in that important branch of world history.

In presenting this volume to the public the author wishes to express his indebtedness to the Right Reverend Michael J. Keyes, S.M., Bishop of Savannah, for valuable suggestions and numerous corrections; to the Reverend Gerald Shaughnessy, S.M., for constant help and self-sacrificing cooperation, and to Dr. Richard J. Purcell for revision of the manuscript. He gladly acknowledges the kind services rendered to him by Miss Helen Wright and Miss Elmira Bier of the Division of Prints of the Library of Congress. His thanks are due also to Miss Milliard of the Corcoran Gallery of Art and to Very Reverend J. J. Thoral, S.M., of the Marist Seminary, to whose courtesy he owes some of the illustrations used in the text. He also expresses his thanks to Sister Mary Virginia of Trinity College for preparing the index, and to many others who gave generous assistance.

NICHOLAS A. WEBER.

Washington, D. C.
On the Feast of the Assumption B. V. M.
August 15, 1922

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## FIFTH EPOCH: CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

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# INTRODUCTION

To the superficial observer a history is merely a history, and in the imposing and confusing array of histories which crowd our textbook shelves there would appear to be no room for another. Too many are satisfied with a textbook which garbles and even suppresses facts; which ignores the true religion of Christ, and belittles or ridicules the Catholic Church, its institutions and its accomplishments. An atheistic, anti-christian, or purely materialistic interpretation of history has become one of the great evils of our time. Men wish or pretend to forget that there is a God Who has created this world, Who redeemed it by the Blood of His only-begotten Son, Who has watched over and protected it through the ages, and Whose all-wise Providence has not failed even in the midst of the present world crisis, a crisis of rapine and revolution, of unrest and uprisings, of chaos and threatening ruin.

A history of the Christian Era which fails to take into account the birth and life of Christ, in a word, God's plan for the redemption and salvation of the world, which fails to assign to the Catholic Church its full share in the civilization and progress of the world, is and must be unacceptable to a Catholic, whether pupil or teacher. Unfortunately, however, too long has it been left to the already overburdened teachers, to the hard-working Sisters, Brothers, and Priests of the teaching orders to guide their pupils to a safe port amid the shoals and shallows of an untrustworthy and biased history.

It is almost as a pioneer that Dr. Weber's GENERAL HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN ERA appears. Other histories, it is true, have been written from the Catholic point of view and have rendered excellent services to the Catholic cause. Practically all, however, are either short compendiums or lengthy reference books unsuited for the pur-

pose which the present work aims to fulfill. It is the aim of the "Catholic Education Press" to provide for the schools affiliated with the Catholic University of America, eventually, it is hoped, for all the parochial schools of our country, a series of textbooks which shall form the Catholic youth of our nation in the fear and love of God, and in devotion to their country. In this double process obviously history has no small share. It is needless to mention here the progress that has been made in the past on other lines. Suffice it to say that the present work is welcomed as the harbinger of an advance in educational thought and endeavor, which augurs well for the future of our Catholic schools.

Dr. Weber, of the faculty of the Catholic University of America, has prepared his "General History" with a view to filling the void which exists in the line of history textbooks for use in Catholic secondary schools. He has admirably succeeded in his task. Starting with the birth of Christ as the fundamental fact which dominates the history of the Christian Era and without consideration of which no such history can be complete, the author sets before his readers a narrative and interpretation of facts which take into account all salient facts of the history of the world since the beginning of the Christian Era. He shows how from the little mustard seed sprang that divine institution, the Catholic Church; he shows her influence on the restless tribes and peoples of the past; he traces the disintegration and fall of the Roman Empire, doomed to disappear because it spurned the tenets of the Master, Who through His disciples established in the very city which sought to destroy them by fire and sword the only institution of the present day which can trace back its history without a break to those days of persecution and martyrdom. He paints the triumph of the Christian Church as it emerges from the Catacombs to take its place upon the great stage of life as the one divinely appointed instructor of the human race, to conquer spiritually the savage tribes, to teach them

not only to love God but even to till the soil and harness the stream, to wrest from nature those bounties which God has confided to her for man.

The author shows how closely bound up with that of the Church is the history of the nations. It is not our purpose to point out in detail the development of his treatment. This book is written as the work of a learned and sincere Catholic who recognizes that only by giving the facts and by relating all the causes, in a word, by exhibiting the finger of God as well as the hand of man in the life of the world, can a true history be written.

Dr. Weber has tried to present to the Catholic school and to the Catholic public in general a truthful, reliable general history, in the service of Catholic education, and his book ought to be welcome to many, who, for various reasons, have hitherto found the whole truth difficult of access.

It is with pleasure that we present to the Catholic schools of our country a work, the need of which has long been keenly felt. We hope for it all the success which its scholarship deserves. The thanks of all American Catholics, especially of those connected with educational work, are due to the author for the labor, devotion and zeal which he has brought to the completion of a peculiarly difficult task. May Almighty God, the providential Guardian of the holy cause of Catholic education, grant that our efforts may not cease here, but that our Catholic educators may continue their meritorious services with growing success for the improvement of Catholic education in every province of human learning.

✠Thomas J. Shahan,
*Titular Bishop of Germanicopolis,*
*Rector of the Catholic University of America.*

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# MODERN TIMES (Since 1517)

**1. The Meaning of Modern Times.**—The Modern Period opens with the year 1517 in the history of the Christian Era. The name "modern" is used to designate it because its tendencies, ideas, traits and culture are those of our times, of the modern age in which we live. The characteristics of the medieval period have disappeared or are fast disappearing and radical changes affecting Church and state are introduced. Human society undergoes an epoch-making transformation, and a new movement of supreme importance, the Protestant Revo't, alters the course of history.

This revolution originated in the Christian Church and had both religious and political results. From a religious point of view it caused the destruction of *Christian unity* in Europe and gave rise to numerous Christian sects, such as the Lutherans, Calvinists, Anglicans, Presbyterians. From a political standpoint it resulted in several countries in *civil wars* between the loyal adherents of the Catholic religion and the supporters of a new form of worship, and also led to the formation of *new states*, prominent among which may be mentioned the Duchy of Prussia.

**2. Subdivision of Modern Times into Five Epochs.**—The third or Modern Period of the Christian Era is subdivided as follows in this textbook:[1]

1. From the rebellion of Martin Luther to the Peace of Westphalia (1517–1648).
2. From the Peace of Westphalia to the beginning of the French Revolution (1648–1789).
3. From the beginning of the French Revolution to the downfall of Napoleon (1789–1815).
4. From the downfall of Napoleon to the outbreak of the World War (1815–1914).
5. From the outbreak of the World War to the present day.

[1] It will be recalled that the general division of the whole Christian Era adopted in this work is the following: (*a*) Christian Antiquity (A.D. 1–476); (*b*) The Middle Ages (476–1517); (*c*) Modern Times (1517–1928). Christian Antiquity and the Middle Ages were treated in the first volume; the present volume deals with Modern Times.

# FIRST EPOCH OF MODERN HISTORY

## Protestant Revolt and Catholic Reform (1517–1648)

## INTRODUCTORY

### NAMES OF THE EPOCH; GENERAL CAUSES OF THE PROTESTANT REVOLT

**3. Names of the Epoch.**—The first subdivision of Modern History is called the epoch of Protestant Revolt and Catholic Reform because it treats, on the one hand, of the rejection of papal authority by the so-called Reformers, and discusses, on the other hand, the genuine reforms introduced in the Catholic Church. It was a period of discussion, dispute and discord caused by the preaching of new religious doctrines, a time of virulent controversies and bitter struggles between Catholics and Protestants until the Thirty Years' War, the greatest and last religious war, settled, in a permanent way, the issue between the two contending sides.

**4. The Catholic Church and the Protestant Revolution.**—The religious revolution of the sixteenth century caused enormous losses, in numbers and possessions, to the Catholic Church. It seemed as though the very death knell of that institution which had successfully overcome so many heresies and weathered so many storms was at last being sounded. The danger appeared the greater as her assailants pretended to be actuated by a religious indignation at her alleged moral corruption and neglect of her spiritual mission. They could not, so they declared, remain members of a Church which had become unfaithful to the sacred trust committed to her by Christ and which had usurped worldly power to the prejudice of all spiritual interests. On this pretext, they departed in multitudes from the ranks of her followers and preached what they called a "purer gospel."

In the face of such claims made by these self-styled reformers, it must be asked: whence did these messengers of

a purer and superior doctrine have their mission? If it was divine, if it was from God and to be recognized as such by their fellow-men, their words and actions must furnish the proof, that it was from above. But the words and the conduct of the Reformers fail to demonstrate anything of the kind. Many utterances of Luther, the first and foremost leader of the new preachers, openly teach, not charity, purity, and humility, but hatred, revolting indecency and senseless pride. As for his conduct, it closely conformed with his teaching. If, along with this originator and prime mover, the civil rulers to whom the revolution largely owed its success be considered, it must be said that the protection they afforded the new doctrines was granted, as some Protestant historians admit, not from religious motives, but from ambition for power and greed for ecclesiastical property. They "reformed," that is, they suppressed Catholicism, because they became, by so doing, supreme and absolute masters in their dominions. They imposed Protestantism on their subjects because it served their absolutist interests, not because it promoted a purer religion or the material welfare of their people. The cry for reform was a convenient pretext shamefully misused by them for the rejection of a religious authority appointed by Christ in the Catholic Church.

It may be added, on the other hand, that no denial of the need of reform is intended here. Custodian of divine truth, handing down her doctrine unchanged and unchangeable from century to century, the Catholic Church, despite her divine mission, has never claimed the impeccability of her members. Descendants of Adam, tainted all with the stain of original sin, weak members of erring humanity, when leaning on their own unaided graceless strength, like Judas who betrayed his master for thirty pieces of silver, like Peter who denied his Saviour with an oath, even Popes have been found imperfect, weak, going so far in some instances as to misuse grossly their exalted position to further personal

interests, while among the rank and file of the Church, the sinner as well as the saint is ever to be found. In a word, she has never claimed to be perfect in head or members. In accordance with the words of Jesus Himself, these must always watch and pray that they enter not into temptation; of this earth, earthly, they must unceasingly strive for higher things, they must work for their own salvation, not by their unaided efforts but with humble dependence on the grace of God, with prayer and good works. Yet, despite all that grace and prayer can do, human nature remains weak and sin is often committed.

Thus, the Church needs reform at all times in her members and never tires of preaching it. Due to a variety of causes, to be discussed later, she needed it in the sixteenth century more than in any other period of her history; but the heretical "reformers" who assumed the task of purifying her, far from introducing the needed reforms, only aggravated the existing evils. They rejected the unalterable doctrine of her divine Founder instead of purifying the morals of her sinful members. Abuses, which unfortunately existed, were eventually suppressed by the energetic action of the Church and the genuine reforming zeal of her Saints.

**5. Two Kinds of General Causes of the Protestant Revolt.** —The Protestant Revolt, which affected not only one country, but spread with success to many European lands, cannot be explained satisfactorily by a mere reference to Martin Luther's personality and talents. Its success was due to numerous and important causes, some of which are to be sought in the abuses prevalent in the Church, others in contemporary political and social conditions. In other words, *ecclesiastical* and *secular causes* combined to bring about the religious revolution of the sixteenth century.

**6. General Ecclesiastical Causes of the Protestant Revolt.** —The ecclesiastical causes of the Protestant Revolt may be best studied if we consider the following institutions and persons in the Church: (*a*) *the Papacy*, (*b*) *the Papal Court*,

(*c*) *the Bishops and Higher Clergy*, (*d*) *the Lower Clergy*, (*e*) *the Monasteries*, (*f*) *the People*.

(*a*) *The Papacy*.—Its authority had been considerably impaired, in the eyes of Christians, by the protracted residence of some of the Popes at Avignon where they had fallen under excessive dependence on the French kings. This led the Catholics in Germany and England to look on the Pope not as the Father of Christendom, but as a French court bishop, inclined to prefer French interests to those of other nations. Unfortunately for papal authority the residence of the Popes in a foreign city was immediately followed by the Great Western Schism in which two or more rival candidates contended for the papal throne. The violent and disedifying disputes of the Schism not unnaturally suggested and fostered the belief that such churchmen sought the papal office for their own personal and selfish interests and not for the good of Christendom and the salvation of souls. The worldliness of some of the Popes who reigned shortly before the Protestant Revolt could but strengthen this view.

(*b*) *The Papal Court*.—The Papal Court or Curia which carried on the administration of the Church had, in the course of time, reserved to itself an exceedingly large number of ecclesiastical appointments. This excessive centralization in Rome brought in its train serious abuses and bitter complaints. Discrimination in favor of Italians in the selection of officials for ecclesiastical positions abroad, notably in England, aroused national opposition to Rome. As every new appointment carried the obligation of a donation to the appointing prelate, it was soon felt that the Roman court was levying burdensome taxes on foreign countries. The keen resentment caused by this state of things was furthered by the knowledge that worldliness was rather prevalent among the higher officials in the Eternal City.

(*c*) *The Bishops and Higher Clergy*.—Opposition to Rome existed not only among the laity, but among the clergy and

even among the bishops. Some of these were in reality temporal princes rather than spiritual rulers. At times they were in charge of several dioceses. Other ecclesiastics also, held in many instances several positions simultaneously. Owing to this system of pluralities or cumulation of benefices, the spiritual interests of certain localities or districts were sometimes neglected.

(*d*) *The Lower Clergy.*—The parish clergy in the rural districts lived generally in poverty and often in ignorance, and occasionally were morally unfitted for their sacred calling. Little personal incentive was placed before them, since only with the greatest difficulty could they rise to a higher position. In Germany, for example, the bishoprics were usually in the hands of the nobility, so that many priests considered their bishops as noble lords and severe masters rather than as helpful and disinterested ecclesiastical superiors. The ignorance prevailing among the parish priests precluded the possibility of enlightened leadership, when the reformers began to spread error among their flocks. They failed to notice that, on the pretext of improving the condition of the people, a religious revolution was being introduced.

(*e*) *The Monasteries.*—The situation in the monasteries was better than among the secular clergy. Nevertheless some monasteries were over-wealthy, controlling such large estates that they lost in popular esteem. In Germany about one-third of the land was in the hands of the Church, and in England ecclesiastical property was so considerable that it easily excited the envy of a covetous sovereign, like Henry VIII. The inmates of some of the monasteries were divided into opposing factions, and the moral standards had become lower in some of them, even in some convents of women.

(*f*) *The People.*—Under such circumstances it cannot be a matter of surprise that the people had, to some extent, lost respect for the clergy and love for the Church. Ignorance, superstition and religious indifference were prevalent and immorality was rampant in some districts.

It must be noted, however, that in spite of this religious decline, an ardent desire for reform pervaded all classes of society. This was one of the hopeful signs amidst the gloom of the period. Evidently the patient was conscious of the disease, acknowledged his morbid state and longed for a cure. Nor was this only a vague and empty yearning. Long before Luther raised the standard of rebellion, repeated attempts were made to introduce the necessary reforms; councils decreed them, preachers advocated them, and bishops sought to enforce them. Unfortunately, however, they were not generally carried out, so that in spite, and perhaps because, of the deep religious sentiment which characterized the time, the cry for reform did not abate and consequently any leader promising improvement could rally followers to his standard.

**7. The General Secular Causes of the Protestant Revolt.**—The political and social even more than the religious conditions of the fifteenth and early sixteenth century operated in favor of a change in the existing organization of society since they were to a great extent the cause of the unfavorable religious situation. Among the secular causes which helped to bring about the Protestant Revolt the following may be mentioned:

(*a*) *The Rise of the National Spirit.*—The medieval notion of one universal Church and one universal state to which all Christians were subject had disappeared. In fact, some modern states, such as England and France, had already arisen and were organized on a national basis. The civil rulers sought to extend their power more and more to all affairs affecting their subjects. As the sphere of ecclesiastical and of civil authorities was not clearly defined, conflicts frequently arose between Popes and kings and aroused or strengthened, in rulers and peoples, national opposition to Rome.

(*b*) *The Disintegration of the Feudal System.*—Hand in hand with the growing national sentiment went the decline of the Feudal system or medieval organization of the state. Feudalism was founded on a system of land tenure; but land

had been constantly losing in value ever since the use of money had become predominant in the cities in the thirteenth century. At the beginning of the sixteenth century currency was also in general use in the country places. Owing to its wider circulation, it had lost enormously in purchasing value. Depreciation was felt, as is usually the case, in the first instance by the peasants and people in humble condition. At times mercilessly exploited by the organization of "corners" or rings in certain products, they entertained bitter resentment against the merchant guilds. Thus evils resulting from the existing class distinctions were increased.

To these economic changes must be added a transformation in the methods of warfare due to the invention of gunpowder. The armed knight skilled in hand-to-hand fighting was no longer indispensable, as almost any yeoman could render equal service. The lesser nobility or knights were thus without work and without means notably in Germany; they were *without work*, because their almost exclusive occupation had been fighting, and this could now be done at less expense by persons of lower social standing; they found themselves *without means*, because their possessions consisted of landed estates which had lost considerably and were losing constantly in value owing to the industrial transformation. It is obvious that the knights had everything to gain and nothing to lose in a revolution; at an early date they became strong supporters of Luther.

(*c*) *The Strength of the Direct Political Authority in the State.*—The new religion triumphed chiefly in the states, provinces or districts where the political authorities were strong enough to force it on the people. This is clearly apparent from the history of the movement in the two important states, Germany and England, in which it became powerful and predominant. In Germany the real power was in the hands of the princes and of the self-governing cities. Princes and cities could defy with impunity the emperor's authority and in many cases acted as independent

sovereignties. Some among them, despite the measures taken by the imperial government against Luther and his followers, protected the heretics and organized armed resistance against their lawful head, the emperor. In England King Henry VIII wielded such unlimited power that he was strong enough to impose separation from Rome on his people. The nobility and Parliament could offer no effectual resistance, since the old nobility of blood had largely perished in or had been impoverished by the Wars of the Roses, and the newly created nobles were dependent on royal favor for position and lands.

(*d*) *The Revival of Classical Learning or Humanism.*—The Renaissance, though of great literary and cultural advantage, contributed temporarily to the spread of the Protestant Revolt, for the revival of ancient learning was attended with a revival of pagan religion and pagan corruption. This was the case particularly in Italy. In the northern countries like Germany a violent controversy soon broke out between the Humanists and the theologians or schoolmen. In the conflict not only the methods of instruction followed by the theologians, but also their teaching, which was in general the divine teaching of the Church, was attacked and ridiculed.

(*e*) *Geographical Discoveries.*—These discoveries added enormously to the sum of human knowledge and put mankind in possession of almost invaluable treasures; but along with many beneficial results they also produced a spirit of restlessness and an unhealthy love of material gain and adventure.

(*f*) *The Invention of the Printing Press.*—With the discovery of a process of reproducing more easily and at less expense the literary products of the mind of man, a powerful means of propaganda was placed at the disposal of Catholics and Reformers. The latter used the new invention to great advantage and owed to it a large measure of their success with the people.

# CHAPTER I

## THE LUTHERAN REVOLT IN GERMANY FROM ITS BEGINNING TO THE PEACE OF AUGSBURG (1517-1555); ITS SUCCESSFUL INTRODUCTION INTO SCANDINAVIA

## I. The Lutheran Revolt in Germany from 1517 to 1555

**8. The Early Years of Martin Luther.**—Martin Luther (1483–1546) was born at Eisleben in electoral Saxony. His father, a miner, was a stern and irritable character. The boy not only suffered from the ordinary wants of a poor family, but was also treated with inexorable severity and frequently subjected to corporal punishment by both father and mother. The excessive severity used at home was continued at school where, according to his own testimony, he was on one occasion punished no less than fifteen times in one forenoon. As a student at Magdeburg he went about the city, as was not unusual for the poor boys of his time, singing before the windows of the inhabitants and begging for bread. In 1501 he went to the humanistic university of Erfurt and took up the study of law as his father wished him to become a lawyer. Four years later he entered the monastery of the Augustinians in the same city.

This sudden resolve to become a monk was carried out against the wish of his parents and the advice of his friends. It was formed because, according to Luther's own testimony, entrance into a monastery took him away from the harshness and brutality of his home life. In spite of his impulsive and restless spirit he was undoubtedly happy, tranquil, studious and exemplary in his early monastic life. He was ordained priest in 1507, and was appointed in the following year professor at the newly founded university of Wittenberg in Saxony. About 1510 he made his famous journey to Rome to which such excessive importance has been attributed. Despite statements to the contrary, this visit

to the Eternal City did not exercise a decisive influence on his career. It was not the alleged scandals or disedifying lives of Roman prelates which he is said to have witnessed on this occasion that caused his break with the Church, for he went there a devout Catholic and returned as such.

After his return to Germany we again find him at Wittenberg, where he becomes subprior at the Augustinian monastery and is very active as professor, preacher and confessor. The many demands made upon his time unfortunately soon led him to neglect his religious exercises and personal sanctification. He omitted to say his Breviary for weeks in succession, although its daily recitation was imposed on him under pain of mortal sin. This grievous neglect of a solemn duty was followed by terrible qualms of conscience, and the culprit sought to atone for it by harrowing mortifications and complete abstinence from food and drink. These excesses only increased his fears, doubts, anxieties and scruples to which his physical temperament predisposed him. He saw God exclusively as a God of wrath and terror, not as a kind and generous Father.

When his own fantastic and unreasonable religious practises, adopted in preference to the exercises prescribed by Church and monastic rule, did not bring him the peace of soul and the assurance of salvation which he sought in them, he reached the strange conclusion that the teaching of the Catholic Church regarding *good works* is false and impossible, and that man is justified by faith alone. This teaching of justification and salvation by faith alone, which was to become one of the fundamental principles of Protestantism, appears for the first time in Luther's writings in 1515. However, the crisis in his life which brought about his apostasy did not occur until two years later.

**9. What an Indulgence Is.**—It was the preaching of indulgences in 1517 which was the occasion of Luther's public declaration of his errors and his defection from the Church.

An indulgence is the remission, in whole or in part, of the

temporal penalty due to sin. It does not wipe out guilt, nor does it take away eternal punishment; this must be remitted beforehand, and ordinarily in the sacrament of penance. It does not, as is sometimes erroneously believed by non-Catholics, claim to forgive the sins of the past or grant freedom from the moral law for the future. It merely cancels the temporal penalty which generally remains due to sin even after the sin itself is remitted, and which the sinner would have had to expiate either by penitential works here on earth or by more terrible suffering in the purifying flames of Purgatory. The infinite merits of Jesus and the superabundant satisfaction of His Mother Mary and the Saints constitute an inexhaustible treasure from which indulgences are drawn.

This treasure of merit and of infinite satisfaction has been committed to the Church's guardianship. The Pope, as vicar of Christ, exercises supreme jurisdiction over it; and he may, for special reasons and on certain conditions, draw from this treasure for the benefit of individual believers. He may further, through the living, apply some of these merits to the suffering souls in Purgatory. The process and results are, however, not the same in both cases. The temporal penalties due to sin are spiritual debts. The gaining of an indulgence by the living secures, as it were, the partial or complete payment of these debts from the Church's treasure and the debtor is declared free to a corresponding degree by papal authority. As to the dead, their deliverance no longer falls within the Pope's jurisdiction; for this jurisdiction, though clearly given in the words of Our Lord[1] over all things spiritual on earth, does not extend over souls that have passed into eternity. The payment, then, can only be *offered* to God who may consent or decline to accept it. The application to a determined soul and the measure of effect are entirely contingent on God's pleasure.

[1] "Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven." (Matt. xvi, 19.)

**10. How Indulgences were Gained and Preached.**—In the course of the Church's history indulgences were more usually to be gained by a worthy confession, a valid absolution and the performance of some additional good work specified for the purpose. Any good work might of course be imposed by the ecclesiastical authority. Today this good work consists most frequently in the recitation of determined prayers. In the later Middle Ages it was a contribution for some good cause or some work of public utility. One of the most earnest and successful preachers of the early sixteenth century reminds his hearers quaintly but forcefully that for gaining an indulgence three C's are necessary: Contrition in the heart; Confession in the mouth; and Contribution in the hand.

It was of course most natural that pecuniary offerings and almsgiving could be imposed as a condition for gaining an indulgence; these represented a good work no less than the devout recitation of a prayer. But it was unfortunate that this feature was in the later Middle Ages given undue prominence. The Church's doctrine was indeed stated correctly at all times in papal documents, but some commissioners were more intent on making their preaching of indulgences a financial success than on improving the morals of their hearers.

The state, too, was interested in this matter for it often diverted no small share of the contributions to uses not sanctioned or intended by the Church. Thus according to the Protestant historian Ranke, "in 1500 the (German) imperial government accorded one-third only of the sums produced by indulgences to the papal legates, appropriating the remaining two-thirds, and applying them in aid of the war against the Turks."

Hence the people were led to think slightingly of indulgences and to lose sight, to a considerable extent, of the spiritual advantages which they presented. The offering was indeed free and asked only of those who wished to gain

spiritual favors; nevertheless, some time before Luther made his attack on indulgences and abuses alike, complaints were repeatedly voiced by earnest men against the objectionable features connected with indulgence-preaching.

**11. Martin Luther attacks Indulgences.**—Luther's protest was directed against the papal indulgence preached in the greater part of Germany in 1517. This indulgence was granted to all persons who contributed in proportion to their means to the building of St. Peter's Church in Rome. It was extended to the poor, who were merely required to perform some good work, for its "purpose was not less the salvation of souls than the building of St. Peter's."

The Dominican John Tetzel, a bold and forceful speaker, was chosen to preach the indulgence in several districts of Germany. When he appeared in the neighborhood of Wittenberg where Luther was then a teacher, the people gathered in large crowds to hear his sermons. After long hesitation and at the urgent solicitation of some of his friends, Luther, who at that time had already thought out a new religious system, nailed his famous ninety-five theses to the Chapel door at Wittenberg (October 31, 1517).

In these propositions he not only attacked the abuses connected with indulgence-preaching, but also denied the existence of the spiritual treasure of the Church, thus attempting to do away with indulgences altogether. Although the theses contained no personal attack on Tetzel, it is certain that they were directed against his preaching. They caused a sensation and led to heated discussions throughout Germany.

**12. Luther is condemned by the Pope (June 15, 1520); He burns the Papal Bull (December 10, 1520).**—The ablest defender of the Catholic Church in the controversy was John Eck, who successfully met Luther in a public disputation at Leipzig in 1519. Nevertheless there were no practical results; Luther continued to pursue his course. As he had attacked Catholic doctrine, the ecclesiastical

Church and Door to which Luther Nailed the 95 Theses

authority had to intervene. The Pope had originally looked upon the whole affair as an ordinary "squabble of monks." As Luther, however, constantly gained new followers and grew ever bolder in his attacks on Catholic teaching and organization, a stop had to be put to his preaching. After patient waiting and several fruitless attempts to obtain a retraction, the Pope condemned his writings and declared him excommunicate.

In many localities his books were now burned by the people as heretical. Luther, however, decided to have his revenge. On December 10, 1520, he invited the students of the university to the public burning of the papal bull. At the appointed time a large crowd gathered to witness this extraordinary spectacle. The students built a bonfire, one of the professors lighted it, and Martin Luther threw in the papal bull and complete copies of all ecclesiastical law. The rupture with the Church was thus consummated; Luther had not only refused obedience, he had publicly contemned and defied the vicar of Christ, the supreme authority in the Church of God.

**13. Charles V becomes Emperor (1519); Luther is condemned by the Diet of Worms (1521).**—While these events were taking place in Germany, the imperial throne became vacant and a new election had to be held. Two illustrious candidates made supreme efforts to secure the majority of the votes. They were the two most powerful kings of the time: Francis I of France and Charles I of Spain. The latter, who was also Archduke of Austria, finally triumphed and retained the imperial crown as Charles V from 1519 to 1556.

Born at Ghent in the Netherlands, Charles was only nineteen years old when he was chosen emperor. The dominions under his sway were so vast that he could justly boast that the sun never set upon them. They included not only Germany, Austria, the Netherlands and part of Italy, but also Spain with her vast colonies, and it could be said with an appearance of truth that this energetic monarch and

prudent statesman aimed at universal domination and conquest of the world. Any further increase in his power was resisted energetically by Francis I, the brilliant King of France. Several wars ensued between the two monarchs in which now the one, now the other was successful in concluding an alliance with another famous contemporary ruler, Henry VIII of England.

Shortly after his election to the imperial throne, Charles V called a diet at Worms, where not only the political situation but religious questions were considered (1521). The religious controversy was a source of anxious care to the emperor, first because he was a sincere Catholic himself, and then also because he feared that it would become a further cause of division in an already much-divided Germany. Luther was summoned to appear before the diet and was granted a safe-conduct to and from Worms. When he appeared before the emperor and princes, he was, after a discussion concerning his writings, asked to retract, but this he refused to do. The diet pronounced the imperial ban against him, thus declaring him an outlaw.

Thus condemned as a heretic, Luther might be arrested and burned at the stake as soon as the time of his safe-conduct expired. In order to prevent such an execution, one of his protectors, the Elector of Saxony, had him seized on his return journey to Wittenberg by a band of armed knights, who brought him to the Wartburg, a castle which in an earlier century had been the residence of St. Elizabeth. He remained here for ten months and devoted his time to the translation of the Bible. This was not by any means the first German translation of the Scriptures, since about twenty of these, in whole or in part, had already appeared. Luther's version, however, became very popular and, owing to its wide circulation and literary merit, exercised great influence on the formation of the modern German tongue.

**14. Luther leaves the Wartburg to combat the Anabaptists (1522).**—While Luther was secreted at the Wart-

burg, a new religious movement was inaugurated in Saxony claiming to base its teaching on the "Revelations of the Prophets." The adherents became known as Anabaptists (Rebaptizers), because they considered infant baptism worthless and rebaptized adults. They also abolished Catholic worship, destroyed statues and images in the churches, and committed many excesses. Some of them soon appeared at Wittenberg, secured a following and terrorized the city. Obviously, if Luther wished to retain his influence, the time had come for him to leave his retreat. He returned to Wittenberg, restored order and remained in the city.

He realized that he had to make some concessions to the new spirit. He confirmed the abolition of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, condemned the law of celibacy and commended monks and priests who married. Among the religious who thus repudiated the vow of chastity was Albert of Brandenburg, grandmaster of the Teutonic order, who not only married, but soon transformed the secularized lands of his Order into the Duchy of Prussia. Luther himself, in 1525, married the former nun Catherine of Bora. Shortly after, he organized the new Lutheran Church in Saxony, placing it under the supreme authority of the elector instead of the Pope. This organization was to be immediately copied in several other German states.

**15. The Knights support the Lutheran Revolt; the Peasants' War (1524-1525).**—In his *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, published in 1520, Luther had called on the nobles to reform the Church by seizing and applying its property to temporal uses. Such an appeal to enrich themselves at the Church's expense was welcomed by the impecunious and turbulent knights. They joined in large numbers, and supported with enthusiasm, this bold preacher of pleasing and profitable doctrines. The most famous leaders among them were *Ulrich von Hutten* and *Franz von Sickingen*. They fought for the success of the new gospel and

the destruction of the power of the princes. Both leaders, however, soon died and with them the power of the knights descended into the grave. The knights had been a promising but ephemeral support of the Lutheran Revolt.

About the same time when the knights attempted to recoup their fortunes by accepting Lutheran doctrines, the peasants rose in rebellion in south and central Germany. Isolated uprisings had occurred repeatedly among them before Luther. They were due to unbearable burdens of personal services and feudal imposts. The revolt now became general, encouraged by Luther's pamphlet *On the Liberty of a Christian*. The peasants, in some instances, stated their grievances in documents which contain a strange mixture of religious and secular demands. Thus they asked for free choice of preachers and for freedom of fishing. Soon they included in their demands the abolition of class distinctions so far as these favored the princes. As their uprisings were marked by wild excesses and terrible cruelties perpetrated on their overlords, Luther called upon the princes to wage a ruthless war against them. The summons was only too faithfully carried out. The peasants, in spite of their initial successes, were soon put down everywhere. Their lot, after this unsuccessful revolt, became deplorable.

**16. Origin of the name "Protestant" (1529); the Confession of Augsburg (1530).**—For a considerable time after Luther's condemnation at Worms, every new diet considered the religious situation. At that of Spires, in 1529, the emperor, with the approval of the majority of the princes, ruled that the Lutheran religion might be practised in all states or districts in which it had been established, but that it should not be introduced into any new territories. The diet further decreed that the Catholic religion was entitled to freedom of worship everywhere in the empire, even in districts where Lutheranism was adopted. As six princes and fourteen cities *protested* against this decision the name

*Protestant* came to be applied after some time to all the Reformers.

As the proceedings at Spires gave a new name to the followers of Luther, the city of Augsburg in the diet of 1530 has left its name to their profession of faith, *the Confession of Augsburg*. At Augsburg, the emperor continued his efforts to restore peace and to bring back the dissenters to the true fold. He failed, however, in his efforts. Instead of returning to the old faith, the Reformers presented to this diet a definite statement of their religious views, a creed which has been substantially retained by Lutherans to this day. Some Catholic theologians prepared a refutation of this Confession, but the Lutherans steadfastly held to their original views, and union between the two religious parties was out of the question.

While the diet of Augsburg thus revealed the great difficulty of restoring religious peace between Catholics and Lutherans, it also disclosed the fact that even at this early date the Reformers were no longer united among themselves; for along with the Confession of Augsburg, the *Confession of the Four Cities* was presented to the emperor. This latter document has been so called because it was drawn up in the name of four cities of southern Germany. In point of doctrine it even went further in its rejection and denials than did the Augsburg Confession. It expressed the teaching of Ulrich Zwingli (1484–1531), the radical reformer of German-speaking Switzerland.

**17. The League of Smalkalde (1531); the War of Smalkalde (1546–1547).**—Shortly after the diet of Augsburg, some Protestant states, in order more successfully to defend themselves against the emperor, formed a defensive alliance for six years. This union became known as the League of Smalkalde from the name of the city in central Germany where it was concluded. Its formation split the empire into two factions. It was the first great political result of the Lutheran upheaval. The League almost immediately

concluded a treasonable alliance with France against its lawful sovereign, the emperor.

In spite of this organized resistance, Charles V, owing to complications and wars with France and the Turks, long deferred action against the princes. When, however, by the year 1546 all attempts at a peaceful settlement had failed, he resolved to decide the question by an appeal to the sword. He laid the imperial ban on the two most important Protestant leaders and war ensued. Although it was a religious war, the lines were not sharply drawn and some Protestants fought on the Catholic side. The issue was promptly decided in favor of the Catholics, the Protestant army being crushed at *Mühlberg* in the spring of 1547, but in spite of the decisive Catholic victory no permanent results were secured. The emperor was soon confronted by new difficulties both at home and abroad, and was unable to impose his conditions on the Protestant princes.

**18. The Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555).**—The day was now approaching when the religious question would receive its settlement in a compromise. This was to be accomplished in the diet of Augsburg of 1555 at which the conditions under which Catholics and Protestants were to live together in the empire were agreed upon. These conditions were the following: (1) the Catholic faith was no longer alone recognized in Germany, Lutheranism being granted equal privilege; (2) each citizen might not, however, freely choose either of these religions. The choice was to be made by the princes and cities of the empire, and their decision was binding throughout their domains. If they became Lutherans, their subjects had to follow suit; did they return to the Catholic fold, the inhabitants of their territory were, perforce, Catholics. Emigration was the only alternative left to men dissatisfied with their prince's choice of religion. (3) Ecclesiastical lords, like the prince-bishops, were not to enjoy this unlimited freedom of changing their religion. If they apostatized and became Luther-

ans, they lost their preferment; they could neither impose their new religion in their territory nor retain the ownership of the ecclesiastical property, for such property belonged and reverted to the diocese. This arrangement concerning church estates is known as *ecclesiastical reservation.* It was not embodied in the general treaty, but was published separately by the emperor's brother as plenipotentiary.

*The Peace of Augsburg* forms a landmark in the religious and political history of Germany. It set the seal on religious division in the country. Thenceforth Lutherans as well as Catholics enjoyed a legal existence in the empire.

Luther did not live to see the conclusion of this peace. After a life in which he had constantly become more hostile to the Catholic Church and more violently abusive of the papacy, he died a sudden, though not self-inflicted, death at Eisleben on February 18, 1546.

**19. Abdication of Charles V (1556); His Character and Reign.**—The peace of Augsburg was a keen disappointment to Charles V. A loyal and strong supporter of the Catholic Church, he had earnestly striven for the maintenance of religious unity in his states. The peace sanctioned, on the contrary, two religious parties, two political factions. The emperor, weary of an unnatural and thankless struggle with states which should have been his first and foremost supporters, did not thereafter long retain the scepter; he abdicated in 1556. The vast dominions which he had experienced such difficulty in controlling were partitioned between his younger brother Ferdinand and his son Philip. To the former he left the imperial crown and the German states, to the latter Naples, Milan, the Netherlands and Spain with her colonies. Two branches of the House of Hapsburg were thus established, one in Austria and the other in Spain. The worn-out emperor retired to the monastery of Saint-Just in Spain, where he lived until 1558, as a private individual, but not as a monk.

A great statesman, endowed with remarkable energy and

extraordinary self-control, Charles V nevertheless accomplished but little as ruler of the immense and widely scattered dominions which acknowledged his authority. During his reign the already shadowy imperial power was still further weakened by religious division. Even his wars with France, though marked by brilliant successes, brought little gain. The failures of the reign, however, are to be accounted for, not so much by the emperor's mistakes as by the insurmountable difficulties with which he was confronted. The numerous wars with France as well as the constant danger of a Turkish invasion paralyzed his efforts at home and insured the success of the princes in their usurpation of political power and their protection of religious innovations.[1]

## II. The Protestant Revolt in the Scandinavian Countries

**20. The Protestant Revolt in Denmark and Norway.**— Protestantism promptly crossed the frontier of northern Germany and was introduced into the three Scandinavian

[1] No less than four wars were fought between Charles V and Francis I. They were:

1. *The First War* (1521–1526). In this conflict Charles V had as allies England, the Papal States and Venice. It was decided by the crushing defeat and capture of Francis I at Pavia (1525) and concluded by the Treaty of Madrid, in which Francis ceded Burgundy and Milan to the emperor.

2. *The Second War* (1527–1529). The hard peace conditions drove Francis I to a renewal of the war, in which all the former allies of Charles and the Republic of Genoa were on his side. The most important event was the capture and terrible sack of Rome by the imperial troops which were mostly composed of long-unpaid Spanish and German mercenaries. This act of pillage and murder hastened the conclusion of the Peace of *Cambrai* (1529), by which Burgundy was restored to France, and Milan and Naples were ceded to the emperor. The following year Charles V was crowned emperor at Bologna by Clement VII, the last imperial coronation performed by a Pope.

3. *The Third War* (1536–1538). After Charles had undertaken a victorious expedition against the Mohammedan pirates of Tunis (1535), war with Francis was renewed, but did not alter the existing political situation. It was brought to an end by papal mediation.

4. *The Fourth War* (1542–1544). The pirates of the Mediterranean having continued their depredations, Charles organized a new expedition against them. His fleet, however, suffered heavy losses from the fury of the storms which assailed it (1541). This weakening of his adversary encouraged Francis I to a resumption of hostilities. In alliance with England, the emperor at the gates of Paris forced the French to conclude the treaty of Crespy in which claims to Naples were renounced in return for Burgundy.

Kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. In these states, it owed its success to the forcible measures of the kings, who confiscated the possessions of the Catholic Church and placed themselves at the head of the new ecclesiastical government. The bishops were indeed retained in name but they became entirely dependent on the state and were in fact no bishops at all.

By the union concluded at the Swedish town of Calmar in 1397, Sweden and Norway had come under Danish dominion. But when the Protestant Revolt broke out, Sweden had succeeded in freeing itself from foreign rule. It had declared its independence and separation from Denmark under the Danish King Christian II (1513–1523). This tyrannical ruler was soon also driven out of Denmark and was later taken prisoner in an attempt to regain his crown. While a supporter of the Protestant Revolt, his deposition did not alter the religious situation as his successors also favored the movement. Under them the Lutheran teaching was forced on the people of Denmark and Norway while the Catholic religion was proscribed.

**21. The Protestant Revolt in Sweden.**—The separation of Sweden from Denmark was followed by the proclamation of Gustavus Vasa as king of the Swedes (1523). The mere proclamation of a new king, however, did not create a royal treasury. Vasa, contrasting his want of resources with the wealth of the Catholic Church, resolved on rebellion against her that he might possess himself of this vast ecclesiastical property. The nobility was won over without difficulty by the promise of a share in the spoils. Lutheranism now made rapid progress in the country. Within the short period of six years the king, by craft and violence, had imposed it on all his subjects. Attempts were indeed made after him to restore the Catholic religion but they met with no permanent success.

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## CHAPTER II

### THE PROTESTANT REVOLT IN OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

### I. Calvinism in French-Speaking Switzerland

**22. John Calvin (1509–1564).**—While a large part of Germany adopted Lutheranism, a more radical and in some respects utterly different religious doctrine was preached in Switzerland by the French exile John Calvin.

Calvin was born at Noyon in northern France in 1509, thus being twenty-six years younger than Luther. As was not unusual at the time, he was at an early date destined for the ecclesiastical state, and the revenues of two benefices, one of which was conferred on him at the premature age of twelve, enabled him to pursue his studies at Paris. After the completion of his classical course in the capital, he took up, like Luther, at his father's desire, the study of law in different French universities. During this time he was won over to Protestantism, and in 1534 resigned his benefices. As Francis I opposed the Protestants in his kingdom, Calvin fled through Germany to Switzerland where he published his famous *Institutes of the Christian Religion.* This work, originally written in Latin, was shortly translated into French by Calvin himself. It met with immediate and considerable success among the Reformers, and contains an able and logical exposition of Calvin's religious system.

**23. Calvin's Religious Principles.**—Calvin, like Luther, considered the Bible privately interpreted as the only authority and guide in religion. The value and the existence of a teaching authority he denied. He likewise concurred with Luther in declaring that good works are useless, and that man is justified by faith alone. But faith, Calvin added, is a special gift bestowed by God only on those whom

before creation He has predestined to salvation; those whom He has predestined to damnation have only apparent, not real, faith. This idea of predestination or rather of a double predestination, viz., of some to good and salvation, of others to evil and reprobation, is peculiar to Calvin and runs through his whole religious system. It is based on the assumption of a fixed and immutable divine decree, which man cannot change either by the enormity of the most abominable crimes or by the heroism of the most sublime virtues. In other words, Calvin taught the immoral doctrine that God is the cause not only of our salvation, but also of our damnation, and that regardless of our lives, criminal or virtuous, we shall nevertheless be lost or saved as was foreordained. Such an opinion is, of course, completely at variance with the teaching of the Catholic Church which holds that God wills the salvation of all men. Despite this divine plan, man is left free, and some, causing their own damnation through unfaithfulness to grace, are eternally lost.

In regard to the number of the sacraments Calvin and Luther were again almost in complete agreement; both admitted two, baptism and the Eucharist. Luther, somewhat more generous in his admissions, also retained part of the sacrament of penance. The two, however, radically differed in their manner of understanding the presence of Our Lord in the Blessed Eucharist. Luther rejected Transubstantiation, but admitted the real presence, whereas Calvin taught that the recipient of the sacrament receives the power or strength of Christ, not Christ Himself. Nor is this power communicated to all recipients, but only to the predestined. The persons destined to damnation receive, or rather take, only bread and wine, for Calvin so simplifies the service in a church devoid of altar, images and all external display that the minister does not distribute, but the believer helps himself to the Eucharist.

Both in the Lutheran and in the Calvinistic system the

sermon, instead of the sacrifice of the Mass, forms the central service. This explains the prevalence of the name preacher instead of priest to designate the minister among their followers. In the services the vernacular was substituted for the Latin language, thus increasing the popularity of the new worship.

**24. Calvin at Geneva.**—After his enforced departure from France, Calvin appeared for a time in various places, finally settling at Geneva in 1541. Here he now worked and preached until his death. He undertook not only the firm establishment of his new and stern form of worship, but also the reform of the morals of the inhabitants. For this two-fold purpose, he created the consistory which was at the same time a commission of church government and a tribunal for the trial of moral offenses. The inhabitants of Geneva were, he declared, to be saved in spite of themselves. In order to insure and procure their salvation everything was regulated, prayer, attendance at the sermon, dress, head-gear, amusements, games and dances. The vigilant eye of an inexorable inquisition keeping watch over the public and private life of every citizen sought to hold the people to its pharisaic code of morality by the imposition of fines, public penances, and imprisonment.

Such tyrannical rule was not enforced without encountering opposition, but Calvin mercilessly struck down his adversaries and all persons who refused to share his religious opinions. Within five years fifty-eight sentences of death, seventy-six of exile and numerous imprisonments took place in Geneva, a city of 15,000 inhabitants. These figures furnish ample proof of the intolerance which characterized the rule of the Reformer.

He crowned his work at Geneva by the establishment of a school comprising two departments: one for classical studies, the other for theological science. This *Academy*, as it was soon called, could boast, from its very inception, a large attendance of students. Through it, Geneva became

the intellectual centre of the Reformed or Calvinistic churches from which fiery and well-trained preachers went forth to spread Calvinism in France, England, Scotland, Hungary, the Netherlands and even parts of Germany.

## II. The Protestant Revolt in England and Scotland

**25. Henry VIII (1509–1547).**—Ever since the Norman conquest frequent conflicts had divided the royal power and the ecclesiastical authority in England. The principal of these was fought out between Henry II and Thomas Becket. Heresies also, particularly Lollardism, had been a source of discord in the religious life of the nation. Some discontent with the Roman administration and opposition to the exercise of papal authority in the country were undoubtedly also in evidence before the reign of Henry VIII. It was, however, neither the old quarrels between Church and State, nor the influence of earlier heresies nor even the force of actual discontent which account for the separation of England from Rome. Its real author and cause was Henry VIII, a talented and energetic man, but a base and sensual despot.

Henry was born in 1491, the second son of Henry VII, and through the death of his eldest brother Arthur succeeded to the throne in 1509. That same year he married his brother's widow, Catherine of Aragon, after obtaining a papal dispensation necessary for such a marriage. The young king was handsome, generous, fond of outdoor sports, and withal religious. He seemed to possess every quality of mind and body which makes for a happy and successful reign. He was not only popular, but obtained the reputation of a zealous Catholic by writing against Luther.

In his work *Defence of the Seven Sacraments* against the German Reformer, he defends the Catholic teaching on the sacraments and the Mass. He also insists on the supreme authority conferred on the Pope to govern the Church, the

very point he was to reject at a subsequent date. So favorable was the impression made by the book on all sides that Pope Leo X conferred on its author the title of *Defender of the Faith*, a title incongruously retained to this day by English monarchs.

**26. The Question of the Divorce; Henry marries Anne Boleyn (1533).**—Even in 1521 when the above-mentioned treatise was published, Henry's moral life was irregular. Indeed it is doubtful if his married life was ever pure. His relations with the women of the Boleyn family were scandalous and it was one of these, Anne Boleyn, who was to play an important part in the king's life and England's history. In 1527 Henry, who had lived peacefully with Catherine of Aragon for eighteen years, conceived a violent passion for Anne, maid of honor to the queen, and began to work for a divorce. A decree declaring his first marriage invalid, he considered, would not only free him from Catherine, of whom he was tired, but would also set the seal on a French alliance, which was directed against Catherine's nephew, Charles V. A new marriage might, moreover, provide the throne with a male heir and settle to the king's satisfaction the question of the succession. Of his union with Catherine only Princess Mary survived, and so far no woman had occupied the English throne.

Henry, alleging scruples of conscience, applied to the Pope for a declaration of invalidity of his first marriage. Long and weary negotiations followed in which the king used unworthy and dishonest means in his attempt to obtain a divorce from Catherine. Finally, before the Pope had pronounced on the matter, he married Anne Boleyn, who demanded all the rights and privileges of a queen of England. The wedding ceremony was soon followed by the coronation of the king's new consort, and Anne had thus reached the height of her ambition.

Her triumph was to be of short duration, however; for two years later, Henry, whose passion had now cooled, had

her beheaded. He married again four times. Of his last four wives, one died shortly after giving birth to a son, who later became Edward VI; the second he repudiated because of her homeliness; the third died on the scaffold and the last escaped execution as a heretic by the death of the cruel despot in 1547.

**27. The Act of Supremacy (1534); Religious Changes introduced by Henry VIII.**—Henry's marriage to Anne Boleyn was followed by a sentence of excommunication pronounced against him in 1533. He retaliated by forcing through Parliament the *Act of Supremacy* in the following year. After he had taken this step, Pope Clement VII pronounced his marriage with Catherine of Aragon unquestionably valid. The Act of Supremacy, as its title suggests, transferred the supreme authority over the Church in England from the Pope to the king. The latter became in his kingdom the sole and exclusive head of ecclesiastical matters, as he was already of civil affairs.

This fundamental change in the government of the English church was soon followed by a so-called reform in morals and worship, and the publication of the beliefs and practises to be accepted by every Englishman. The reform in morals was nothing but a convenient pretext for the passage of measures increasing the revenues of the royal treasury through suppression of monasteries and confiscation of ecclesiastical property. Reform in worship was effected by the destruction of sacred relics and images. The beliefs and practises imposed on every subject were contained in the *Six Articles* published in 1539.

These articles were entirely Catholic, for, apart from suppressing the authority of the Pope, Henry retained the old faith. The six articles imposed the acceptance of the following points under pain of death: (1) Transubstantiation; (2) communion under one species; (3) the celibacy of the clergy; (4) the binding character of the vow of chastity; (5) Masses for the dead; (6) auricular confession.

Two classes of persons could not consistently adopt Henry's religious innovation; the *Catholics* and the out-and-out *Protestants;* the former, because for them the authority of the Pope was a fundamental point of doctrine; the latter, because they rejected some of the dogmas imposed as essential by the king. Both classes were persecuted indiscriminately. Among the first victims of the royal despotism was the aged Bishop *John Fisher*, an honor to the Catholic episcopate, and the scholarly humanist, Sir *Thomas More*, chancellor of the kingdom and unflinching supporter of the papal authority.

**28. The Religious Situation and the Succession to the Throne after Henry VIII's Death (1547).**—During Henry VIII's reign a large section of the nation had reluctantly submitted to his religious innovations. The king had steered a middle course between the Catholic and Protestant systems. The opposition to his settlement came from these two sources: in the opinion of some he had not gone far enough, they favored Protestantism and desired the abolition of the Mass and of various other Catholic beliefs and practises. Others (and they formed the majority particularly in the country districts) were still attached to the old faith, and wished to see the Catholic worship restored in its ancient splendor and purity. These two parties came successively into power under Henry VIII's immediate successors, the Protestants under Edward VI, the Catholics under Queen Mary.

Henry VIII had named as his successor his son Edward, and in the event of the latter dying without issue, his daughters Mary and Elizabeth. He had also created a Council of Regency which was so constituted that the permanence of his religious settlement seemed assured. His provision for the succession was indeed observed and Edward, Mary and Elizabeth successively occupied the English throne. The Council of Regency was, however, promptly set aside: in its stead the Duke of Somerset and after him the Duke of

Northumberland, both decidedly in favor of Protestantism, controlled the administration during Edward's reign.

**29. King Edward VI (1547–1553).**—Prince Edward was the son of Henry VIII and his third wife Jane Seymour. At his accession he was nine years old, a sickly, precocious, impassive child and, like the two men who governed in his name, entirely devoted to the Protestant cause. The religious changes made during his reign form the most important part of its history. Although they were only temporary owing to the subsequent Catholic reaction, they formed the basis of the Protestant Establishment which was permanently imposed on England by Queen Elizabeth. They were, in many respects, in direct opposition to Henry VIII's intentions, policy and settlement.

The Six Articles were abolished, the Eucharist was administered under both species, all associations of a religious character were suppressed, a new creed or profession of faith in forty-two articles was drawn up, a new liturgy was introduced and its observance made obligatory throughout the kingdom. This liturgy or worship was contained in the Book of Common Prayer of which two substantially different editions were published. The first appeared in 1548 and was, according to Parliament, "drawn up by the aid of the Holy Ghost." It was superseded shortly after by the second edition not similarly commended. Both were the work of the unprincipled Thomas Cranmer. In the constitution or government of the new church, the Catholic organization was retained. As, however, the Pope's authority was no longer recognized, the bishops were made dependent on the state.

**30. The Accession of Queen Mary I (1553); Her Marriage to Philip II of Spain (1554).**—When it became evident that the boy-king, who was losing strength perceptibly, could not live, Northumberland feeling that his power would come to an end with the accession of Princess Mary, plotted to obtain the crown for Lady Jane Grey, the grand-daughter

of Henry VIII's sister, Mary. To make his position secure, he arranged a marriage between her and one of his sons. As soon as Edward had breathed his last, Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed queen in London. The people, however, refused their support to this new pretender, and Northumberland himself soon acknowledged Mary as the rightful ruler of the kingdom. The rebels fell into the latter's hands but she exercised clemency towards them: only three, among them Northumberland, were executed; others were either held as prisoners or released. Lady Jane Grey was imprisoned but no attempt was made to inflict more severe punishment.

Mary, as a daughter of Catherine of Aragon, was anxious to enter into more intimate union with her Spanish relations. Her cousin Charles V naturally encouraged these desires, as he wished to marry her to his son Philip II and thus secure England's support in his wars with France. This Spanish marriage, however, was unpopular with the English people. An uprising took place in Kent under Sir Thomas Wyatt, and in the middle counties an insurrection, instigated by the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane Grey's father, was also threatening. But Wyatt was abandoned by his followers, captured and beheaded. The Duke of Suffolk and Lady Jane Grey were likewise executed. Philip of Spain landed in England in July, 1554, and the marriage was celebrated forthwith. It proved an unhappy union, for Philip did not return the queen's affection; and as no child was born, and the hope of adding another kingdom to his vast dominions was ruined, he abandoned his wife who was thus forced to cope alone with the administrative cares of the English government.

**31. Mary restores the Catholic Religion; Her Foreign Policy.**—Upon Mary's accession, Parliament repealed all the laws passed under Edward VI on the subject of religion. The church was thus restored to its position under Henry VIII. Mary, however, desired the complete restoration of the Catholic worship. She completely realized this plan in

1554. Cardinal Reginald Pole came as papal legate to England, and on November 30 pronounced the general and solemn absolution of the kingdom. The Act of Supremacy was abolished as were likewise all the laws infringing on the authority of the Apostolic See.

The old statutes decreeing severe punishment of heresy were revived. Mary rigorously enforced these laws. The executions, between 250 and 300 in number, have earned her from Protestants the unenviable title of *Bloody Mary*. But in pursuing this policy of repression she merely acted in conformity with the ideas of the time. Heresy was generally looked upon as punishable by death by the Reformers as well as by the Catholics. Calvin, it will be recalled, mercilessly executed those who did not share his opinions. Then, too, some of the victims were not only heretics, but also political plotters.

In her foreign policy the queen's desire to win her husband's affection led her to support Spain in a war against France. The Anglo-Spanish troops won some successes over the enemy. Soon, however, the tide of fortune turned; the French besieged and captured Calais, the last English stronghold on the continent (1558). The queen, whose health was already impaired, now rapidly declined and died soon after, a disappointed woman. Her successor, Queen Elizabeth, permanently established Protestantism in the kingdom.

**32. The Protestant Revolt in Scotland; the Dynasty of the Stuarts.**—While in England the Protestant Revolt was imposed by the sovereigns and carried out to their profit, it was accepted in neighboring Scotland despite the reigning monarchs. It owed its success largely to the greed of a mercenary nobility. It was preached mainly by the fanatical John Knox and received support from Henry VIII and his Protestant successors. Transplanted from Geneva, Protestantism in Scotland assumed a Calvinistic or Presbyterian form.

The royal family of the Stuarts, under whom the Protestant Revolt occurred, had been reigning in Scotland since 1370. The dynasty had been visited, as few others in history, by terrible and tragic misfortunes. Four of the kings had died a violent death and two had been afflicted with insanity. In the sixteenth century the rulers were too weak to hold in check a rough and turbulent nobility. James V died in 1542, leaving the crown to his six-day-old daughter *Mary Stuart.* During the regency which followed, Protestant ideas spread in the kingdom. They found favor especially among the indigent aristocracy who cast covetous eyes upon the extensive church properties.

**33. John Knox (about 1513–1572) and the Triumph of the Protestant Revolt in Scotland.**—John Knox, the most important preacher of the new doctrines, was born at Haddington in Scotland and was probably the son of a small farmer. He became a priest, but little is known of his life as an ecclesiastic. The more abundant information about his later life discloses a very checkered career. He was captured as a rebel in Scotland, and was deported as a prisoner to France, was again set at liberty, became chaplain to the English King Edward VI, fled from England under Queen Mary and joined Calvin at Geneva. Here he devoted some time to a more careful study of Calvinism and then as a preacher appeared in various countr es. He permanently returned to his native land after Queen Elizabeth had ascended the English throne, and Protestant preachers could, without danger to themselves, carry on their propaganda in Scotland.

Here the Protestant nobles had already formed a league called the "Congregation of Christ," as opposed to the Catholic Church opprobriously styled the "Congregation of Satan." Knox fired the ardor and enthusiasm of these noblemen who rebelled against the Catholic Queen-mother, regent of the kingdom. The rebels were supported by England, while the regent relied on French troops. But when the French soldiers were withdrawn and the regent died, the

Catholic religion was doomed. Parliament meeting at Edinburgh in 1560 abolished papal jurisdiction in Scotland, repealed all the laws favorable to the Catholic Church, and forbade the saying or hearing of Mass on pain of confiscation for the first offense, banishment for the second and death for the third conviction. Calvinism took the place of the Catholic worship; the Catholic hierarchy was abolished, presbyterian forms were introduced, and many churches and monasteries desecrated or destroyed.

## III. The Protestant Revolt in France

**34. The Introduction of the Protestant Revolt into France; Its Partial Success.**—In France the Protestant Revolt bore no national character and can boast no representative leader. The new ideas were transplanted to the country from neighboring Germany and Switzerland. They were gradually adopted by not a few inhabitants and found protectors in some prominent families. Their diffusion was carried on chiefly from Geneva where the French language was spoken and French refugees had gathered. This origin accounts for the predominance of Calvinism among the Huguenots, as the French Protestants came to be called.

The attitude of the civil power towards the innovators was in France, as elsewhere, of paramount importance in the subsequent course of events. In the early years of the movement King Francis I (1515–1547) showed himself almost favorable to the Reformers. From 1534 onward, however, he was a determined opponent of religious changes at home, though a zealous supporter of Lutheranism in Germany. Surrounded by the dominions of Charles V, he sought to defend France and to weaken the emperor by allying himself with the Lutheran princes in Germany and with the Turks in the east. Fully aware of the fact that religious unity meant increased political strength, he opposed the spread of Protestantism in France. The new religion found adherents, nevertheless, among the nobility and even among the king's own relations.

Members of the Bourbon and Coligny families particularly became famous as Protestant leaders. They recruited their followers chiefly in the south and west of France. A series of weak rulers, who occupied the throne after Francis I, enabled them to acquire much more influence than would have been possible under normal conditions. It was owing to the power of these noblemen rather than to the number of the Reformers that the latter half of the sixteenth century was a period of religious wars in France. These wars, in which both sides committed many excesses and revolting cruelties, lasted with many interruptions from 1562 to 1598. The most famous event of this unhappy period is the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day.

**35. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24, 1572).**—Among the various attempts to effect a reconciliation between Catholics and Huguenots during this gloomy period of civil war, that of 1570 seemed to be particularly promising. Peace was concluded between the two hostile parties in that year, and was to receive its external and public confirmation by the matrimonial alliance between the Catholic Margaret of Valois, the king's sister, and the young Henry of Navarre, the acknowledged leader of the Calvinists. The wedding festivities were solemnized in Paris in August, 1572, and attracted many influential Protestants to the capital.

Charles IX, a youth of twenty-two, was then King of France. He had no firm will of his own and various persons sought to supply the deficiency by recommending or imposing their views. Just then he was under the predominant influence of Admiral Coligny, that Calvinist leader, who sent two parties of Huguenots to America and named their settlements *Carolina* after this King Charles (Latin *Carolus*). The Queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici, an ambitious and intriguing woman, seeing the danger of all authority over the king and all political power slipping from her hands, resolved to get rid of Coligny's influence, and, choosing the surest means to encompass this end, determined to destroy

the admiral himself. An assassin, hired by her, failed in his attempt on the admiral's life, the latter being merely wounded by the shots fired at him. The indignant Huguenots threatened to avenge the foul deed, and Catherine, more than ever determined to accomplish her designs, resolved upon the assassination of all Protestant leaders.

She secured the king's reluctant consent to this criminal scheme by insisting that the peace of the realm and his own life were at stake. The massacre began in Paris on August 24, 1572, the feast day of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, whose name has been applied to it. Only the leaders were to be killed, but soon the populace joined the soldiers in the criminal work and the slaughter became general. Not only Huguenots, but Catholics also were done to death. The killing, which was directed first against the Protestants, soon turned into a general massacre of the wealthy inhabitants and the looting of their possessions. The example of the capital was imitated in some cities of the provinces and the massacre lasted several days. The number of the victims, though considerable, has been grossly exaggerated and cannot be given with accuracy. In the aggregate probably between 4,000 and 5,000 persons lost their lives.

**36. Catherine de' Medici was Responsible for the Massacre.**—The St. Bartholomew's massacre was a personal political crime of an ambitious woman and not, as has been said, a premeditated and cold-blooded extermination of defenseless victims committed with the support of the Catholic Church. Catherine de' Medici who organized it had no religious convictions and was ready to rely indiscriminately upon Catholics and Calvinists as her political interests dictated. A circular letter addressed immediately after the occurrence by the French government to the papal and secular courts boldly misrepresented the facts and depicted what had occurred as an indispensable measure of self-defense. The king's life, it was declared, had to be saved from an abominable plot organized by Coligny and his accomplices·

These misrepresentations, accepted as a reliable statement of fact, explain the apparent approval of the massacre abroad. The reigning Pope was, owing to his attitude towards the event, subsequently accused of having instigated the attack upon the Protestants. In fact, however, far from being implicated in the affair, he did not even know in advance of the dark designs of Catherine de' Medici. It is perfectly true that in Rome a solemn hymn of thanksgiving was sung, a procession was held and a medal was struck in memory of the preservation of the king and his household after the receipt of Catherine's version of the event. But such rejoicing will be readily understood, if it be remembered that the Pope, relying on the report which first reached him, believed that the royal family and the Catholic leaders had escaped imminent danger, and had saved their lives only by the timely discovery and just punishment of sanguinary plotters.

**37. The Accession of King Henry IV (1589); The Edict of Nantes (1598).**—During these religious dissensions and wars, occurred the assassination of King Henry III in 1589. The event had a bearing on political and religious affairs, for the succession to the throne now went by right to the Calvinist Henry of Navarre. The latter, however, bitterly opposed as he was by many Catholics who were determined to exclude any Protestant from the throne, had to conquer the realm before he could rule it. In the fighting which ensued, Henry IV, as he is known among French monarchs, received assistance from Elizabeth of England and other Protestant rulers, while his opponents were actively supported by Philip II of Spain and the Pope. The conflict came to an end between the two rival parties in France in 1593 with the conversion of Henry IV to the Catholic religion. With Philip of Spain peace was not concluded until 1598.

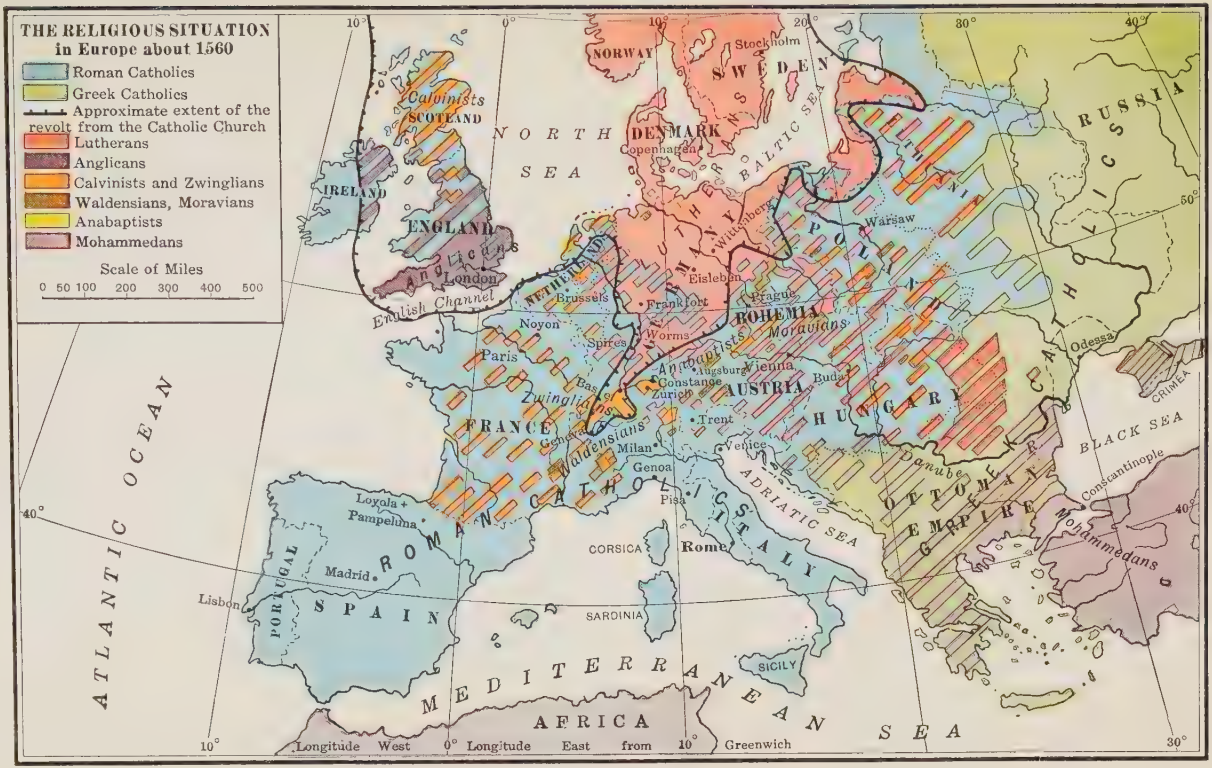
In that year Henry IV not only signed peace with the foreigner, but also strove to establish internal peace in the kingdom by settling the religious question. His conversion had indeed won over the Catholics to his side, but it had also

estranged and caused apprehension among the Calvinists. To calm the fears and remove the distrust of his former coreligionists, the king, on August 13, 1598, issued his famous *Edict of Nantes*, so called from the city in western France where it was published. It granted to the Calvinists freedom of conscience throughout the kingdom, freedom of worship in all private houses, in the villages and towns where Calvinism was practised in 1597, and in at least two towns in each province. It also declared that Protestants were entitled to equal civil rights with Catholics and to appointment to all secular offices. Moreover, they were to be left for some time in possession of the strongholds which were in their hands.

This last concession seemed necessary at the time because of the prevailing excitement and the difficulty of taking the fortresses from them. It constituted, however, a serious danger for the kingdom, and was tantamount to a recognition of a state within the state. The Huguenots might, as on former occasions, enter into relations and even alliance with a foreign power and thus endanger the existence of the lawful government. Under Louis XIII their strongholds were taken from them, despite a stout resistance and appeal to foreign powers for armed assistance.

## IV. Religious, Political and Social Results of the Protestant Revolt

**38. Religious Results of the Protestant Revolt.**—The Protestant Revolt introduced neither religious liberty nor religious reform. Luther preached indeed, in theory, the freedom of every individual to find in the Bible the religion of his own interpretation and choice; in practise, however, the principle was evidently to be used freely only by himself. His followers were compelled to form part of a church placed under the supreme authority of the civil ruler, who was now king and Pope at the same time. For the spiritual authority of the Pope of Rome he and the other Reformers


THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION
in Europe about 1560
Roman Catholics
Greek Catholics
Approximate extent of the revolt from the Catholic Church
Lutherans
Anglicans
Calvinists and Zwinglians
Waldensians, Moravians
Anabaptists
Mohammedans
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
BLACK SEA
NORWAY
SWEDEN
Stockholm
DENMARK
Copenhagen
RUSSIA
SCOTLAND
Calvinists
IRELAND
ENGLAND
Anglicans
London
English Channel
NETHERLANDS
Brussels
Noyon
Paris
Spires
Worms
Frankfort
Eisleben
Wittenberg
Warsaw
POLAND
ROMAN CATHOLIC
Prague
BOHEMIA
Moravians
Anabaptists
Augsburg
Vienna
Constance
Zurich
Basel
Zwinglians
AUSTRIA
Buda
HUNGARY
Odessa
CRIMEA
FRANCE
Geneva
Waldensians
Trent
Milan
Venice
Genoa
Pisa
Danube
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
Constantinople
Mohammedans
Loyola
Pampeluna
CORSICA
Rome
ITALY
Madrid
Lisbon
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
SARDINIA
SICILY
AFRICA
10°
0°
10°
20°
30°
40°
50°
40°
Longitude West 0° Longitude East from 10° Greenwich

as well had merely substituted the despotism of the secular power.

As for religious reform it was conspicuous by its absence in the new movement. Immorality and corruption had indeed, to some extent, stained the true Church, but according to Luther's own testimony, these evils only became more general through the introduction of Protestantism. "Who among us," he exclaimed in despair, "would have thought of preaching as we have done, could we have foreseen how much misery, corruption, scandal, blasphemy, ingratitude and wickedness would have resulted from it?" On another occasion, he wrote of Protestant Wittenberg: "We dwell in Sodom and Babylon, things get worse and worse every day."

**39. Political Results of the Protestant Revolt.**—In politics the Protestant Revolt produced two important results: (1) a transfer of property effected on a gigantic scale; (2) an enormous increase in the power of the sovereigns and princes. The possessions of the Church were seized by the civil rulers. This was the beginning of that work of spoliation which was to be repeated only too frequently in modern times. Not only was the power of the princes thus increased by an increase in the economic means at their disposal, but they also usurped the authority of the Pope and thus suppressed the power of that great and fearless defender of the rights of the people against unjust oppressors. It is absurd to maintain, as is frequently done, that the Protestant Revolt opened an era of freedom for mankind. On the contrary it was despotism and tyranny, not democracy and liberty, which gained from the movement.

**40. Social Results of the Protestant Revolt in Germany.**—The confiscation of ecclesiastical property and the squandering of church goods by the Reformers had a disastrous effect on social conditions. Much of the wealth of the Church had been devoted to the maintenance of schools, the care of the sick and the relief of the poor. It was taken over in Protestant lands by covetous princes and largely used for personal

and selfish ends. Protestant writers themselves are forced to admit the destitution and suffering which the Revolt caused among the people, particularly the poor, in Germany and England.

Of Germany, Luther himself says: "Of old, when under the guidance of the papacy and of a false worship, people were obliged to do good works, everybody was ready and willing. Now, on the contrary, the world has learned nothing else than to flay, fleece and openly rob and plunder by lying and cheating, by usury, forestalling and overcharging. And everyone acts towards his neighbor as though he did not regard him as a friend, still less as a brother in Christ, but as a murderous enemy, and as though he only wanted to get everything for himself alone." A little later another Protestant authority writes of the same country: "Our dear forefathers by bequests and in other ways made benevolent provisions for the maintenance of churches and schools, but now, alas! we see every day that charity towards the poor, towards the hospitals, towards poor students and others has grown quite cold; the poor are fleeced and flayed, and ground down to the uttermost farthing."[1]

**41. Social Results in England.**—The Protestant James Gairdner, an acknowledged authority on the history of the sixteenth century, says of the dissolution of the English monasteries: "Its immediate effect was to produce a vast amount of suffering. It is true that a considerable number of the monks and nuns received pensions, but very many were turned out of the houses which had been their homes and wandered about in search of means to live. More permanent results, however, arose out of the prodigious transfer of property, affecting, as it is supposed, about a third of the land of England. It has been doubted whether the monks had been easy landlords; but when the monastic lands were confiscated and sold to a host of greedy courtiers the change

[1]See Janssen-Christie, *History of the German People*, vol. xv, pp. 466 and 473.

was severely felt. The lands were all let at higher rents, and the newly-erected Court "for the Augmentation of Crown Revenues" did its best to justify its title. Moreover, the purchasers, in order to make the most of their new acquisitions, began to enclose commons where poor tenants had been accustomed to graze their cattle; the tenants sold the beasts which they could not feed, and the cost of living in a few years advanced very seriously.

"Meanwhile, all over the country men beheld with sadness a host of deserted buildings with ruined walls, where formerly rich and poor used to receive hospitality on their travels; where gentlemen could obtain loans on easy terms or deposit precious documents, as in places more secure than in their own homes; where the needy always found relief and shelter, and where the spiritual wants were attended to no less than physical.

"Some arts, formerly brought to high perfection in monastic seclusion, were either paralysed for a time or migrated into the towns. Sculpture, embroidery, clockmaking, bell-founding, were among these; and it is needless to speak of what literature owes to the transcribers of manuscripts and the composers of monastic chronicles. Finally, the education of the people was largely due to the convent schools; and there is no doubt that it suffered very severely not only from the suppression of the monasteries, but perhaps even more from the confiscation of chantries which began at the end of the reign (of Henry VIII), for the chantry priest was often the local schoolmaster. Nor did the boasted educational foundations of Edward VI do much to redress the wrong, for in truth his schools were old schools refounded with poorer endowments."[1]

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[1] *The Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. II, *The Reformation*, pp. 467-468.

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## CHAPTER III

### CATHOLIC REFORM OR THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

**42. An Ecclesiastical and a Political Counter-Reformation takes Place.**—The Counter-Reformation is the period of Catholic Reform which began about the middle of the sixteenth century and lasted to the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648. The history of the Protestant movement so far described, clearly reveals the fact that many Catholics after leaving their Church, ardently worked for the destruction of some of its essential beliefs and the abolition of many of its most venerable practises. In the face of this hostility to the traditional religion, the loyalty of its persevering members was put to the test and not found wanting: an ecclesiastical and a political reaction against the destructive principles of Protestantism took place and has become known as the Counter-Reformation.

The ecclesiastical Counter-Reformation took place within the Church under the leadership of Churchmen. The political Counter-Reformation was carried out under the immediate direction and with the support of the civil rulers. These men, in some countries where the Reformation had made progress, used the right of reform, that is the right of settling the religious question, in favor of the Catholic religion and worked earnestly for its reestablishment or maintenance in their dominions. In countries, like Spain, where Protestantism never became a serious danger, their action was especially preventive in not allowing the new ideas to spread freely. The policy pursued by these rulers need not be discussed separately from their reigns; but attention ought to be given to the ecclesiastical Counter-Reformation, and from this point of view particularly the Catholic revival is noticed here, (1) in the work of the Council of Trent; (2) in the reform of existing religious orders; (3) in the foundation of new ones.

**43. The Council of Trent (1545–1563).**—From the very beginning of the Protestant Revolt both Catholics and Protestants had seen the settlement of the religious controversy in the holding of a council. Luther himself in the early years of his conflict with Rome had appealed to a general council. After Luther's condemnation at Worms, Charles V and the German Catholics worked energetically to bring about such a meeting. They were encouraged in their efforts by Adrian VI, the last non-Italian Pope (1522-1523) who prepared for its convocation, but died before he could achieve his end.

The assembly was to meet for the twofold purpose of extirpating heresy and suppressing ecclesiastical abuses. But various circumstances, notably the wars between Charles V and Francis I, caused a long delay in the calling of the council. Moreover the question of the meeting place caused a controversy between the Pope, who desired an Italian city, and the emperor, who favored a German town.

Trent was finally agreed upon because it was under imperial authority and of easy communication with Rome The council began its work in 1545 and concluded its meetings only eighteen years later, in 1563. It was not, however, continuously in session. Twice interrupted, once for four years and again for ten years, it was only four years at work. It was the nineteenth general council, and one of the most important ever held in the Christian Church. All Catholic countries sent representatives and an invitation was also issued to the Protestants to attend. They eventually sent a few delegates but their demands were irreconcilable with Catholic belief, and their mission ended in failure.

**44. The Council's Doctrinal Work.**—The work of the council was usually prepared in committees, then submitted to and finally passed upon in the general meetings. In doctrinal matters the council took up especially such points as had been denied by the Protestants. It declared that not only the Bible, but Tradition also is the source of faith, that our religious belief must be based not on the Scriptures

as privately interpreted by every Christian, but on the Scriptures as authoritatively explained by the supreme authority of the Church. In other words, to the Protestant teaching that the Bible is man's sole religious guide it opposed the declaration that the Bible, Tradition and an infallible Church are his teachers. Among the many more or less reliable texts of the Scriptures in circulation it selected the *Vulgate*, the Latin translation made by St. Jerome, as the official text to be used for public reading in the Catholic Church.

In regard to original sin, another article on which the Reformers had fallen into grievous error, the council stated that Adam, through it, lost his original justice, that he incurred the wrath of God and suffered injury in body and soul. This injury affected not only Adam, but also his posterity who inherit both the penalty and the guilt of the sin. However, a remedy is placed at everyone's disposal in the merits of Christ which become our own through baptism and take away the guilt of sin. Justification is obtained through these merits of the Saviour, and is the transition from a state of sin to the state of grace. It includes a negative element, the taking away of sin, and a positive one, the infusion of sanctifying grace.

Seven means of producing or increasing grace in the soul, generally called sacraments, were instituted by Jesus Christ and must be admitted in the Catholic Church. Among them is the Blessed Eucharist in which, through Transubstantiation, Our Lord Jesus Christ becomes, at the consecration, really, truly, and substantially present as God and man with body and soul, flesh and blood. Other truths or practises such as the existence of Purgatory, the invocation of the Saints, the veneration of relics and images, the existence and usefulness of indulgences had also been the object of determined attack by the Protestants. They were now declared to form part of the teaching given by Christ to his disciples and followers. Thus, through its doctrinal work, the council clearly defined the body of doctrine which every

believer had to accept if he wished to be and remain a true member of the Catholic Church.

**45. The Council's Work of Reform; Its Significance.**— The reform decrees of the council were no less important than its doctrinal decisions. Refusing to adopt the vernacular as the official liturgical language it maintained the use of Latin for the public prayers and services of the Catholic Church. To eradicate the ignorance of the clergy which was largely due to inadequate opportunities and facilities for special training, it devoted careful attention to the selection and education of candidates for the priesthood. It imposed on every diocese the obligation "to support, to rear in piety and to train in ecclesiastical discipline a certain number of youths in a college chosen by the bishop for that purpose." It thus created ecclesiastical seminaries which have been the source of incalculable blessings for the Catholic body. The law of clerical celibacy was maintained in spite of the Protestant demand and practise to the contrary. The council forbade pluralities or the holding of several ecclesiastical positions by the same clergyman who did not fulfill the duties attached to them. It enjoined residence on bishops and priests in their dioceses or parishes, respectively, and made preaching obligatory at least once a week. The office of indulgence preacher was abolished and the present practise of having indulgences published by the bishop introduced. Frequent episcopal visitations in parishes and religious institutions were enjoined to prevent abuses and to insure the faithful observance of ecclesiastical laws.

Thus was the great work of reform finally achieved. No council had ever encountered greater obstacles, none decided so many questions. The weakness of some of its members did not impair the prestige of the august assembly. In spite of the discussions, usually lively and at times stormy, of theologians and bishops, Catholic unity stood forth in its full authority and splendor. "The council so eagerly demanded and so long evaded, twice dissolved, and agitated

View of the City of Trent

by so many political tempests; which had even in its third assembly been assailed by dangers so imminent, now closed amidst the universal accord of the Catholic world. It will be readily comprehended that the prelates as they came together for the last time on the fourth of December, 1563, should feel themselves affected by emotions of gladness. Former antagonists were now offering mutual congratulations, and tears were observed in the eyes of many among those aged men."[1]

**46. The Reform of the Old Religious Orders.**—The numerous defections which occurred during this epoch among members of Religious Orders revealed into what state of decay monasticism had fallen during the later Middle Ages. A thoroughgoing reform was evidently necessary and was, in this as in many other departments, strictly and solemnly prescribed by the Council of Trent. This assembly issued a series of decrees to enforce, in the various Orders, the observance of the religious rule in its original purity and severity. It forbade monks to hold private property; enjoined a more strict observance of enclosure for the convents of women; prohibited the placing of seculars at the head of religious communities; ordered greater regularity in the visitation of monasteries and forbade the admission of children to religious profession.

While the council thus gave expression to its earnest desire for reform, some zealous members of certain Religious Orders carried out in practise the intention of the assembled bishops. This was done among the Cistercians and especially among the Franciscans. The reform introduced among the Franciscans resulted not only in the stricter observance of the rule in the existing branches of the Order, but also in the formation of a new Order named the Capuchins. Among the Carmelites the faithful observance of the original rule was reintroduced by one of the Church's most admirable and practical women reformers, St. Teresa.

**47. Saint Teresa (1515–1582); Her Work and Influence.—**

[1]Ranke-Fowler, *History of the Popes*. Vol. I, p. 238-239 (New York, 1901).

Teresa of Jesus or of Avila was born in 1515 at Avila in Spain. She manifested the first extraordinary sign of her religious fervor at the age of seven, when she left her home with one of her brothers for the country of the Moors in quest of martyrdom. On their way thither the two candidates for premature eternal happiness met an uncle who brought them back home. Instead of martyrdom, Teresa received a scolding. At a later date she entered the convent, choosing the religious life not from inclination or attraction, but because she considered it the safest course to follow for the salvation of her soul. One of the greatest sacrifices of her life was the separation from her family, a sacrifice which was to her like death itself. However, she was to find that she had not entirely cut herself off from her family, for, after her entrance into the convent she fell under the influence of some worldly-minded relatives who visited her frequently and made her give up mental prayer. The parlor now proved more attractive for her than the chapel. Under the direction of Dominican and Jesuit priests, however, she again took up her religious exercises, soon performed them not only with the utmost regularity, but with burning fervor and rose to an eminent degree of sanctity.

The great work of her life, the reform of the Carmelite Order, including the monasteries of men, as well as the convents of women was accomplished only in the face of intense opposition. She received in the performance of this mission the approval of the Holy See and the encouragement of the Doctor of Mystic Theology, St. John of the Cross. She exerted great influence not only on her age, but also on subsequent centuries both by her work of reform and her sound theological writings. Distinguished by a vivid imagination, sound judgment and extraordinary sanctity she, whose life is summed up in her sublime motto, "To suffer or to die," proves what heroic souls that Church could still produce which at that very time was denounced as the [illegible] of all corruption.

**48. New Religious Congregations; the Society of Jesus.**— The reform of the old religious orders was not the only fruit of a reawakened zeal for the true faith; numerous new religious congregations were also established. The most illustrious of these was the Society of Jesus. Its foundation was one of the most important events of the sixteenth century. So well adapted was this new order to the needs of the modern age that its organization has been reproduced in a degree, consciously or unconsciously, by many subsequent congregations. Its purpose was "the defense and propagation of the Catholic Faith." The object of the new Society and the circumstances of its establishment explain to a large extent its history. The Jesuits came into immediate conflict with the Reformers, became at an early date an object of aversion to them, and are still pursued with animosity in many Protestant circles.

**49. Saint Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556); His Early Life.**— The founder of the Society of Jesus was Ignatius (1491–1556), a nobleman who was born at the castle of Loyola in Spain. He first followed with ardor the military profession and was wounded in the siege of Pampeluna. During the subsequent convalescence, still animated by the same martial ardor, he asked for the romances of chivalry to distract his enforced idleness. None were at hand and he was given the lives of Jesus Christ and the saints. He read these with that competitive spirit with which he used to read the lives of the great warriors. To dreams of chivalry and brilliant military exploits, succeeded visions of ascetical practises and sainthood. A struggle between the world and grace ensued in his heart and grace finally triumphed. This occurred in 1521 and is known as his conversion.

He made a general confession, went into retreat, suffered from almost unbearable scruples, but overcame them by persevering prayer, and went on a journey to the Holy Land. After his return to Spain, he determined, though no longer in the plastic period of his life, to study so as to be of greater

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service to others. Eleven years were now spent in his own intellectual training. During this time, however, Ignatius also preached, and taught the truths of the Christian religion in schools, hospitals, and not infrequently in the streets. As he was still a layman, as his lecture place was very unusual and as the doctrines of the Reformers were then being spread in many parts of Europe, he was frequently harassed and twice imprisoned by the Inquisition in Spain and finally determined to seek liberty in Paris.

**50. Saint Ignatius founds the Society of Jesus; Distinctive Features of its Rule.**—It was in Paris, where opposition, contradiction, poverty and suffering continued to be his lot, that St. Ignatius gathered around himself the followers who were to be with him the first members of the new religious Order. After their ordination to the priesthood in 1537, Ignatius, mindful of his former military profession, chose for the new congregation the name of *Company of Jesus*. In making this choice he imitated the practise prevalent in his day of designating the soldiers fighting under a military leader as the company of that leader. He and his followers intended to fight under the leadership of the divine Saviour and therefore wished to be known as the Company or Society of Jesus. The rule under which they promised to live was submitted to the Holy See and approved in 1540.

Among its distinctive features were the following: (1) It imposed no choir duties or common recitation of the office on the religious so as to leave them greater freedom and more time to devote themselves to active spiritual work. (2) The members were to adopt no particular habit. They would thus attract less attention and arouse less opposition in Protestant countries. (3) The education of youth was for the first time explicitly mentioned as one of the purposes for which a religious congregation was established. The prevalent religious ignorance among the clergy and people had undoubtedly caused the falling away of many from the Catholic religion whose teaching they did not sufficiently

understand. Luther had succeeded because he was falsely considered a social reformer rather than a religious revolutionist. A more solid instruction in religious truths would prevent a repetition of such happenings and enable the Catholics to defend better the faith that is in them. (4) Work in the foreign missions was also mentioned as one of the objects for which the Society was organized. The faith was to be defended at home and propagated abroad. In fact, while many European states were lost in whole or in part to the true faith in the sixteenth century, new territories were converted by the Franciscans, the Dominicans, and the new laborers in the Lord's vineyard, the Jesuits.

That the new society answered a want in the religious life of the time is evident from the fact that it grew with marvelous rapidity. Its members were soon numbered by thousands. The Jesuits saved or restored to the Catholic Church whole districts and provinces; they can truly be said to have rolled back the Reformation movement. They obtained, after a while, the monopoly of Catholic education in Europe and became the confessors and counselors of kings and queens. A new great power had arisen, as it were, in their foundation.

**51. St. Francis of Sales (1567–1622).**—Another illustrious Saint who devoted his life to the defense of Catholic teaching and the spread of genuine reform was Francis of Sales. Through his priestly ministry, literary activity and establishment of a new Religious Order, he served the cause of charity, truth and education in a truly eminent degree.

Francis was born at the castle of Sales near Annecy in the Duchy of Savoy of noble and wealthy parents. His mother, only in her fifteenth year when she gave him birth, was a woman remarkable for her genuine, Christian piety. The boy received his education at the schools of his native duchy and at a Jesuit college in Paris. His life as a student was one of earnest study, courteous manner and exemplary virtue. From Paris he proceeded in 1588 to the University

of Padua and spent his time in the study of law and theology. "At Padua," he said, "I studied law to please my father and theology to please myself." After receiving the doctorate, he returned to his native land. His father had planned for him a distinguished civil career and had selected, as his future consort, one of the noblest heiresses of Savoy. Francis, as may be inferred from the words just quoted, had long since chosen the ecclesiastical state. A sharp struggle ensued between father and son. It was decided by the Bishop of Geneva who had Francis appointed by Rome provost of his cathedral chapter, the second highest ecclesiastical position in the diocese. This honor reconciled the father to the sacrifice of his own hopes and Francis received Holy Orders (1593).

As Geneva was then in the hands of the Reformers, its bishop had taken up his residence at Annecy. In this town Francis spent his first year of priestly work. He then volunteered as missionary for the district of Chablais which formed part of the Dukedom of Savoy, but had been protestantized during its temporary occupation by the Swiss. The young priest worked with burning zeal, tireless energy, faultless tact and extraordinary self-sacrifice for the conversion of the inhabitants. Through his unsparing efforts most of them were brought back to the true Church.

**52. St. Francis of Sales Bishop of Geneva (1602–1622), and Founder of the Visitation Order.**—In 1599 Francis was, despite his protests, chosen by the Bishop of Geneva as his coadjutor, sent to Rome and definitively appointed by the Pope. Shortly afterwards, important ecclesiastical business brought him to Paris (1602). He formed here valuable friendships, including that of King Henry IV. The latter invited him to preach the Lenten sermons at court and wished to retain him in France. He also urged him to make the nature and practise of genuine piety known to the souls forced to live in the world.

Upon the death of the Bishop of Geneva, Francis succeeded

him. As a bishop he remained the humble and sweet apostle he had been as a priest. He was indefatigable in the teaching of catechism, hearing of confessions, preaching of the Catholic doctrine, caring for the poor, visiting of the parishes of his diocese and reform of its religious communities. In 1610, he founded, in concert with St. Jane Frances de Chantal (1572–1641), the Order of the Visitation for "strong souls with weak bodies," as he said, that is, for women who wished to embrace the religious life, but did not possess sufficient bodily strength to endure the corporal austerities of the existing Orders. The new Institute attracted, by its humility and sweetness, many pious souls and spread so rapidly that it numbered twenty houses before St. Francis' death and eighty before the death of St. Jane de Chantal.

**53. The Spiritual Writings of St. Francis of Sales.**— King Henry IV's suggestion that piety ought to be popularized, as it were, was not made in vain. In 1609, Francis published his *Introduction to a Devout Life*, a work designed for Christians living in the world. It was, according to him, an error and even a heresy to hold that piety was intended for the few and could not be practised by all Christians. In his work he points out how sin can be avoided and union with God attained by a person in the world. The book had an enormous success, was at once translated into many languages and has since appeared in innumerable editions. Its author followed it with a supplementary *Treatise on the Love of God*, which directs the soul that has already made some progress in holiness.

Francis was looked upon with profound respect and pious veneration even during his lifetime. He was canonized in 1665, declared a Doctor of the Church by Pius IX in 1877 and proclaimed by Pius XI in 1923 patron of all Catholic writers.

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## CHAPTER IV

### SPAIN UNDER PHILIP II AND HIS SUCCESSORS, (1556–1665); THE REVOLT AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE NETHERLANDS

## I. Philip II and Spain

**54. Leading Events of Philip II's Reign (1556–1598).**—The most generally known leader of the political Counter-Reformation was Philip II of Spain. Under him the power of the Spanish monarchy, though it reached its zenith, began also its decline. At home religious unity was secured by the exclusion of the Protestants and the dispersal of the Moriscoes or converted Moors. Abroad, the king appeared as the ardent champion of the Catholic cause and the determined defender of Spanish rights and claims.

He attempted to deliver England from Protestantism and Elizabeth, and to place on the throne of France his own daughter, to the exclusion of the Protestant Henry IV. Both schemes failed. In the Netherlands, which formed part of his own dominions, Philip had to face a rebellion partly due to his unskilful administration. The northern part of the Netherlands succeeded in winning its independence and in forming a new state, the *Republic of the United Provinces*. Nearer home, however, Philip was more successful, for by the annexation of neighboring Portugal he brought about, for a period of sixty years, the territorial unity of the Iberian peninsula (1580–1640). But this success, though important, did not offset the losses and defeats sustained elsewhere. Spanish prestige suffered a severe blow under Philip II and continued to decline steadily under his successors.

**55. The Spanish Dominions at the Accession of Philip II.**—When, at his father's abdication in 1556, Philip II succeeded to the throne of Spain, his kingdom was the most powerful among civilized states. In Europe his dominions included, besides Spain, the larger part of Italy,

and the Low Countries. Outside Europe he was ruler of an immense colonial empire comprising Mexico, Central America and most of the South American continent. From the gold and silver mines of Mexico and Peru, he derived annually vast sums for his treasury. When, in 1580, he added to the dominions which he had inherited from his father the Kingdom of Portugal with all its colonies, he was ruler of the greatest empire the world had yet seen. The vivid impression made on contemporaries by these enormous possessions received expression in the popular saying, "When Spain moves, the earth quakes."

In some respects, however, Philip's power was more apparent than real. His dominions were too scattered and made up of elements too heterogeneous ever to be knit together by any real bond of unity. His financial resources, though very considerable in appearance, were very limited in reality. Owing to his frequent wars with Francis I, Charles V had contracted heavy debts, so that the treasures of the new world were spent before they were mined.

As an offset, Philip II had at his disposal the best army in Europe. It was 150,000 strong, an enormous figure for that time, and had the reputation of being the most efficient fighting force in existence. Its infantry, recruited not from the lower classes, but from the nobility, was considered invincible. This army was led by some remarkable commanders like the Duke of Alva, Don John of Austria, a half-brother of Philip II, and Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma and grandson of Charles V.

**56. Philip II's Character and Aims.**—Philip II, the only son of Charles V and Isabella of Portugal, was twenty-nine years old when he succeeded to the Spanish throne. He greatly differed from his father in manners, tastes and habits. Charles was a wandering, cosmopolitan monarch whose life was spent in his native Netherlands, in Italy, Germany and Spain. Philip II, born and reared in Spain, was essentially Spanish in character. After his return from

the Netherlands in 1559, he never again left Spain for the remaining forty years of his reign. He was a stern, shy, and distrustful man who personally attended to all state affairs whether important or insignificant. He delighted in the infinite details of an immense administration. This habit of giving personal attention to every document, caused, in spite of his tireless energy and never-failing constancy, long and unfortunate delays. One of his viceroys in Naples aptly described the situation by saying: "If my death had to be decreed in Spain, I would be certain of a long life."

Philip was endowed with a strong character and extraordinary self-control. Two traits of his personality form the key to his whole reign: his firm Catholic convictions and his high idea of his position. His twofold aim was the suppression of heresy throughout the world and the establishment of his absolute power over his subjects. He had but little apparent success in the attainment of these aims and earned still less popularity for himself with posterity. His services to the Catholic religion were indeed considerable and must be acknowledged. He saved Spain from a series of religious wars such as desolated France and other countries, and was instrumental in bringing about the success of Catholic Reform in Germany and Poland. But the harsh and imprudent manner in which he proceeded at times, brought discredit on the cause of which he made himself the well-intentioned and determined champion.

**57. The Repression of Heresy and the Struggle against the Moriscoes in Spain.**—In Spain, Philip had to deal with the Lutheran heresy which made its appearance in different parts of the country. He mercilessly suppressed it with the help of the Inquisition. This institution had already lost all importance in the kingdom when Ferdinand and Isabella reestablished it in 1480. It bore a somewhat different character from the early tribunal in that the civil power played a very important part in its functioning; but its character was nevertheless mainly ecclesiastical.

Its reestablishment was largely due to the presence in Spain of numerous Maranos, Jews who had accepted baptism without sincerely professing the Christian religion. Once organized, the Inquisition also proceeded against the Moriscoes, converted Moors, many of whom received baptism with no greater sincerity than the Maranos. Philip II in turn used it effectively for the suppression of Protestantism. His attitude towards heresy is graphically described in his reply to a certain man who, condemned by the Inquisition, reproached him with cruelty: "If my son were guilty like you," he said, "I would be the first to deliver him to the flames."

A new danger arose to Spain in the Moriscoes, the descendants of the Moors who had remained in the kingdom of Granada after the Christian reconquest of the country. Under compulsion they had accepted, or rather had feigned acceptation of, Christianity. At heart they remained the implacable enemies of the Christian Spaniards from whom they differed in language, dress, customs, ideas and sentiments. They constantly plotted with the foreign Mussulmans against the Spanish government. When Philip II resolved completely to nationalize them, and to this end forbade them the use of their own language and dress, they revolted and engaged in a bloody war with Spain. The struggle lasted for three years (1567–1570) and ended in their defeat. They were scattered among the other inhabitants of the kingdom and further united resistance was thus made impossible.

## II. Philip II and the Netherlands

**58. The Netherlands at Philip's Accession.**—The Netherlands, over which Philip II ruled, comprised not only the present Kingdoms of Holland and Belgium but also part of northern France. They were divided into seventeen provinces and exhibited important differences in race, manners,

customs, and rights between the predominantly Latin and more prosperous South and the predominantly Germanic and more independent North. The North and South had never formed one homogeneous people, although politically they were long united. They were at this time bound together by a common and obstinate attachment to their extensive liberties. Charles V had respected, or at least had appeared to respect, these liberties. A Fleming himself, he felt at home in the Netherlands where he spent his happiest days.

The attitude of Philip II was entirely different. He was a foreigner and stranger in the Low Countries. His haughtiness and reserve were in marked contrast to the free and easy manner of his father. He was never at home except in the company of his Spanish courtiers, who differed in such a striking manner from the Flemish nobility. He could not understand that the local liberties, rights, and privileges should be respected, and only remembered his uniform policy of establishing his absolute rule over all his subjects. The Netherlands were to be ruled by him, a foreigner, and his royal council, from Madrid. The Spanish officials whom he sent to the country and the Spanish soldiers whom he maintained there were sufficient proof of his intentions and a serious grievance in the eyes of the inhabitants. The revolt in the Netherlands was first and foremost a political struggle between a free people and a ruler seeking unlimited power.

**59. The Compromise of Breda (1565); Insurrection.**—The danger of the political situation was intensified by religious unrest. Heresy had at an early date gained a foothold in the Netherlands. The country's geographical position favored its spread. It was introduced by foreign merchants, by the regiments of Swiss and Germans in Charles V's service, by fugitives from England who fled from the persecution of Queen Mary. The border country was in the east infected by the Lutheranism of Germany, in the west

by the Calvinism of France. To safeguard the faith of his subjects, Charles V enacted a series of penal laws called *Placards*. These edicts were an attempt to regulate the whole sphere of social and economic life with the object of checking the spread of heresy. Charles V applied the new measures on the whole with moderation and discretion.

Philip II, on the contrary, proceeded with harshness and established the Inquisition. A deputation was sent from the Netherlands to Spain to request the repeal or milder application of the religious edicts. As it did not succeed in effecting a change in Philip's policy, the inhabitants took matters into their own hands. In 1565 some twenty members of the lesser nobility which, like the knights in Germany, found itself in straitened circumstances, formed an alliance or "compromise" at Breda. They were immediately joined by thousands of adherents, noblemen and burghers, Catholics and Protestants. A demand for the suppression of the religious edicts made in their name was answered only by insignificant concessions. The refusal caused an outbreak of Protestant fanaticism. Calvinist preachers incited the people to rebellion and irresponsible bands scoured the country, wrecking and pillaging churches, destroying statues and mutilating pictures. Four hundred churches were plundered in a few days.

Such terrorism disgusted the better element of the population who loyally supported the government in the suppression of the disorders. All opposition could, at this juncture, have easily been suppressed by Philip II. Discretion and clemency was all that was needed to restore harmony between him and his Netherland subjects. He adopted a policy of revenge instead, and sent the Duke of Alva to the Low Countries with 10,000 Spanish veterans to avenge the contemned royal authority and outraged religion.

**60. The Duke of Alva; the Insurrection becomes General (1572).**—Of all the Spanish nobles, Alva who "knew only two weapons, the sword and the stake," was the most

unpopular in the Netherlands. Upon his arrival he organized the *Council of Troubles* better known as the "Council of Blood" to take the place of the existing tribunals. Its purpose was to investigate the causes of the recent disturbances and to bring the authors to punishment. Its proceedings were conspicuous by the absence of legal procedure. Warrants were issued for the arrest of many of the leading nobles, among them William of Orange, Egmont and Horn.

The first had anticipated this and sought safety in Germany. His companions were not so fortunate. They were taken prisoners while guests of the Duke of Alva, and delivered up to the executioner. Fearful of a similar fate, more than 100,000 Protestants are said to have emigrated with loss of property through confiscation. The imposition of enormous taxes to pay the Spanish troops stationed in the country drove the people to exasperation and provoked a general insurrection in 1572.

**61. William of Orange.**—The great leader in the insurrection was a German Protestant nobleman, William, Count of Nassau who, after inheriting the principality of Orange in southern France, was called William of Orange. He was a favorite of Charles V, who appointed him Lieutenant General of the Netherland troops at the age of twenty-two, and honored him with diplomatic as well as military distinctions. Ambitious and hypocritical, he was nevertheless a brave soldier and skilful diplomatist, a man who spoke little, but opportunely, and has become known as "William the Silent."

He coveted the position of Governor General of the Low Countries, but was passed over both by Charles V and Philip II. Frustrated in his hopes, he resolved to encourage the heretical party, to weaken Philip's government and to overthrow Spanish power. He determined, in other words, to become ruler of the Netherlands in his own name, since he could not rise to that position under Spanish domination. Religion, no doubt, played an important part in the struggle

which he waged against Spain; but primarily he was actuated by his own ambitious designs and not by religious convictions. His religious opinions conveniently adapted themselves to varying circumstances and opportunities: a Lutheran with the Germans, a Calvinist with the French, he changed his creed to suit his needs. Calculating, tenacious, and inaccessible to discouragement, he proved for twelve years an unconquerable adversary to the Spaniards. Philip II put a price on his head, and, in 1584, a bullet put an end to his life at the age of fifty-one.

**62. The Union of Utrecht (1579); the Proclamation of the Republic of the United Provinces (1581).**—At the beginning of the struggle the seventeen provinces made common cause against Spain and concluded an alliance at Ghent for the defense of their liberties, a union which, however, lasted only for a short time. In 1578 Alexander Farnese was sent, as governor, to the Netherlands. Both as a general and a statesman he was admirably suited for his position and task. In him, Orange found his match and fearful of losing all in seeking to gain all, he decided to confine his attention and energy to the northern part of the country.

He brought the seven northern provinces together in the Union of Utrecht and separated them permanently from the south. Calvinism became their official and exclusive religion, whereas the south remained attached to the Catholic faith. The Union of Utrecht marks the final separation between the present Kingdoms of Holland and Belgium. It was soon followed by a formal declaration of independence and the proclamation of the Republic of the United Provinces (1581).

**63. The Southern Provinces remain Spanish; The Independence of the North is recognized by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648).**—While these events were taking place in the north, Farnese successfully united the south, kept it under control, and ultimately saved it for Spain. When

assassination removed the prince of Orange from the struggle, the skilful governor could entertain well-founded hopes of also accomplishing the conquest of the northern provinces. But owing to Philip's unfortunate meddling, an excellent opportunity was again lost. Philip seriously hindered the governor's administration, interfered with his military operations and prevented the reconquest of the north.

Indulged in wild dreams of foreign conquest, he neglected the Netherlands in an attempt to gain sway over England and France. Farnese, the best governor the country ever had, was left without resources and unrewarded for his unselfish loyalty. Neither he nor Philip II lived to see the end of the war. Under Philip II's successor Spain concluded a twelve-year truce with the Netherlands (1609). After its expiration the war was resumed and lasted for twenty-seven years more. The independence of the Netherlands was not formally recognized until the Treaty of Westphalia.

**64. Material Prosperity and Artistic Development of the Netherlands.**—Despite the destruction and horrors of a protracted war, the seventeenth century was a flourishing period from a material and artistic standpoint in the history of the Netherlands. The diminutive Republic of the United Provinces played a leading part in the history of that century. It was without doubt the greatest sea power of the day and owed its commanding position, like Carthage in ancient times and Venice in the Middle Ages, to its wealth and carrying trade. During the war with Spain the Dutch seamen attacked and captured Spanish treasure ships. After Philip II united Portugal with his dominions, the Portuguese markets and ports were closed to traders from the Netherlands. To secure the spices which they had formerly obtained from Lisbon, the Dutch organized voyages to the East Indies and laid the foundation of colonial greatness. Cape Colony, Ceylon, and the Sunda Islands were captured from the Portuguese, and in 1606 Australia, which

they called New Holland, was discovered by their navigators. Encouraged by these successes in the East, they extended their enterprises westward, founding the colony of New Netherlands (New York).

Wealthy and industrious, the Netherlands were also one of the most brilliant artistic centers in Europe. One of the greatest painters of all time, *Rembrandt* (d. 1660), flourished during this period, as did the great landscape artist James Ruysdael. In the Spanish Netherlands, the highly cultured *Rubens* won renown as the greatest painter of the Counter-Reformation. His most illustrious disciple was Anthony Van Dyck, who spent most of his life at the English court of Charles I.

## III. Spain's Foreign Relations Under Philip II

**65. Philip II and the Turks; Christian Victory at Lepanto (October 7, 1571).**—Philip II had three great enemies abroad: (1) *Islam;* (2) *England*; (3) *France.* Islam was a danger especially in the Mediterranean. The Turks controlled the sea, which was also infested by other Mohammedans, the Barbary pirates. Both were a constant danger to shipping, and the Christians were suffering daily more and more from the preponderating power of the former and the piratical raids of the latter. Additional Christian states seemed to be in danger of falling into the hands of the Turks, the island of Cyprus,in particular,being attacked at this time.

Spurred on to greater efforts for the organization of a crusade against this ever-increasing danger, Pope Pius V united Spain, Venice and Genoa in a Holy League against the Ottoman power. A great naval expedition of 230 galleys was organized by this alliance under the direction of the Pope and under the command of Don John of Austria. Don John met the Turkish fleet of about equal strength off the western coast of Greece near Lepanto, and in a hard-fought battle utterly destroyed it. Fifteen Turkish ships

were sunk and one hundred and seventy-seven were captured; between 20,000 and 30,000 Turks were killed or wounded; and about 13,000 Christian slaves, rowers on the Turkish galleys, were set free (October 7, 1571).

The brilliant victory was hailed with enthusiasm and celebrated with thanksgiving in the whole Christian world. As it was achieved on the very day on which the Roman Rosary confraternity offered solemn prayers for the success of the Christian fleet, the Feast of the Most Holy Rosary was established in commemoration of this signal triumph of Christianity over Islam. Although the victory was not used to full advantage, because it was followed by divisions among the Christians and by the death of Pius V, it was nevertheless a heavy blow to Turkish power and arrested for a time the western advance of the Turks.

**66. Philip II and England; the Invincible Armada (1588).**— At the beginning of his reign, Philip, married to Queen Mary Tudor, had been supported by England as an ally. Mary's death a few years later put an end to this political cooperation. Philip had hoped to continue it by his fantastic scheme of marriage with Queen Elizabeth. This plan became impossible when Elizabeth adopted an out-and-out Protestant policy. There could be neither matrimonial alliance nor political cooperation between the staunchest Catholic monarch and the most powerful Protestant sovereign. Serious difficulties soon disturbed their mutual relations owing to the fact that Elizabeth furnished help to Philip's rebel provinces of the Netherlands and that English freebooters constantly attacked the Spanish Main.

To end these outrages, Philip resolved on the destruction of England. An enormous fleet, now generally known as the *Invincible Armada*, was fitted out at Lisbon for an invasion of the island kingdom. It consisted of 132 ships manned by 10,000 sailors and carrying over 20,000 soldiers. The expedition was first to proceed to the Netherlands and join another army of 20,000 men mobilized by Alexander

Farnese. It sailed in May, 1588, but was almost immediately forced to refit in a Spanish harbor and did not reach the English Channel until July. In the Channel, although constantly harassed by the lighter and swifter British craft, it proceeded to Calais and anchored in the roadstead without suffering any considerable damage.

While lying at anchor here the cumbersome fleet was attacked by British fireships which drifted into its midst with the tide. The Spaniards, prepared for this danger, slipped their cables and put to sea, but sustained some losses from collisions. The battle off Gravelines followed, in which they fought bravely, but were outclassed and defeated. Their commander-in-chief decided after this reverse to sail around the north coast of Great Britain back to Spain. The expedition was, however, utterly unprepared for this difficult passage, for which it had neither charts nor pilot. Storms increased the losses already sustained. The attempt ended in failure. On arrival in Spain, half the fleet had been lost, three-quarters of the men had perished, and not a single Spaniard had set foot on English soil.

**67. The Defeat of the Armada was not an Irreparable Blow to Spanish Power.**—Severe as was the defeat, it did not appear to contemporaries as an epoch-making event, and its effects were greatly exaggerated in subsequent centuries. Posterity too readily believed that the fleet was vastly superior to anything that England could oppose to it, that fatuous Spanish pride named it the Invincible Armada, and that it was a highly efficient instrument of war.

Such a belief, however, can be based on no solid grounds. The only superiority of the Spanish vessels over the British was in size. The epithet "Invincible" was not applied by the Spaniards, but used in derision by English pamphleteers. The ill-fated expedition was, in reality, badly organized, the unwieldy fleet poorly equipped, the Spanish artillery inferior and the chief command of the Armada conspicuous by its incompetence. Through the defeat Spain suffered

in truth a considerable loss, but in no way sustained an irretrievable disaster.

**68. Philip II and France.**—Philip II had inherited from his father Charles V a war with France. It was concluded by a treaty signed in 1559, which was followed by a comparatively long period of peace. A new war occurred towards the end of his reign and was waged by the Spanish monarch for territorial, dynastic and religious reasons. The territorial cause had its origin in the Netherlands, where the French encouraged rebellion and hoped to make conquests at Philip's expense. The dynastic trouble arose from Philip's ambitious dream to place on the French throne Isabella, the offspring of his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II of France. As to religion, the long-drawn-out conflict between Catholics and Huguenots assumed a much wider significance when in 1589 the Protestant Henry IV laid claim to the French throne.

Philip from then on actively supported the Catholics by furnishing money and sending men. His able general Alexander Farnese, advancing from the Netherlands, twice saved Paris from the Huguenots. Although it was Henry's conversion to the Catholic Church which finally settled the religious issue, Philip's help had nevertheless contributed very considerably to the advancement of Catholic interests in France.

**69. The Acquisition of Portugal (1580).**—Philip's loss of the Low Countries was more than compensated for by his acquisition of Portugal and its vast colonial empire. Portugal was ruled until 1578 by the chivalrous Sebastian who in that year undertook an expedition to northern Africa and perished in the imprudent venture. Sebastian left as only successor his uncle, Cardinal Henry, a feeble old man who soon followed him to the grave (1580).

The crown now rightfully belonged to Philip II, a son of the royal princess Isabella of Portugal. He secured it partly by force and partly by bribery, for the Portuguese,

jealous of their national independence, submitted only with reluctance to the rule of a foreign prince. The acquisition of the new kingdom added enormously to Philip's political power, for he became ruler also of the Portuguese colonies, adding to his dominions Brazil, various African and Indian settlements and the famous Spice Islands.

## IV. Philip II's Successors (1598–1665)

**70. Philip III (1598–1621) and Philip IV (1621–1665).**— When Philip II died Spain's internal conditions were of the worst; agriculture was prostrate; industry was destroyed; and the inhabitants were impoverished. Philip's ambition had been to make Spain the most powerful nation in the world; in reality he inaugurated the period of her decline. When he died Spain still had a powerful army and a great name. But a large army cannot long be maintained without considerable economic resources, and an illustrious name is a handicap if indolently cherished as a memory rather than confidently relied on as an incentive to noble deeds. Under Philip's immediate successors the existing internal evils were aggravated. The new rulers, Philip III and Philip IV, continued to pursue his fantastic aims, but lacked his administrative talent and capacity for constant work.

The wars waged by Philip III increased poverty and suffering at home, and resulted in no corresponding advantage abroad. The Catholic Church and the Spanish monarchy, the two great causes for which the wars were fought, reaped but little benefit from them. The king's commendable attempt to bring relief to the Catholics of Ireland by sending an expedition to their assistance, ended in miserable failure, and his support of the emperor and the German Catholics in the first period of the Thirty Years' War produced no lasting results. In Spain the expulsion of the troublesome Moriscoes from the country secured religious unity and increased national security, but the departure of half a million of these industrious people brought great material and

ST. ANTHONY (*Murillo*)

economic loss to the kingdom at a time when new revenues were urgently needed.

Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that the reign of Philip IV was marked by insurrections. An arbitrary attempt made by him to introduce new taxes led to an uprising in Catalonia which lasted for ten years. In Portugal the oppression of the Spanish governors caused a revolution which culminated in the secession of the country from Spain and in the accession of the House of Braganza to the Portuguese throne. In both insurrections the rebels were abetted and supported by France and England, the two enemies, who sought to increase their own power by the defeat of a still dreaded rival.

**71. The Golden Age of Spanish Literature and Art.**—The sixteenth century was a flourishing period in the history of Spanish letters and art. The literary and artistic revival which occurred was largely influenced by the frequent relations of the country with Italy, and reached its full fruition in the seventeenth century when the political decline had already set in.

The most illustrious Spanish novelist is *Cervantes*, who was born in 1547 and died in the same year as Shakespeare, 1616. His satirical romance, *Don Quixote de la Manca*, generally called more briefly "Don Quixote," ridicules the inordinate love of his countrymen for books of chivalry, their vain glory, pretentiousness and hankering after romance and adventure. Not only romantic literature but the drama also reached a very high degree of excellence at this time. The leading Spanish poets in this class of literary production were the two Catholic priests, *Lope de Vega* and *Calderon*, the latter of whom must be ranked among the first of all dramatists.

In art, the two contemporaries, *Velasquez* and *Murillo*, deserve especial mention. The former was a famous portrait painter, whereas the latter is chiefly known for his Madonnas. Murillo delighted in painting the Immaculate

Virgin in all the splendor and magnificence of her heavenly glory. Calderon's dramas and Murillo's paintings give vivid expression to the lively faith and ardent love which characterized the Catholic revival in Spain

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# CHAPTER V

## ENGLAND UNDER QUEEN ELIZABETH (1558–1603)

## I. Elizabeth's Character; The Religious Settlement

**72. The Character of Queen Elizabeth.**—Elizabeth, a daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, was three years old when her mother was sent to the block and beheaded by Henry's orders. The king nevertheless named her among his eventual successors and, at Queen Mary's death, Elizabeth, who was then in her twenty-fifth year, ascended the throne. Her reign, extending over almost half a century, was one of the most important in English history.

That England became at the time a leading and prosperous nation, largely accounts for Elizabeth's extraordinary and undeserved popularity, for national success must not blind us to the queen's vicious character, unfair methods and vulgar personality. Distinguished neither by striking beauty, nor charming manners, Elizabeth inherited from her mother her vanity, passion for jewels and love of display and gorgeous pageants. Educated at the cultured court of Henry VIII, she received an excellent mental training. She was proficient in the study of French and Latin, had a fair knowledge of Greek and possessed a smattering of Italian and Spanish. But, though possessed of good education, she utterly lacked refinement; her language was coarse and vulgar, at times on most solemn occasions, she swore like a trooper, and, further disregarding royal majesty and womanly dignity, used her fists against her opponents as when she boxed the ears of one of her noblemen.

A leading trait in her character was her hypocrisy which she partly inherited from her most hypocritical father and partly acquired during the years of her imprisonment under Mary. "Nothing is more revolting in the queen, but noth-

ing is more characteristic, than her shameful mendacity. It was an age of political lying, but in the profusion and recklessness of her lies Elizabeth stood without a peer in Christendom."[1] Her ignoble trickery helped her to achieve political success.

Another asset of her strength was her cold, calculating temperament. While she was sensual and pleasure-loving, passion or imagination never interfered with her intellectual conclusions or political schemes. In the choice of men to carry on the government she showed unerring judgment. Her insincere flirtations with princes who sought her hand gratified her vanity and advanced her political interests. She cherished no high ideals, pursued no grandiose schemes but sought to realize what was attainable. In this lies the secret of her success. Her fickleness, irresolution, delays, trickery, and again her sudden acts of energy and obstinate determination baffled contemporary statesmen to such a degree that the Spanish ambassador, acknowledging his inability to unravel her character, wrote: "This woman is possessed of a hundred thousand devils."

In religion, Elizabeth had no convictions of any sort. She had imbibed the intellectual tastes of the Renaissance, not the ardent zeal of a period of religious controversy. She was pagan rather than Christian in temperament, inclination and judgment. She professed Protestantism under Edward and was apparently a fervent Catholic under Mary. At her accession she was crowned by a Catholic bishop and swore to maintain the Catholic religion. The ceremony over, she began to favor the Protestant party, not through religious preference, but through considerations of self-interest.

**73. Religious and Political Conditions at Her Accession; The Religious Settlement.**—Queen Elizabeth assumed the government under difficult circumstances. England was still at war with France; the royal treasury was empty, and the religious question, acute since the reign of Henry VIII,

[1] Green, *Short History of the English People*, p. 372.

still awaited permanent settlement. The new queen set herself to the task of finding a solution to these troublesome problems. A conference of French and British delegates met in 1559 and signed a treaty of peace in which Calais was ceded to France. The treaty had the double advantage of leaving the queen free abroad and of relieving the financial distress by ending the heavy war expenses.

Elizabeth did not openly and violently break with the Marian settlement; it became soon apparent, however, that her sympathies lay with the Protestants. She appointed several Protestant counselors and forbade the elevation of the Host in her presence at Mass. Her birth, regarded as illegitimate by the Catholic Church, naturally led her to assume an anti-Catholic attitude. She reformed, like her father, but for an entirely different reason: Henry VIII separated from Rome through lust, Elizabeth imposed Protestantism through self-interest. The Catholic Church, refusing to recognize her mother's marriage, considered her incapable of inheriting the crown. A niece of Henry VIII, Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, appeared in the eyes of the Catholics as the lawful heiress of the English throne. These circumstances explain, on the one hand, Elizabeth's religious policy, and, on the other, her fear of Mary Stuart as a rival claimant to the crown.

As soon as she was firmly seated on the throne she suppressed the laws which under her predecessor, Mary, had been passed in favor of the Catholic religion. She introduced and permanently established Anglicanism in England. This was accomplished by the following measures: (1) *The Act of Supremacy* (1559); (2) *The Act of Uniformity* (1559); (3) *the Thirty-Nine Articles* (1563). The Act of Supremacy abolished the spiritual authority of the Pope and substituted that of the sovereign. It affected jurisdiction. The Act of Uniformity suppressed the Mass and imposed everywhere the use of the second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. It affected worship and established *uniform* religious service.

The Thirty-Nine Articles were a revision of the forty-two published under Edward and contained the creed of the new church. They affected belief and were to be binding on all Englishmen.

**74. Character of the Anglican Church.**—The new religious settlement contained a singular mixture of Calvinism and Catholicism. It was Calvinistic in belief and largely Catholic in organization. After Mary's death, Protestant preachers flocked back to England from Geneva imbued with the ideas of the Genevese reformer. The new church established by Queen Elizabeth adopted, to a very considerable extent, their Calvinistic doctrinal principles and deviated from Catholic teaching and practise in several essential points.

It rejected the papal primacy, denied the sacrificial office of the episcopate and priesthood, denounced the Mass as a blasphemous invention, and considered the Eucharist merely as a communion service in which Christ is not really received and ought not to be truly worshipped. It further rejected the invocation of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, condemned the veneration of relics, denied the existence of Purgatory, and set no value on indulgences. The altars were replaced by tables, monastic vows declared worse than useless, and the celibacy of the clergy was abolished.

In spite of these radical changes in doctrine, the Catholic hierarchical organization, composed of bishops and priests, was retained. The new ecclesiastical government was a reproduction of the Catholic system minus the Pope. To this day the Anglican Church in England and its offshoot, the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, retain the titles of bishop and priest. From a Catholic point of view, however, their clergymen are bishops and priests only in name. They have neither episcopal nor priestly character or power. Such has been the case ever since the time of Elizabeth.

**75. Invalidity of Anglican Orders.**—Not even in the time of Queen Elizabeth did the Anglican Church have a real

priesthood; the ordinations which it conferred were invalid from the very beginning. Elizabeth appointed her own ministers of religion owing to the refusal of the Catholic clergy to accept the Act of Supremacy. But it was easier to appoint to office than to give priestly ordination or to confer episcopal consecration. She chose Matthew Parker as archbishop of Canterbury. He is the fountainhead from which all subsequent Anglican Orders were derived. As he himself received no valid consecration, he could not confer it on others, so that all orders of the Anglican Establishment are null and void.

Parker's consecration was invalid because, even if William Barlow, who performed it, was a real bishop, which is doubtful, the latter certainly did not intend to confer consecration in the Catholic sense and used a formula which did not express and therefore could not impart the supernatural power vested in the true priesthood as instituted by Jesus Christ. For these reasons Pope Leo XIII in 1896 pronounced Anglican Orders null and void.

**76. Position of Catholics during the Reign; Result of Elizabeth's Religious Policy.**—After the passage of the Act of Uniformity, many Catholics attended the Protestant services without accepting at heart Elizabeth's religious settlement. The Council of Trent forbade attendance at heretical church service, and the position of Catholics became more and more difficult as years went by. They were particularly viewed with suspicion and persecuted after Pope Pius V had pronounced, in 1570, Elizabeth's excommunication and deposition. New penal statutes followed and the enforcement of anti-Catholic laws became more rigorous. The procuring of bulls from Rome was forbidden under penalty of death; absence from the Anglican service was punishable by a fine of 20 pounds per month; many priests were ordered in 1585 to leave the country under pain of death and persons who harbored them were liable to the same penalty.

For a period of at least twenty years of the reign, torments of the most revolting kind were visited upon Catholic men and women. These were frequently accused of and punished for treason, although they sincerely acknowledged the political authority of the queen, whose religious creed they were bound in conscience to reject. About 221 Catholics were executed during the reign in accordance with the provisions of such laws. The number appears inconsiderable; some victims, however, died in prison, while many others lost their possessions through confiscation. Elizabeth excluded Catholics from all public offices, all positions of trust, and, so far as she could, from the culture of the day. She unmercifully sought to eradicate Catholicism in England, and though she did not succeed in her policy, she reduced its influence for centuries. As this policy of persecution was long continued, Catholics gradually came to form in England a religious body, insignificant in numbers, inferior in position, and negligible in influence.

As the education of Catholic priests was impossible in the kingdom, a seminary for their training was established by Cardinal William Allen at Douay in the Netherlands and played, in the following centuries, an important rôle in the religious and literary history of English Catholics.

## II. Queen Elizabeth and Mary, Queen of Scots; England and Ireland

**77. Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots (1542–1587).**—The difficult position of the Catholics under Elizabeth directed their thoughts more and more to the rights of Mary Stuart upon their allegiance. As a result, religious antagonism and political rivalry between the two queens constantly grew and ultimately ended in the unjust imprisonment and tragic end of Mary Stuart.

Mary Stuart (1542–1587) was six days old when her father died, leaving to her the throne of Scotland. At the age of six years, she was sent to the continent to be educated

at the French court. Nature had lavishly endowed her with the most brilliant gifts of mind and body. Her striking beauty, charming manners, cultured mental powers, brilliant conversation, sunny disposition and dauntless courage exercised over all those who approached her, her enemies included, an extraordinary power of attraction and fascination. At the age of seventeen, she was Queen of France and Scotland. Few women in history have known, like her, the height of earthly power and the depth of human sorrow. The death of her first husband, King Francis II of France, in 1560 left her a widow at the age of eighteen. Full of sadness and misgivings, she left France, where she had spent the happiest days of her life, to return to Scotland at a time when John Knox and the Reformation had triumphed there.

**78. Mary Stuart marries Lord Darnley (1565).**—A defenseless and at times imprudent young woman, attracted more by brilliant external qualities than by solid worth, she was thrown into the turmoil of the base intrigues and violent strivings for power so prevalent in Scottish politics. She was not only handicapped by her political inexperience and the unpopularity of her Catholic religion, but also had to deal with a coarse nobility and ignorant populace whose violent instincts had been aroused to the highest pitch by religious fanaticism. Casting about for support, she sought to find it in a second husband. Her choice fell on her Catholic cousin, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley. In marrying him she hoped not only to consolidate her power, but also to restore the Catholic religion in Scotland and perhaps to win the English throne.

She had made an unfortunate choice. Darnley was a boy of nineteen, stupid and probably vicious. Instead of finding in him the counselor and defender she needed, she had merely added another burden to her already numerous cares. Having made the mistake of taking him as husband, she did not commit the further blunder of intrusting him with the government. Darnley, however, as ambitious as

he was incapable, desired not merely to be prince-consort, but to receive the crown matrimonial and be recognized as king. Rebuffed by the queen, who absolutely refused to yield to his entreaties, Darnley attributed this resistance to the influence of one of her secretaries, the Italian David Rizzio, and entered into a conspiracy to put the latter out of the way. One evening the plotters surrounded the royal palace, were admitted into the building by Darnley and led to the part reserved for the queen. The latter was at supper with Rizzio and some guests. The conspirators seized the Italian, who was frantically grasping at Mary's skirts for protection, dragged him to the door of the room and stabbed him to death (March 9, 1566.)

**79. Darnley is killed; Mary marries the Earl of Bothwell.** —The murder of Rizzio, far from advancing Darnley's political interests, only served to make enemies for him. The queen could less than ever favorably consider his demands; and, as he could neither confer power nor wealth upon his former confederates, these soon turned against him and formed a second plot, this time to destroy him who had been their leader. They blew up with gunpowder the house outside Edinburgh where he had taken up his lodgings and, although the explosion probably did not kill him, he was found dead a short distance from the scene of the crime. It is likely that he was strangled in an attempt to effect his escape.

The crime was the work of the nobility; but the names of the authors remained unknown. The popular voice soon pronounced the name of the Earl of Bothwell as the principal criminal. It is certain that Bothwell profited most by the dastardly deed, for he soon forced the queen to promise to marry him and the wedding actually took place three months after Darnley's death. The new marriage lent color to the rumor that Mary had been involved in the conspiracy and lowered her in the favor of the people, who considered her new matrimonial venture a disgrace. It is impossible to state positively what share Mary had in the plot, but she

seems to have been a participant in some minor though still undetermined degree.

**80. Mary's Relations with Queen Elizabeth.**—Mary's new marriage, whether freely contracted or imposed by force, was no happier than her union with Darnley. Far from strengthening her political position, it caused a new uprising of the nobility against her and her new husband Bothwell. Both sides raised troops for the struggle and the contending forces met at Carberry Hill. The issue was decided, however, not by a battle but by a compromise in which the confederate lords promised to let Bothwell go free, while Mary placed herself "in their hands," thinking that she should be treated as queen. She was, however, subjected to insults and held in captivity. After eleven months spent as a prisoner, she succeeded in making her escape and raised an army to defend her freedom and vindicate her rights. Her troops were defeated at Langside (May 13, 1568) and she fled to England where she expected a friendly reception from her cousin Elizabeth.

Instead of generous hospitality she found a prison. Her captivity lasted nineteen years and became more and more rigorous when attempts were made by the English Catholics to overthrow Elizabeth and bestow the crown on her unjustly detained victim. In 1586, a plot was discovered by the English government which had the twofold object of freeing Mary Stuart and killing Elizabeth. Mary was accused of having participated in the plot against her cousin. A mockery of a trial was held in which the judges eventually pronounced the sentence which was expected of them: Mary was declared guilty of conspiring against the life of the English Queen. From the point of view of judicial procedure the methods followed in the trial were not such as would engender confidence in the justice of the verdict. Mary was heard, alone, at Fotheringay where she was then detained; the witnesses against her gave their evidence at Westminster, where she was not allowed to be present.

From first to last, Mary admitted that she had sought to win back her freedom and would continue to do so to the end; such efforts were evidently perfectly legitimate. At the same time, she always solemnly declared her innocence of any attempt on Elizabeth's life. "I am innocent," she protested, "God knows it. My only crimes are my birth, the injuries which I have received and the religion which I profess. Of my birth I am proud, and as for my religion it has been my hope and consolation in my afflictions, and I am ready to seal it with my blood. I should be happy, at that price, to purchase relief for the oppressed Catholics."

**81. The Execution of Mary Stuart (February 8, 1587).**— Even after a verdict of guilty had been rendered, Elizabeth, although she desired Mary's death, shrank for a time from the execution of a queen, who was moreover her own relative. She feared that a cry of horror would go up from all Christendom at the news of such an unheard-of execution. Secret assassination seemed less likely to involve her in difficulties and was determined upon. It could be cleverly palmed off as self-inflicted death or entirely blamed on others. The suggestion that the assassination of the prisoner would be agreeable to Elizabeth, was conveyed to Mary's jailer.

A rough and hard, but honest man, the jailer refused to commit such an abominable deed, and nothing remained but to send royal commissioners to Fotheringay for the execution. They arrived there February 7, 1587, and at once demanded to see Mary. The latter lay ill in bed, but, on being informed that their business was urgent, she rose and, seated on a couch at the foot of her bed, received the Elizabethan envoys. She was informed that the sentence of death which had been pronounced against her was to be carried out next morning, because her existence endangered the safety of the state, the life of Queen Elizabeth and the existence of the Protestant religion. She received the news with calm cheerfulness and holy resignation and asked for permission that her confessor might be with her and help her to prepare for death. The

request was brutally refused and she was urged to confer with a Protestant clergyman, a suggestion which she indignantly rejected. The following morning the innocent victim went to the block with that majestic dignity and dauntless courage which she had manifested throughout the trial, pursued to her very last breath by the relentless cruelties of her enemies. No Catholic priest was permitted to comfort her in her last hour, but a Protestant clergyman attempted to force his tactless exhortations on the protesting queen. In order not to hear his voice, she prayed aloud on the scaffold. The executioner, either through excitement or lack of skill, merely made an ugly wound by the first blow and only severed her head from her body at the third stroke. It was on February 8, 1587, that the brilliant and unhappy Mary Stuart magnanimously gave her life for the true faith.

Thus lived and died that beautiful queen of the French and of the Scots, strange mixture of human frailty and almost saintly virtue. If it can truly be said that the matrimonial entanglements of her checkered career sullied the purity of her name, it can no less truly be asserted that the holy death which she suffered so nobly and so courageously, expiated that stain in the sight of God and man.

**82. Ireland under Henry VIII, Edward VI and Queen Mary.**—Although part of Ireland had come under English authority as early as the twelfth century, the English kings exercised little control in the country until the Tudor Dynasty ascended the throne. The very first king of this line, Henry VII, attached real practical meaning to his title of Lord of Ireland and exercised effective power in the Emerald Isle. His son, Henry VIII, too busy with continental, English and household affairs, did not at first devote much attention to Irish concerns, but after his separation from Rome, he attempted to assert his political authority and to impose his schismatic religious settlement.

An important Irish Parliament was held at Dublin in 1541, and, like the Parliament in London, was completely con-

trolled by Henry VIII. So far such assemblies had been composed exclusively of Anglo-Norman lords; at this meeting Irish chieftains attended for the first time. The assembly substituted for the designation of Lord of Ireland, applied to the English king, the more pretentious title of King of Ireland. It also passed the Act of Supremacy, transferring the authority of the Pope to Henry and his successors.

A new source of discord, *religious division*, was thus added to the already existing differences between the Irish and the English. As the clergy refused to recognize the king's religious authority, Henry, in his Irish as in his English dominions, confiscated the property of the Church and suppressed the monasteries. He found a willing tool to carry out his policy in the apostate friar, George Browne, whom he raised to the see of Dublin. The latter's appointment and activity, however, did not produce the same results as the selection of Cranmer for the archbishopric of Canterbury.

In spite of Browne's advocacy of the schism, clergy and people obstinately refused to accept the new teaching which had made practically no progress in Ireland at Henry's death. Under Edward VI this determined resistance continued. In order to break it the Catholic clergy were deprived of their livings and Protestants appointed in their places; but these teachers of heresy secured no following, and Anglicanism did not spread among the people. Queen Mary followed Edward on the English throne. She reestablished the Catholic hierarchy, restored Catholic worship and everything was again Catholic in Ireland at Elizabeth's accession.

**83. Ireland under Queen Elizabeth.**—Queen Elizabeth made new efforts to impose on Ireland English domination and the Protestant religion. As she stopped at no measures, however barbarous, her policy resulted in the three insurrections of *Shane O' Neil, the Geraldines*, and *Hugh O' Neil, Earl of Tyrone.*

1. *The Insurrection of Shane O'Neil.*—The O'Neils were rivals of the O'Donnells in Ulster. The English government gave its support to the O'Neils and conferred on the head of this clan the title of Earl of Tyrone. When the first bearer of the title died, it was claimed by his two sons, Matthew and Shane. The former was recognized by Elizabeth, the latter acknowledged by the clan. Shane proceeded to the English court and extorted recognition of himself from the queen. Peace seemed to be securely established in the province when, owing to the intrigues and treachery of the English government, Shane O'Neil rebelled. In the war which followed he displayed considerable military talent and defended himself ably against the English forces sent against him. But he had to fight at the same time the rival O'Donnells who overthrew him. Shortly after his defeat, the sword of an Irish assassin delivered Elizabeth from her dreaded adversary (1567).

2. *The Rising of the Geraldines.*—The rising in the north was followed by a rebellion of the Geraldines in the south. The Fitzgeralds, a Norman-Irish family, rose against the English crown in the province of Munster. Ardently national and Catholic, they formed an alliance with Spain and the Pope, but had little success. Among the notable events of the insurrection was the brutal massacre by English troops of the garrison of Smerwick after the fortress had surrendered. When order was restored in the province, a cruel but unsuccessful attempt was made to colonize Munster with English and Scottish Protestants. This scheme of "planting Ireland" by despoiling the Irish inhabitants of their land and bestowing it on foreign colonists was long continued as an English policy.

3. *The Rebellion of Hugh O'Neil.*—The most important insurrection of the reign was that of Hugh O'Neil, a nephew of Shane O'Neil. North and south Ireland rose together and the movement was not merely local, but national in character. Hugh O'Neil, who had been educated in England

and was remarkable both for his diplomatic and military talent, interested Spain and Rome in the war. Queen Elizabeth, in face of the danger, sent her own favorite, the Earl of Essex, against the revolutionists and, overcoming her parsimonious inclinations, placed at his disposal comparatively large resources in men and money. Essex, however, lost many men through disease, wasted his time and resources, consented to a humiliating truce, and returned to England in a vain attempt to justify his conduct. He was succeeded by Lord Montjoy under whose leadership the fortunes of war changed and English authority was restored. A Spanish auxiliary force of 4,000 men in vain effected a landing in Ireland and occupied Kinsale. They were besieged by the English troops and forced to reembark. Their departure was followed shortly by the submission of Hugh O'Neil and the conclusion of peace.

Peace, however, did not bring freedom from vexation to the Irish lords. A war of calumny and intrigue was carried on against them and, to escape it, many of them fled the country and settled in France, Austria and Spain. This flight of the earls partly accounts for the presence of illustrious Irish names in the annals of these countries. As to the fate of religion in Ireland it is needless to add that in spite of assassination, execution, starvation and confiscation, the Irish remained loyal to the true faith as preached by St. Patrick.

## III. Struggle Against Spain

**84. The Struggle against Spain.**—During Elizabeth's reign, English power and influence were employed abroad in favor of Protestantism. In affording aid to the new faith everywhere, the queen was actuated chiefly by motives of interest and not by religious convictions which she did not possess. Practical, thrifty and selfish, she considered exclusively the temporal and particular interests of her kingdom. Her support of the Huguenots in France at the beginning of

the religious wars had the twofold advantage of weakening a rival power and of avenging the loss of Calais. The assistance in men and money sent to the Protestant Henry IV at a later date was a contribution for war against her own enemy, Philip II of Spain.

The struggle against Spain formed at the time the dominant element in English foreign relations. It was first carried on in a sly and hypocritical manner. Generally popular with the English people, it was imposed on Elizabeth rather than initiated by her. It assumed divers forms and manifested itself in various parts of the world. Whether the English ports served as refuge to the ships of the rebel Netherlands or English privateers seized Spanish ships, plundered Spanish colonies or attacked the Spanish coast the aim was ever to cripple and, if possible, to destroy Spanish power. Piracy became a flourishing business by which the queen herself profited and which she more or less openly encouraged. First indulged in at the expense of the Spaniards, in European waters, it was soon carried on over the whole Atlantic Ocean and extended to the American colonies.

**85. Sir Francis Drake (1545–1596) attacks Spanish Ships and Settlements.**—The most widely known of the bold, but unscrupulous sea rovers of the time was Sir Francis Drake who at the age of twenty-eight had successfully carried out two raids on Spanish treasure houses at Panama. He sailed in 1577 with five ships to the Spanish Main, passed to the west coast of the American continent, plundering the Spanish settlements as he went, crossed the Pacific and returned to Plymouth with enormous treasure in 1580. While the Spanish ambassador protested against his depredations and brigandage, Queen Elizabeth knighted him for his exploits, dined with him on board his ship and, as was her wont on such occurrences, accepted for herself valuable donations of the precious loot.

A few years later, Drake again sailed for the West Indies,

returning with vessels laden with treasures. About the same time Elizabeth openly made war upon Spain, sending her favorite, the Earl of Leicester, to the Netherlands with a small contingent of English troops. These acts of aggression, to which was added the execution of Mary Stuart in 1587, led to the dispatch of the Spanish Armada against England. The expedition failed. Eight years later an English expeditionary force, sent against Cadiz, defeated the Spanish fleet, plundered the harbor and sacked the city. The Spanish name thus more and more lost its terror for English seamen.

## IV. Maritime, Commercial, Artistic and Literary Activity

**86. English Explorers.**—The struggle with Spain and the revolution in the Netherlands resulted in a remarkable development of the English merchant marine. It is from the reign of Elizabeth that must be dated the foundation of that British sea power which was to become such a dominant factor in the history of modern times. A whole generation of dauntless English navigators now scoured and explored the Seven Seas. In the old world their voyages extended from the Gulf of Guinea, where John Hawkins made the atrocious but lucrative slave trade an almost exclusively English traffic, to the White Sea, where Richard Chancellor established direct communications with the yet uncivilized inhabitants of northern Russia.

In the new world, Martin Frobisher explored the waters around Labrador and discovered Hudson's Bay; John Davis entered the strait that bears his name and was soon followed by Henry Hudson and William Baffin also engaged in work of exploration. Sir Walter Raleigh made the first attempt to establish an English colony on the American continent in territory which he called Virginia in honor of Queen Elizabeth (1585).

**87. The Growth of English Industry and Commerce.**—The insurrection and unsettled conditions in the Netherlands disturbed the English woolen trade with that country. This unfavorable commercial situation resulted in immediate temporary loss, but led to permanent advantages to England. Thousands of Flemish weavers abandoned their native land, settled in England and made her a most important centre of textile industries. The number of these thrifty immigrants is said to have amounted to 30,000. They were given settlements by Elizabeth, on condition that they would employ each at least one apprentice. Under these circumstances cloth-making soon became a flourishing industry, and Lancashire a second Flanders. While the country formerly imported its woolen fabrics from the Netherlands, it was not long before it exported to these very markets.

Flemish weavers were followed by Flemish merchants who found England more peaceful and prosperous. Many traders from Antwerp settled in London where numerous commercial companies were organized, among them the important East India Company, established with Elizabeth's sanction. The increasing volume of commercial transactions made the establishment of a house of exchange desirable. A wealthy London merchant, Thomas Gresham, erected such a structure with which the queen was so pleased that she visited it in state and conferred on it the name of Royal Exchange. London soon became one of the most important commercial and financial centres of Europe.

**88. Architecture and Literature.**—Security, wealth and prosperity were attended, as is not infrequently the case, by active progress in art, literature, and science. Architecture particularly flourished under Elizabeth. The fortified castle had become useless and obsolete, since a united nation had been formed which was little exposed to the danger of internal disorder or foreign attack. As a result the military feature recedes into the background or is entirely neglected in the buildings of the period. They are designed with a

view to comfort rather than defense or security. The general prosperity is reflected alike in the castle of the nobleman, the manor of the country gentleman, and the dwelling of the peasant. All exhibit either greater luxury or notable progress in the conveniences they afford. A new style, which combines features of Gothic and classical art, is created and becomes known as the Tudor-Gothic style.

Great literary activity also marked the reign. The birth of vigorous national life, the spirit of adventure, the exploits of so many national heroes received suitable expression in the literature of the day. Richard Hakluyt celebrated the glory of England in his *Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries made by the English Nation.* His friend Walter Raleigh wrote a *History of the World.* Edmund Spenser, in a graceful allegorical poem, *The Faerie Queen,* sang the triumph of Protestantism and of his queen. The man, however, who towered above all his contemporaries of the Elizabethan age was William Shakespeare. He was not only the greatest English dramatist, but probably the greatest dramatist the Christian world has ever produced. In the sciences a name of similar importance, that of Sir Francis Bacon, the father of modern experimentation, added lustre to the reign.

**89. Character and End of Elizabeth's Reign.**—Such prosperity and success were made possible by the strong government which the Tudor dynasty had given to the country. The people ungrudgingly submitted to it as long as they needed the protecting hand of an effective administration. Parliament itself was for a long time hardly anything more than a submissive tool in the hands of absolute Tudor monarchs. Elizabeth, like her father, controlled everything in the state, religion and Parliament, as well as the administrative and executive governmental departments.

During her last years, however, her authority was not shown the same respect, nor her behests obeyed with the same promptness as in former days. Parliament became restive and showed tendencies to protest and resist. The

royal power and the representatives of the people were evidently on the eve of a conflict when Elizabeth breathed her last in 1603. She designated as heir to the throne James VI of Scotland who thus became the first King of Great Britain and Ireland.

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## CHAPTER VI

### PURITAN ENGLAND; THE FIRST TWO STUART KINGS (1603–1649)

## I. The Reign of James I. (1603–1625)

**90. Religious and Political Situation in England at James I's Accession (1603).**—Although the Anglican Church was firmly established in England when James I ascended the throne, the religious situation was one of great difficulty for the new sovereign. The Catholics, it is true, formed only a small minority, about one-twentieth of the people in the kingdom, and were no longer a power that had to be reckoned with. But among the people who had rejected the Catholic faith, no unity of religious sentiment existed. This division was the result of the twofold movement of Revolt which had taken place in the country in the sixteenth century.

An official Revolt had been carried out and imposed by the government, by Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth; on the other hand a popular, spontaneous Revolt had secretly taken place, but had not yet found expression in English political life. While the official Revolt had led to the establishment of the Anglican Church, the popular movement was represented by the Puritans, the Presbyterians and the Independents. These new sects were not in all points at variance with the Anglicans, but they were in some respects more logical and more radical. Queen Elizabeth had accepted and imposed a Calvinistic doctrine on the state church; but she had retained many Catholic features both in worship and church government. While the majority of her subjects had accepted this settlement, others felt that the queen had not gone far enough. It could hardly be otherwise since, on the one hand, many of her divines were completely imbued with Calvinistic views and accustomed to Calvinistic practises, and since, on the other

hand, Calvinism was predominant in the neighboring Kingdom of Scotland.

**91. The Puritans, Presbyterians and Independents.**—Among the persons dissatisfied with Elizabeth's settlement, some objected particularly to the retention of ancient Catholic ceremonial forms. They wished to introduce Calvinism into worship and were bitterly opposed to what they called "papist superstitions," such as the wearing of the surplice, the kneeling posture, and the sign of the Cross. They formed a Low Church party in the Anglican body. As they openly declared that their aim was to *purify* its worship they were called *Puritans*. This term was soon to be applied to all English Protestant Dissenters; originally, however, it designated the above-described party of the Anglican Church.

The Presbyterians went further in their demands than the Puritans. In their church, Calvinism was to be the dominant feature in doctrine, worship, and government. Not only did they favor the rejection of Catholic doctrine like the Anglicans, and the abolition of Catholic ceremonies like the Puritans, but they advocated also the suppression of the episcopate as a governing body. They admitted no higher authority in the church than the priests or *presbyters*, and accordingly were termed *Presbyterians*. More radical were the Independents, who refused to submit to the authority of the presbyteries and acknowledged, according to their own declaration, "no head, priest, prophet or king save Christ." They were the early representatives of the denomination now known as the Congregationalists.

All these Protestant sects hostile to Anglicanism are usually designated by the general name of *Puritans*. The struggle against them marked the reigns of the first two Stuart kings. They were responsible, to a great extent, for the revolution of 1648.

**92. The Royal Power; Aims of the Stuarts.**—In striking contrast to these serious religious divisions seemed to be the strength of the royal power. The changes which had taken

place in English institutions during the sixteenth century had all been in favor of the Crown. When with Elizabeth's death the Tudor dynasty came to an end, the government was in fact an absolute monarchy. Parliament held its sessions more to act in accordance with the royal good pleasure than to exercise any kind of control.

The Stuarts, who succeeded to the throne, were not satisfied even with this unlimited power placed in their hands. It was their openly declared policy to deny any share in the government to the people. They aimed to govern without Parliament, to decree and levy taxes by their own authority, and to shape the policies of the nation according to their fancy. In religion, they endeavored to maintain and extend the Anglican organization; they protected especially the bishops who, named by them, were docile instruments in carrying out the royal will. These aims, pursued in an imprudent and offensive form, aroused determined resistance throughout the kingdom, resulted in two revolutions, and caused the ruin of the dynasty.

**93. James I's Person and Character.**—James VI of Scotland, who in 1603 was called to the throne of England under the name of James I, was the son of Lord Darnley and Mary Stuart. On his father's as well as on his mother's side, he was a direct descendant of Henry VII. Thus his accession meant more than a mere change of dynasty; it brought under one ruler the two rival kingdoms of England and Scotland. The two countries, it is true, kept their separate parliaments and administrations for another century, but James I was nevertheless in fact the first King of Great Britain (England, Scotland and Wales) and of Ireland.

A knowledge of the personal characteristics of this strange monarch will help to an understanding of the history of his reign. As a child, James I was so weak that not until the age of seven was he able to stand without support. He never entirely overcame this bodily weakness and all his life adopted a reclining posture when engaged for any con-

siderable length of time in mental work or even in ordinary conversation. Apart from the chase in which he indulged as long as he could mount a horse, he was incapable of athletic exercise. The sight of an unsheathed sword terrified him and war he held in horror and sought to avoid at all costs. Always fond of theories, he called his deficiency in manly vigor love of peace, and adopted as his motto the biblical words "Blessed are the peace-makers."

All his life he evinced great ardor and assiduity for study and among his many ambitions not the least was to excel as a writer. At the age of eighteen, he was the author of a volume of poems. The poet was, however, soon superseded by the theologian and theorist whose pet theme was the divine right of kings.[1] "As it is atheism and blasphemy," he declared in one of his speeches, "to dispute what God can do, so it is presumption and a high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or to say that a king cannot

[1] The "divine right of kings" draws attention to the question of origin and exercise of civil authority. Three different opinions—one true, the other two false—must be distinguished respecting this fundamental political doctrine: (1) Catholic authors teach that God is the ultimate source of all authority, civil as well as ecclesiastical. However, He does not directly exercise his power, but confers on the people the authority necessary for the organization of a well-ordered state. The latter, unable to rule by themselves in practise, delegate their power to a representative; directly in democratic governments where the ruler is elected by popular vote, and indirectly by at least tacit consent in monarchies where the leadership is hereditary. In this truly democratic opinion three sources of civil authority are recognized: God, the divine and supreme Head; the people, the human sovereign; the ruler, who is the popular representative. If by the expression "divine right of kings" is merely meant the dependence of the civil authority on God as expressed in this view, it contains, of course, sound political and religious doctrine, being based on the Scriptural declaration that all power comes from God. (2) Frequently the divine right kingship is understood in the sense in which James I interpreted it and is synonymous with that autocratic government which claims to be independent of all human rights and duties. In this interpretation the authority of God is admitted and the power of the ruler is recognized and even exaggerated, but the authority of the people completely denied. This view has but few followers at the present time in civilized countries; it is false and untenable, because it does away with the rights of the people to rule themselves. (3) The third view, held by the Socialists and assented to in practise by many politicians of other parties, exaggerates on the contrary the power of the people which it makes independent of God. It unduly emphasizes popular sovereignty, is inclined to curtail the authority of the ruler and suppresses entirely the authority of God. It is false both from a religious and political standpoint because it does away in theory or practise or both with God as supreme ruler of all things.

do this or that." An idea of the wide range of his speculations may be gained from the variety of the subjects treated in his writings. These dealt with such widely divergent topics as mental prayer, witchcraft, versification and tobacco. The king loved discussion and dispute as much as he detested war, but his oratorical efforts were marred by his Scotch accent and his drooling tongue. His mind admirably analyzed complicated situations, but never reached a settlement of any difficulty. It furnished abundant arguments, but found no solutions. His intellectual attainments were pretty accurately described by his contemporary, King Henry IV of France, when he called him the "wisest fool in Christendom."

Upright moral qualities were conspicuous by their absence in the king's make-up. He shamefully abandoned his mother to her imprisonment and execution in England and his sorrow at her death was measured by his abstention from supper at the news of her execution. Guile and deception were the great means by which he sought to obtain his ends. He was always ready to make promises to everybody, which most of the time he did not keep and in many instances never intended to keep. He encouraged the hopes of the English Catholics for better treatment in order to enlist their help in securing the English crown. But although he was the son of a staunchly Catholic mother and had been brought up in the Presbyterian faith, he protected and imposed the Anglican settlement, persecuted the Catholics, and was a determined opponent of the Puritans.

**94. James I and the Puritans; the Conference at Hampton Court near London (1604).**—The Puritans had silently submitted to Elizabeth's tyranny until her death. They confidently expected that better treatment would be meted out to them under James I, a monarch from Presbyterian Scotland. On his way south from Scotland to London, they presented to him a petition asking for redress of their grievances. It is known as the *Millenary Petition*, or petition of

the Thousand, although it was, in reality, signed by only 800 Puritan representatives. It stated, among other things, their objection to various Catholic ceremonies and observances retained by the Anglican Church.

To effect a settlement of the controverted points a conference was held in 1604 at Hampton Court. The king presided at the gathering which was attended by four Puritan and eighteen Anglican divines. The discussions at first proceeded smoothly; the king seemed to delight in controversies which afforded him an opportunity of displaying his theological learning and dialectical skill. Things took a different turn, however, at the mention of the word "presbyter" by the Puritan party. Presbyterianism was, in James' eyes, irreconcilable with his conception of the divine right of kings. In argument he angrily retorted: "A Scottish presbytery agreeth as well with a monarchy as God with the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure me and my council, and all my proceedings. . . . Stay, I pray you, for one seven years, before you demand that from me, and if you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipes stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you; for let that government be once up, I am sure that I shall be kept in breath; then shall we all of us have work enough. . . . Until you find that I grow lazy, let that alone."

The king thus, in crude and offensive terms, refused all concessions. In closing the meeting, he added that he expected them to conform or he would "harry them out of the land, or else do worse." He now adopted as his favorite maxim "No bishop, no king," which expressed at the same time his definitive alliance with the Church of England and the inseparable union in his mind of the political and religious issue.

**95. James I and the Catholics; the Gunpowder Plot (1605).**—Like the Puritans, the English Catholics expected relief from James I. The new king, they thought, had given

assurances to that effect. Indeed he was perhaps personally not disinclined to alleviate their sufferings and omitted during the first months of his reign the collection of numerous fines incurred for non-attendance at the Anglican service. However, he retained in power Elizabeth's Protestant officials and the penal laws were soon again enforced. The son of the martyred Mary Stuart was indeed a sore disappointment to Catholics.

Disappointed in their fondest hopes and driven to desperation by ceaseless exactions, a few among them sought relief by violence. In May, 1604, they met in London and formed a plot against the government. Only five men were present at this first meeting and the total number of the confederates never exceeded thirteen. They were all, with one exception, men of good family. Those among them destined to become more widely known were Robert Catesby, Thomas Percy, and Guy Fawkes. The purpose of their plot was the common destruction, root and branch, of King, Lords and Commons, of the lawgivers who framed, and the executive who enforced, the penal laws. So completely were they blinded to the immoral character of their design that they immediately followed up their oath of secrecy with attendance at Mass and the reception of Communion.

Some of them, in their later confessions, stated that the Jesuit missionary, Father Gerard, had administered the sacrament to them, but they also emphatically declared that he had no knowledge whatever of the promises by which they had mutually bound themselves. Father Garnet, the Jesuit provincial superior, though equally ignorant of the conspiracy itself, was nevertheless aware of the seething unrest and dangerous irritation which agitated the Catholic laity. So far was he from inciting them against the king, as was subsequently charged, that Rome, largely owing to information forwarded by him, issued on July 22, 1605, an order "to hinder by all possible means all conspiracies of Catholics."

As a means of carrying out their plan of blowing up with gunpowder (a feature which gave the name to the plot) King, Lords and Commons on the opening day of Parliament, the conspirators hired a tenement from which they intended to run a mine to the Parliament building close by. They had almost completed this mine when they heard that the cellar situated under the House of Lords was for rent and secured it. Hither they brought thirty-six barrels of gunpowder which they hid under coal and faggots. The powder was to be fired on November 5, 1605, the date of the solemn opening of Parliament.

**96. Discovery of the Plot.**—In July of 1605, Father Greenway, a Jesuit, was informed, under the seal of confession, of the plot and, with the consent of his penitent, Catesby, communicated his knowledge to Father Garnet. The latter immediately commanded him to do all in his power to put a stop to the mad enterprise, but the conspirators proved impervious to outside influence. As they stood in need of money, they cast about for new members and revealed their secret to Everard Digby and Francis Tresham. The last-named, fearing for the life of Lord Monteagle, his brother-in-law, dispatched to him on October 26, 1605, an anonymous letter in which he urged him not to appear in Parliament, on November 5, as a sudden catastrophe was impending. This note was immediately forwarded to the Secretary of state, but the government took no action against the conspirators until the day prior to that set for the explosion. In the face of this mysterious delay and other strange occurrences, it seems probable that the government egged on the conspirators so as to derive strength and advantage from the timely discovery of the matured plot, which they could advantageously use to cast odium on the whole Catholic body.

On November 4, Guy Fawkes, who had been designated to watch in the cellar and to fire the mine, was apprehended, the powder was discovered and the plot bared. The con-

spirators fled, some lost their lives in resisting the pursuing sheriff; others were apprehended, tried and executed.

**97. New Anti-Catholic Legislation.**—The government, not satisfied with the punishment of the guilty, endeavored to represent the conspiracy as an outcome of Jesuit instigation and intrigue. Fathers Gerard and Greenway, realizing only too well, in spite of their innocence, their inevitable doom in case of apprehension, made their escape to the continent. Their provincial, Father Garnet, was discovered in his hiding place, arrested, tried and executed protesting his innocence of the crime imputed to him. The conspiracy was made use of not only against the Jesuits, but against Catholics in general, and additional measures of persecution were enacted. Two new anti-Catholic laws were passed and there was imposed an oath of allegiance objectionable in point of doctrine. More harmful perhaps than these measures, because it poisoned the mind of the nation for centuries, was the institution of the Fifth of November as a legal holiday. It became a day of rejoicing, celebrated by the burning in effigy of Guy Fawkes and the Pope. Although no longer officially recognized, the anniversary is still kept by extreme Protestants in the British empire. In America the day was celebrated until George Washington in 1776 set his stamp of disapproval on it.

**98. James I and Parliament.**—The outstanding feature of the Stuart period is the struggle between Crown and Parliament. This conflict, inaugurated under James I, lasted for about a century and ended with the triumph of the Commons over the Crown. James I's difficulties with Parliament began with its first meeting in 1604, and came to an end only twenty years later when that body assembled for the last time during his reign. These difficulties arose from various sources: Parliament disapproved of the king's opposition to the Puritans; it disliked cordially his habit of expatiating on his power and prerogatives and of lecturing its members on their insignificance and dependence; it

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considered the king's foreign policy too weak both in the defense of English interests and in the protection of the Protestant cause.

As James, who was a reckless spender, was always in need of money, Parliament found ample opportunity to go on record as an opponent of the royal power and administration. The king, in face of this resistance, had recourse to various unconstitutional expedients to raise money, and abandoned the government of the state to favorites. He invented a new title of nobility, that of baronet, and conferred it on any gentleman who would purchase the honor by lending him a thousand pounds. Among the favorites who rose to high position was the famous Sir Francis Bacon who became Lord Chancellor of the kingdom. Bacon was subsequently accused of having practised corruption while in office, was tried and found guilty. He was sentenced to imprisonment, but was soon pardoned by the king and set at liberty.

When James sought to bring about a marriage between the Prince of Wales, the later Charles I, and a Spanish Catholic princess, Parliament resolutely opposed the match and remonstrated with the king. The prince, nevertheless, proceeded to Spain to woo the Infanta in person. His love for her cooled on acquaintance, and though the engagement had been solemnly concluded, the projected marriage never took place. Charles turned to the Catholic Henrietta Maria, sister of King Louis XIII of France. While the Prince of Wales was thus engaged in finding a consort, his father was declining in health and popularity The old king's strength had become undermined by years of intemperance, and he fell victim to fever in 1625.

## II. The Reign of Charles I (1625–1649)

**99. Charles I and his First Parliaments.**—The accession of Charles I was hailed with delight by the people. He was young, handsome, courageous and of dignified bearing, and, then—his father was dead. All the good qualities, the

absence of which was so keenly felt in his father, were ardently desired, and for that reason attributed to his son. Charles, however, although happily endowed in some respects, was incorrigibly untruthful, incapable of discerning the trend of national feeling and always out of sympathy with the desires and aspirations of his people. Like James I, he was convinced of the unlimited character of his royal authority and considered that the promises made to his people or his people's representatives were not binding on him.

His popularity was to be short-lived. Several causes contributed to bring about an almost immediate revulsion of popular feeling. The Catholic religion of his child wife aroused misgivings and fear for the future of Protestantism. The retention in power of *Buckingham*, the hated favorite of James I, also gave offense, particularly as no improvement was noticed in the government of the kingdom. The persecution of the Puritans, which had contributed to render the previous reign unpopular, continued and found no greater favor with the people.

Parliament's opposition to the Crown was open and determined at the very beginning of the reign. In the first three years the Commons were dissolved twice, on one occasion for refusing the necessary money grants, on another for decreeing the impeachment of the royal minister, Buckingham. Throughout the reign the control of the finances formed a constant source of conflict between Crown and Parliament. Charles resorted to several expedients to obtain the necessary revenue without Parliament. Now and then, he succeeded in governing for a time independently of all control, but affairs always took such a turn eventually that he was again constrained to call together the representatives of the people.

**100. The Parliament of 1628; the Petition of Right.**—In spite of his peaceable dispositions, James I had been forced by English opinion to go to war with Spain (1624). Charles

I inherited this conflict and soon became embroiled in a war with France. He hoped that aid sent to the French Protestants against their Catholic king would conciliate the English people and dispose the Commons favorably towards the king. Moreover a brilliant military or naval feat would naturally help him in overcoming internal difficulties. In spite of these prudent calculations, he was to be disappointed in his expectations. The English fleet was defeated in the naval operations which followed the break with France, and in 1628 Charles, in need of money, had to call his third Parliament to ask for the funds necessary for the continuation of the war.

The Commons, instead of immediately granting the appropriations demanded by the government, drew up the *Petition of Right*, an important document in English constitutional history, presented it to the king, and insisted that he promise its observance. This petition demanded that the liberties granted to the nation since the concession of Magna Carta be respected, and declared that the Commons enjoyed the right to control direct taxation, that no forced loans be imposed on the people, that no one be imprisoned by the royal authority without cause shown, and that no troops be billeted on an unwilling populace. Charles showed himself extremely loath to make such concessions. He shrank especially from the demand that he proffer a definite charge against persons whom he sent to prison.

So far, he could, without showing cause for his action, decree the imprisonment for an indefinite period of any one whom he considered an undesirable subject. He regarded this privilege as one of the important rights of the Crown. His need of money, however, proving greater than his desire to retain the privilege, he promised the observance of the great Petition.

The subsidies were now voted and mutual concessions seemed to have restored complete harmony between Crown and Parliament. New difficulties, however, soon arose

between the two powers and the king pronounced the dissolution of Parliament in 1629. That same year the unpopular Buckingham fell by the knife of an assassin.

**101. Charles I as an Absolute Monarch.**—Charles I now tried to rule as absolute monarch and for eleven years wielded the sceptre without calling Parliament. In the administration of the government he relied on the counsel and assistance of three men: *Weston*, *Laud* and *Wentworth*. Weston, the least important of the three, became lord treasurer of the kingdom. The chief aim of his administration was economy. He realized it by bringing about peace with France in 1629 and with Spain in the following year. Without directly opposing Charles's desire to go to the assistance of his sister Elizabeth and to win back the lost Palatinate for her husband, Frederic V, the Winterking, he managed to prevent his sovereign from engaging in war on that score.

While Weston was the king's secretary of the Treasury, Laud was his adviser in the spiritual affairs of the kingdom. He was bishop of London and an uncompromising opponent of Puritanism. Unity of belief was impossible, in his opinion without uniformity of ceremonial, and he sought to impose Anglican beliefs and practises on all Dissenters.

More important than either Weston or Laud was Sir Thomas Wentworth, who was later created Earl of Strafford and is better known under this name. Formerly one of the king's opponents and one of the authors of the Petition of Right, he had, after its acceptance, passed over to the king's party. As royal minister, he strove for the maintenance of the king's absolute power. He was no respecter of persons and valued as the proper basis of state authority individual intelligence—particularly his own—rather than the collective will of a Parliament or the popular opinion of an enlightened nation. Wentworth in his administration and Laud in his ecclesiastical policy met with considerable opposition to their measures. To overcome it two state institutions al-

ready in existence were used by them. They were the *Court of the Star Chamber* and the *Court of High Commission.* The former derived its name from the decoration of the hall in which it held its sessions. The majority of its judges were members of the Privy Council and its character was that of a political tribunal which tried and punished chiefly offenders of high standing or wide influence. The Court of High Commission, on the other hand, took cognizance of religious offenses. Originally introduced for the punishment of Catholics, it was extensively used against the Puritans.

**102. Ship Money; John Hampden.**—It was easy enough to dispense with Parliament; it was impossible to do without the money needed for the necessities of the government. Wentworth tried to meet public expenses by the levy of arbitrary taxes, the creation of state monopolies, and the reintroduction of imposts long fallen into disuse. Among the obsolete taxes which he again levied was ship money, the collection of which was to make the name of John Hampden famous.

Originally ship money was a tax imposed in time of war on seaports and maritime counties. It was now asked in time of peace of the inland counties as well as of the coast districts, and instead of exceptional levy was to become permanent. John Hampden, a gentleman of an inland shire, refused to pay the twenty shillings demanded of him as ship money. He was brought before the court, and after a trial which lasted for nearly two years and stirred the whole kingdom, he was condemned, imprisoned and forfeited his goods to the Crown (1638). His courageous attitude raised a host of admirers but no imitators.

**103. Scotland; the Covenant; the Bishops' War.**—If Wentworth's administration met with opposition in England, more general and determined was the resistance to Laud's ecclesiastical policy in Scotland. The general religion of the northern kingdom was Presbyterianism. Laud sought to impose the Anglican settlement and prescribed the use of

an Anglican prayerbook in the country. The first service was held, according to the newly prescribed rite, in 1637 at the Cathedral of Edinburgh. The officiating minister appeared vested in surplice and began to read the Anglican prayers. He had scarcely uttered the first words, when a wild scene was enacted by the women of the congregation. Stools were hurled at the minister and the cathedral was sacked. This tumult was the signal for a general resistance in the kingdom to what was termed "religious innovations."

A national league or *Covenant* was formed, the members of which promised "to labor by all means lawful to recover the purity and liberty of the gospel," and maintain Presbyterian practises. An efficient army, composed largely of veterans who had fought in Germany in the Thirty Years' War, was raised to prevent the imposition on Scotland of Laud's hated bishops. The war which followed between Charles I and the Scots was accordingly called the Bishops' War. The king's efforts to impose Anglicanism on the Scots was unsuccessful. He had no army to oppose to their well-trained troops; for, although he succeeded in collecting a comparatively large number of men, he could find among them neither officers able to command, nor soldiers willing to fight. Under these circumstances he deemed it advisable to treat for peace and signed an agreement with the Scots which seemed to restore order and harmony (1639.)

**104. The Short Parliament (1640).**—The agreement arrived at between Charles and Scotland did not result in a permanent settlement of the existing difficulties. A renewal of the Bishops' War had to be considered. The king was, however, not only without a reliable fighting force, but also without money to raise a stronger and better army. In the hope of securing support in England and of strengthening his position, he summoned Parliament after having so long disdained their aid. Instead of obtaining the much-needed help he thereby only added to his troubles.

The Commons immediately made it clear that no vote of

subsidies could be expected from them, unless royal pledges were kept and their grievances redressed. The king was little inclined to listen to such language or to accept such terms. Parliament—later called the Short Parliament—was dissolved after a brief session of twenty-three days. The war was resumed but the English troops were promptly defeated by the Scotch, and the calling of a new Parliament was unavoidable.

**105. The Long Parliament (1640–1653); Trial and Execution of Strafford.**—The Parliament which convened at Westminster on November 3, 1640, lasted for thirteen years and has, on account of its unusual duration, become known as the Long Parliament. Its members were determined to settle definitely two important questions, one political and the other religious in character. They wished to put an end to the arbitrary rule of the king and to introduce Puritan reforms in the Anglican Church. The leader of this sharp conflict of Parliament with the Crown was a Puritan lawyer, John Pym, who had already become conspicuous by his earlier opposition to the royal authority.

In the very first days of the sessions, he moved the impeachment for high treason of Wentworth, the Earl of Strafford, who, as the personification of arbitrary and illegal rule, was the most cordially hated man at court. The many illegalities committed during his years of office were laid before Parliament. The charge of high treason, however, could not be definitely substantiated, so that a bill of attainder was substituted. The accused could thus be tried as a public enemy without the allegation of specific reasons. Parliament was not slow in pronouncing Strafford's condemnation and the king did nothing to save him. With the words "Put not your trust in princes" on his lips, the unfortunate minister prepared for death. He was beheaded on May 12, 1641.

Even after the execution of the minister, the Commons still distrusted the king. To establish its power an act was

passed decreeing that the existing Parliament could not be dissolved without its consent and another declaring that no army could be raised or officers appointed without its sanction. As is plain, all power was by such enactments rapidly transferred from the Crown to Parliament.

**106. Beginning of the Civil War Between the Royalists and the Parliamentarians.**—It was evident from the ever-growing demands of Parliament that Charles I, if he continued to grant them, would soon be reduced to the position of a mere figurehead. A firm believer in absolute royal power, such as he, was not likely thus to abdicate all authority. As the circumstances did not permit of the dissolution of Parliament, he resolved to seize its leaders.

He went in person to the House of Commons to arrest five prominent members of the opposition who, he contended, had committed high treason by inviting the Scots to invade England in 1640. The five members, however, advised of the king's intention, had taken refuge elsewhere. Charles, after convincing himself that he had come in vain, remarked: "Since I see all my birds have flown, I do expect from you that you will send them unto me as soon as they return hither, otherwise I must take my own course to find them." The Commons did not deliver them to the king, and the people resented his attempts to use force against its representatives. The inhabitants of London gathered around the Commons and took up arms to defend them. This popular support of his opponents took Charles by surprise, and a few days later (January 10, 1642) he left his capital never to see it again until he returned as a prisoner to stand trial for his life.

The two sides now prepared for civil war. The king was supported by the Anglicans, the Catholics, and, generally speaking, by the nobility. The northern and western parts of the kingdom sided with him. Parliament could rely on the Puritans, the Independents, the merchants and traders in London and the cities in general. Both sides sought

allies: the king in Ireland, Parliament in Scotland. The former's supporters became known as the *Cavaliers*, that is horsemen or gentlemen, while the Parliamentarians were called *Roundheads* because of the short-cropped hair of the lower classes which the Puritans affected. The royalists scored some initial successes because they numbered among their ranks some trained soldiers and because the Parliamentarians, though opposed to the king, were still full of respect for him and fought only in a half-hearted manner. The Parliamentarians were indeed determined on destroying the absolute character of the monarchy, but they wished to retain the monarchy as an institution.

**107. Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658); His Talent and Character.**—An element of decisive strength was added to the Parliamentary party with the discovery of the organizing and directing talent of *Oliver Cromwell*. This extraordinary, mysterious and fanatical man was to rise gradually from the humble station of a country gentleman to the position of protector and autocrat of three kingdoms. Of the same family as Thomas Cromwell, minister under Henry VIII, he came at an early date under Puritan influence. Puritanism exercised, if we except his wild youth, a preponderating influence over him during his whole life. At school he was conspicuous by his fondness for boisterous games rather than by scholarly attainments.

Although he formed part of the Parliament which drew up the Petition of Right, he attracted then little favorable attention among the members. He spoke little and poorly and seemed to lack all oratorical talent. He possessed, however, the qualities of an able military leader, and after these were revealed in him he rose rapidly to power. His military strength was founded nevertheless not only on his professional qualities, but also on religious enthusiasm. Before he organized his famous cavalry, he passed, like some other Puritans, through a period of religious doubt and depression bordering on despair. He emerged from it with the convic-

tions and enthusiasm of a fanatic. This sudden religious transformation was perhaps due largely to his presence in the Long Parliament and the stirring events of that time.

The political upheaval put an end to his morbid introspection and took him away from the monotonous life of a small landowner to the floor of a rebellious Parliament and the bloody scenes of the battlefield. Although he was credited by a contemporary royalist historian, the Earl of Clarendon, with "all the wickedness against which damnation is pronounced and for which hell fire is prepared," he did not fail, whether hypocritically or fanatically, to ascribe every important action of his career, however patently selfish or wantonly cruel, to the direct intervention of Divine Providence.

**108. The New Army organized by Cromwell.**—In the armed struggle between Charles I and Parliament, Cromwell quickly discerned the weakness of the latter's army in its lack of training and resolution. Such a force, he well knew, could not successfully contend with the king's excellent troops. Resolved to create a force in which determination and religious enthusiasm would supply the lack of military training, he gathered and equipped, at his own expense, a regiment of Independents as resolute and burning with Puritan fervor as their leader himself.

They submitted freely to the strictest discipline, shunned every profanity and intemperance and sang psalms as their hymns of war. The grade of officer was not reserved exclusively to gentlemen, but was conferred for merit, knowledge and bravery. A troop animated by such a spirit and commanded by such officers, no matter what motives actuated them, could not fail to succeed. Its leader held that, since Parliament was at war with the king, the latter should not be spared but conquered.

**109. Defeat and Surrender of Charles I.**—In the very first battle in which Cromwell's regiment appeared in action, it decided the day. At *Marston Moor* (July 2, 1644) the

Royalist cavalry had won an apparent victory under the leadership of Charles' nephew, the fiery Prince Rupert. Cromwell turned the tide of battle with his troops and changed defeat into victory for the Parliamentarians. He describes the final issue of the battle in characteristic words: "It had all the evidence of an absolute victory, obtained by the Lord's blessing upon the godly party principally. We never charged but we routed the enemy. God made them as stubble to our swords."

Parliament lost no time in decreeing the reorganization of its army after the fashion of the *Ironsides*, as Cromwell's troops were now called. This reorganized army, named the "New Model," soon decided the whole war in favor of Parliament. On June 14, 1645, it inflicted a crushing defeat on the Royalist troops at *Naseby*. Charles I never recovered from this blow and was unable to raise another army.

After spending almost a year in fruitless attempts to put new troops in the field and to retrieve his fortunes, he decided to surrender to the Scots in the hope of receiving better treatment at their hands than from his English subjects. They demanded that he recognize and support the Presbyterian Church in Scotland. As he had no intention of doing this he delayed his answer to their demand for several months. The Scots, finally realizing that no satisfactory concessions could be expected, delivered him up to Parliament for 400,000 pounds and thus the war between king and Parliament was brought to an end (1647).

**110. Conflict between Parliament and the Army; Negotiations with the King.**—Although Charles was now in the hands of his adversaries, his power was far from lost beyond all hope of recovery, as a conflict ensued between Parliament and its army which afforded him an excellent opportunity of regaining his power by firmly siding with one or the other party. His chances of success looked the brighter owing to the long duration of the struggle which lasted for almost two years and was of religious origin. Parliament was

largely Presbyterian either by profession or in spirit, whereas the army was mainly composed of Independents. Presbyterians and Independents were bitterly hostile at the time and the army which had fought and defeated the king hoped to gain more than a mere change from royal to Presbyterian tyranny.

The two hostile parties sought the king's support. Parliament offered to restore him if he granted its demands and made concessions to the Presbyterians. The king had in part accepted these terms, when he was seized by the army and removed from Parliamentary influence. This forcible seizure meant a change of control over the king; it did not put an end to the negotiations carried on with him by the two parties. It was now his own intrigues and duplicity rather than the hostility of his enemies which finally led to his execution. Prepared to deceive all alike, he carried on negotiations with any who might be useful to him. He treated with the Pope, the Irish, the Scots, Parliament, the army. His dealings with the latter two—Parliament and army—led to no results, because the king himself did not sincerely intend to come to an agreement with either, but hoped to increase their mutual dissensions and to found his power on their divisions. Such double dealing, instead of keeping Parliament and army apart, brought them together by mutual concessions.

The king, in the face of this new situation, resolved on flight and successfully eluded his guards, reaching the Isle of Wight. Again, he offered concessions to Parliament, but refused even now to accept all its demands. He felt stronger perhaps than his position warranted, because he had concluded a definite treaty with the Scots who promised to restore him to the throne. This led to the second Civil War. A Scotch army invaded England and Royalist risings occurred in various places. The risings were, however, promptly suppressed, and the Scots were decisively defeated by Cromwell. The army now demanded the

trial of the king, "the capital and grand author of our troubles."

**111. Trial and Execution of Charles I (1649).**—However serious Charles' faults and however great his blunders may have been, they are but little remembered when his unsurpassed dignity during his trial and his calm heroism in the sight of death are considered. In these days of supreme tribulation he rose, as the not over-prudent Stuarts could rise, to a degree of self-possession worthy of the greatest admiration.

The army was determined to get rid of him and to use force, if need be, to attain its end. On the other hand, Parliament at this late hour favored reconciliation with the king and made a declaration to this effect on December 5, 1648. Not to be robbed of their prey, the army leaders on the following day stationed Colonel Pride at the entrance of the House of Commons to turn away such members as supported the king, and ninety-six were thus excluded. This act of violence became known as *Pride's Purge*. Through it the House of Commons, now little more than a phantom legislature in which only sixty members exercised the right to vote, came completely under the army's control. Agreeable to the wishes of the army it passed a resolution decreeing the king's trial and, in spite of the Lords' refusal to concur in the act, appointed a high court of justice. It declared that the people were, under God, the source of all power, that the Commons were the chosen representatives of the English people and that, without either king or Lords, they were the supreme power in the kingdom.

The trial of Charles I began on January 20, 1649. The high court before which he appeared was not only illegally appointed, but of its 135 members only 67 were present, including Cromwell. The king was evidently to be tried not by a court of judges, but by a hostile assembly. On being accused of treason, he laughed aloud and immediately asked by what authority he was to be judged. Answered

by the president of the court, that he was to be tried by the authority of the English people who had elected him king, Charles made the obvious and irrefutable answer that he was king not by any popular choice but by inheritance.

He refused to plead his case before an incompetent tribunal like the one he was forced to face. Any defence, however skilful, would have been useless: a condemnation was wanted and a condemnation was obtained. On January 27, 1649, he was brought to court for the last time and sentenced to death. He asked in vain a hearing before the Lords and Commons and was silenced when he attempted to answer the charges of the president. On January 29 he bade an affectionate farewell to his younger children, the only ones still present in England, and on the following day marched to the scaffold, with remarkable self-possession placed his head on the block and himself gave the signal for the fatal stroke which sent him into eternity.

## III. Ireland Under The First Two Stuarts; English Colonies in North America

**112. The Plantation of Ulster (1610).**—The subjugation of Ireland was virtually complete at Elizabeth's death. The dangerous rebellion of Hugh O'Neil and his confederates had been successfully suppressed and the English government was everywhere in control of the island. However, the conclusion of peace did not bring lasting friendly relations between the Irish lords and the English Crown. Hugh O'Neil and Rory O'Donnell were soon accused of high treason and sought safety abroad. Their flight placed their persons beyond the reach of the English law; their lands, however, were confiscated and distributed among new settlers. The system of plantations already tried by Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth was now successfully carried out in Ulster.

The best lands of six eastern counties of this province were taken from the Irish inhabitants and distributed

among foreign settlers, who were either Scottish or English Protestants. These "Colonists" became the permanent owners of land of which the Irish were despoiled, and eastern Ulster became an outpost of English and Protestant influence. Its settlement by a large English-speaking population undoubtedly strengthened English power; but it also added a potent element of discord to the already existing sources of division. A new crime was added in Irish eyes to the many wrongs which their beloved country had already suffered. The presence of the newcomers in Ulster was a constant reminder of the wholesale robbery committed at the expense of the Irish people.

**113. The Earl of Strafford in Ireland (1633–1640).**—By the plantation of Ulster under James I a garrison, as it were, of English Protestants was established in Ireland. With the advent of the Earl of Strafford to the country under Charles I, a partly successful attempt was made to organize an efficient government. Strafford, during the seven years of his administration (1633–1640), energetically and ruthlessly worked for the suppression of private feuds, the organization of a strong central authority and the improvement of agricultural and economic conditions. He sought, in other words, to promote efficiency and his rule became characteristically known as the rule of "Thorough."

On the other hand while he undoubtedly had in view in his measures the material prosperity of the island, he paid hardly less attention to the interests of the Royal Treasury and utterly disregarded the feelings and rights of the people. He collected large sums from both Catholics and Protestants by promising them royal "graces" (rewards, compensations), but promptly broke his engagements after securing the money from his numerous and credulous victims. He succeeded in collecting a well-trained army which he expected to place at the king's disposal for eventual use in England. The very revelation, however, of this design only increased English discontent with Charles I. Straf-

ford also seriously contemplated new plantations in various districts, but was not afforded the opportunity of carrying out the project owing to the king's opposition and precarious position.

**114. The Insurrection of 1641; the Confederation of Kilkenny (1642).**—Strafford's arbitrary rule had aroused intense dissatisfaction. The people sullenly submitted as long as his strong hand made itself felt, but weaker successors followed, and in 1641 an insurrection broke out in Ulster. The native population rose against the hated foreigners who had usurped their lands. Some of the English settlers were massacred; others were driven from their homes in the wintry season to die of cold and hunger. Several thousand of the Protestant planters thus perished. Rumor exaggerated the number to fabulous figures in contemporaneous England, and malice has introduced these figures into English historical literature.

This fight of an exasperated people for its own soil received the approval of the Catholic bishops, and the insurrection spread from Ulster through all Ireland. The Irish Catholics organized themselves into a Confederation which from the name of the city where it was formed was called the Confederation of Kilkenny (1642). In this new national organization all the governmental functions were exercised by a Supreme Council which was responsible to a popular elective body known as the General Assembly. The king's supreme authority was acknowledged, but Charles I was forced to grant religious freedom and other important rights to Irish Catholics. The new government was practically recognized by the Pope when he sent Archbishop Rinuccini as his representative to Ireland.

Established under particularly auspicious circumstances, since civil war was then dividing England, the Confederation of Kilkenny won some military successes, and maintained itself for several years, only to be wrecked by internal division. Dissension soon rent the Irish Catholics, gained the ranks

of the clergy and even divided the generals in command of the armies. Many of the early advantages won by the Confederation were again lost and the papal nuncio, in despair, returned to Rome. In spite of the divided state of the country, the General Assembly succeeded in concluding an advantageous but uncertain peace with the king's representative in 1648. The treaty was never put in practical operation as Charles I's execution occurred shortly after and the triumphant English Parliament appointed Cromwell lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

**115. English Colonies Permanently Established in America.**—Several English colonies were established in North America during the reigns of James I and Charles I. They owed their origin to two great causes: the impulse toward expansion and the prevalent religious persecution in England. That impulse toward expansion which is so characteristic of Elizabeth's reign also produced important results under James I. To it was due the establishment of the Virginia colony by a small band of settlers who landed in America in 1607. In honor of the reigning king they gave the name of Jamestown to this first permanent English settlement in the western world. Members of the Church of England, the planters made Anglicanism the exclusive religion of the colony as it was of the mother country.

Of a different faith were the settlers in other colonies established in America at this time. Driven from England by religious persecution, they were Puritans or Independents in the New England settlements, and largely Catholics in Maryland. The first Puritan settlement was made on the coast of Massachusetts and named *Plymouth* in remembrance of the port from which the colonists sailed for America. The voyage was effected in the "*Mayflower*" and the landing of the "Pilgrims," as they became known, took place in 1620. Other Puritan settlements were made shortly after in different parts of New England, at Boston, at New Haven and in the Connecticut valley.

In 1634, the Catholic Lord Baltimore founded the colony of Maryland in territory granted to him by royal charter. Although many of the emigrants who came over with his brother, the leader of the expedition, were Catholics, there were also numerous Protestants in the company. It was in Maryland (so called after Queen Henrietta *Maria*) that religious liberty was first proclaimed and practised in the new world. The Puritans of New England no less than the Anglicans of Virginia refused toleration in their community to any who did not worship God after their own fashion.

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## CHAPTER VII

### THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618–1648)

## I. Causes and Division of the War

**116. Origin, Character and Causes of the Thirty Years' War.**—The Thirty Years' War, one of the most momentous and destructive struggles in history, began as an apparently insignificant rebellion in the Austrian provinces, extended to all Germany and ended as a general European conflict. It was the last and most important religious war. As it progressed, however, it gradually degenerated into a political conflict waged for the purpose of conquest. Its politico-religious character and its spread to most European countries suggest numerous and varied causes which brought it about or prolonged its duration. These causes will be discussed under four headings:

1. *Internal decay of the German empire and weakness of the imperial authority.* The fundamental cause of the terrible conflict was the internal decay of the German empire and the helpless condition of the imperial authority. The emperor was by right the political sovereign and supreme ruler of the empire; but the nobility held, in fact, all power in its hands and had grown much stronger in the sixteenth century by the double acquisition in Protestant lands of church property and church authority. In Catholic territories the princes had also gained in material resources and moral authority because of the more determined support which they received from Rome on the one hand and from their own subjects on the other. A supreme executive capable of exercising its functions and of imposing its will did not exist in the empire. Furthermore, the emperor was powerless not only in his imperial dominions, but also in his own hereditary, Austrian crown lands. These had each its own provincial assembly, its special rights, varying customs, and differing traditions.

2. *Religious division and unrest in the empire.* The weakness of the civil government was complicated by religious dissension and unrest. The religious peace of Augsburg (1555) had indeed brought relief to Catholics and Lutherans. Both sides, however, considered it as a truce rather than as a definitive peace. Its conditions were to be modified in favor of the one or the other party as soon as opportunity offered. The treaty was neither clear in all its clauses, nor completely satisfactory to either denomination; and even had it been entirely agreeable to both Catholics and Lutherans, it would have been subject to attack from another quarter. The German Calvinists were too few at the time to be considered in the treaty, but had since gained numerous adherents, and were demanding recognition.

3. *The emperor's religious and political aims.* To political weakness, religious division was thus added to endanger the existence of the empire. To avert threatening ruin the emperor sought to bring back the Protestants to the Catholic Church, and to strengthen his own political authority. The restoration of religious unity seemed to be an indispensable prerequisite to the introduction of constitutional changes. In other words, the religious opposition which paralyzed all his efforts had to be suppressed before the emperor could hope to lay the foundation of an effective administration. On the other hand, the attempts to repress the Dissenters increased the national antipathy and resistance among the Czechs in Bohemia and the Magyars in Hungary. Thus the division seemed to increase with the means applied for its suppression and a peaceful settlement of the problem seemed hopeless.

4. *The political situation in Europe.* Germany's weak internal condition rendered her defenseless against outside interference and brought nearer the danger of international complications. It invited attack, as it were, at a time when many troublesome problems called for solution in European politics. Among the factors which would, as a matter of

course, play a part in an armed conflict were: the continued rivalry between the House of Bourbon and the House of Hapsburg, between France and Austria; the relations between James I, King of England, and Frederic V, Elector Palatine and leader of the Calvinists in Germany (James' daughter Elizabeth was married to Frederic); the still pending quarrel between Spain and the Netherlands; the ambition of Denmark to control part of northern Germany; the aim of Sweden to become predominant in northeastern Europe. These multiple ambitions and interests account for the fact that, besides Germany, the centre and theatre of the conflict, Denmark, the Netherlands, Spain, England, Sweden and France appeared at one time or another among the contestants.

**117. Division and Contestants of the Thirty Years' War.**—The war may be divided into four periods as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| I. The Bohemian Revolution—1618–1623. The contestants were: | (A) Catholic Side: The emperor; the Catholic League headed by Maximilian of Bavaria; Spain; the Pope and the Protestant Elector of Saxony. | (B) Protestant Side: The Bohemians; the Protestant Union headed by the Elector Palatine Frederic V, and the Duke of Savoy. |
| II. The Danish Period—1625–1629. The contestants were: | (A) Catholic Side: The emperor; the Catholic League and Spain. | (B) Protestant Side: Denmark; England; the Netherlands and part of North Germany. |
| III. The Swedish Period—1630–1635. The contestants were: | (A) Catholic Side: The emperor and the Catholic League. | (B) Protestant Side: Sweden and the Elector of Saxony. |
| IV. The Franco-Swedish Period—1635–1648. The contestants were: | (A) Catholic Side: The emperor; the League and Spain. | (B) Protestant Side: France and Sweden. |

## II. The Bohemian Revolution (1618–1623)

**118. The Defenestration of Prague (1618).**—The religious dissensions in the German empire furnished the occasion for the war. The Protestants of Bohemia having built churches in certain localities contrary to the laws of the land, these edifices were either closed or demolished by order of the government. This government interference was looked upon as an infringement of previously granted rights, and a demand for justice was addressed to the ten lieutenant-governors to whom the emperor, in his absence, had entrusted the government of Bohemia. As all their remonstrances remained unheeded, about one hundred Protestant noblemen, in spite of imperial prohibition, assembled at Prague. Under the leadership of the *Count of Thurn*, they invaded the government building, seeking to kill the lieutenant-governors hostile to their demands. A violent scene was enacted in the building, the imperial representatives were referred to as "Jesuitical scoundrels" and two of them with a secretary were, "according to ancestral custom based on the Scriptures and the fate of Jezabel," pitched out of the window. None of the intended victims was killed, but the event, known as the *Defenestration of Prague* (*fenestra*, window), was the first scene of that bloody drama, the Thirty Years' War.

The rebels immediately organized a provisional government of thirty directors, decided to recruit an army and placed it under the command of the Count of Thurn. The Jesuits were expelled and their property was confiscated while Calvinism was introduced as the official religion. In 1619, on the very day Ferdinand II (1619–1637) was elected Emperor of Germany, the Bohemians chose for their king the Elector Palatine Frederic V, the leader of the Protestant Union.

**119. War Against the Insurrectionists; Their Defeat in the Battle of White Mountain (November 8, 1620).**—The new emperor Ferdinand II had received his education from

Entrance to the City of Prague

the Jesuits and prized his Catholic faith above all else. He was determined to maintain and protect it in his dominions at all costs. "I would rather," he declared one day, "give up my land and people and beg for bread from house to house than sanction what might be injurious to religion." While some of his advisers saw in diplomatic negotiations a suitable means of settling the Bohemian troubles, he decided to suppress the rebellion by armed force. In adopting this course he was in no way certain that he could successfully carry it into effect. A great deal depended on the attitude of his own Hapsburg territories and on that of the foreign powers.

The former soon showed themselves hostile to him and sent help to the rebels; the latter immediately placed troops at his disposal. Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, head of the Catholic League, Spain, and the Pope, as well as the Protestant Elector of Saxony, supported Ferdinand against the Bohemians. The latter, on the other hand, relied on the help of Frederic V, of the Protestant Union and of the Duke of Savoy. Ferdinand's position for a time was most critical. Thurn, at the head of a rebel army, was advancing toward Vienna and seemed on the point of capturing the capital and emperor. The latter, however, even in extreme peril, resolutely refused to treat with the rebels. Opportunely he received reinforcements, and Thurn's army, now in danger, retreated northward into Bohemia. where a decisive battle was to be fought.

The imperial forces, composed mainly of well-trained troops of the League, were commanded by Count Tilly, a native of the Netherlands, a zealous Catholic and a prudent general. In an hour's fighting he completely defeated the rebel army in the battle of White Mountain near Prague (November 8, 1620). The Elector Palatine Frederic V, who opposed him, fled so precipitately that he abandoned, on a public square in Prague, the conveyance carrying his secret archives and crown jewels.

**120. Results of the Battle of White Mountain; End of the First Period of the War.**—The victory of White Mountain delivered Bohemia into the emperor's hands. Frederic V was derisively called the "Winterking," owing to the short duration of his reign. The insurgents who had chosen him were sternly punished. Twenty-seven of the leaders in the revolt were handed over to the executioner, and their vast properties confiscated. The Jesuits were recalled, the liberties of the Protestants restricted, and 30,000 Protestant families forced to emigrate. Politically, Bohemia, from an elective kingdom, became a hereditary realm of the Hapsburg dynasty in which the German language was on a footing of equality with the Czech tongue.

Although the victory suppressed the Bohemian Revolution, it did not end the war. The ban of the empire was pronounced against the Winterking and his lands were confiscated. He was, however, able to maintain himself in the Palatinate until 1623, when he was forced to make his submission. After his complete defeat, the emperor conferred some of his lands and the electoral dignity on the loyal Maximilian. The latter was thus simultaneously Duke of Bavaria and Elector Palatine. Of the seven electors only two, Brandenburg and Saxony, were Protestant; the other five, the Electors of Cologne, Mainz, Treves, Bohemia, and the Palatinate, were Catholic.

## III. The Danish Period (1625–1629)

**121. Renewal of the War.**—With the complete defeat of the Elector Palatine, the war seemed at an end. Two reasons, however, caused its renewal: the fear among the North German Protestants of the ascendency of the Catholic religion and the interference of foreign powers. The zeal which the emperor displayed everywhere in favor of the Catholic faith alarmed the Protestant states of northern Germany. They not only feared the suppression of their religious freedom, but dreaded still more the restitution of

Catholic property which was likely to be imposed by the emperor. This question of the possession of church lands was at the time one of the great sources of division in the empire. The Protestants sought to retain the properties they had seized, the Catholics no less resolutely endeavored to reconquer what they had lost.

Constant foreign interference further complicated an already difficult problem. It was to France's interest that the empire should be paralyzed in its foreign policy by internal dissension. England, owing to dynastic connections and religious sympathy, sided with the Winterking. Holland had to defend her independence against Spain which had supported the emperor in the Bohemian Revolution. Christian IV of Denmark not only held an independent kingdom, but also ruled some Protestant German states and was an uncle of Frederic V of the Palatinate.

Through the efforts of the French minister, Cardinal Richelieu, an alliance was concluded between Denmark, England, and Holland according to which Christian IV, assured of financial assistance from France, was to reconquer the Palatinate for his nephew. The Danish War followed. As the help extended by the Palatinate had made of the Bohemian Revolution a German War, the opening of hostilities with Denmark gave the conflict a European character.

**122. Wallenstein (1583–1634).**—So far the army of the Catholic League had borne the brunt of the fighting for the emperor. The latter, however, in order to enjoy greater independence, decided to raise an army which, though not national in character, would be in his service and under his orders. He chose Albert of Wallenstein to recruit and command this force.

Wallenstein, scion of a noble Protestant family of Bohemia, had accepted the Catholic faith and had supported the emperor in the Bohemian insurrection. Through his marriage with a rich widow, he had come into possession of extensive landed estates which the victory of White Moun-

tain enabled him to increase by further acquisitions. Through a second marriage he acquired considerable influence at court, and was raised to the rank of prince of the empire. Owing to his practical and businesslike management of his properties, he was always in a position to dispose of considerable means. When Emperor Ferdinand chose him to organize and command the new imperial troops, he did not give him independent power, but commanded him to enforce strict discipline, and empowered him to levy moderate contributions in the imperial dominions.

Wallenstein, one of the most daring adventurers, ranks also among the ablest of military organizers. Within a few weeks he raised an army of over 20,000 men. His place in the heart of his soldiers and in the minds of the people was tersely described in the contemporary saying that he was "the idol of the camp and the scourge of the land." Personally he was a proud, egotistical, superstitious, and ruthless man, terrible in anger and holding to indifference in religion.

**123. Wallenstein's Army.**—At the beginning of the Thirty Years' War no German prince, except the Duke of Bavaria, had an army. The emperor, the Elector Palatine and the King of Denmark raised their troops according to a system much in vogue in the later Middle Ages. They entered into an agreement with captains of military companies whose services were sold to whosoever offered them work. They struck a bargain with commanders who may aptly be called contractors engaged in the war business. The Thirty Years' War was the last conflict in which this system was resorted to. Wallenstein was the most remarkable of all such military captains, and his army was a perfect type of the troops recruited in this manner.

Wallenstein did not have a soldier when he agreed to raise, at his own expense, for the emperor's service an army of 20,000 men. These soldiers were recruited without regard to nationality or religion. They came from all countries:

Hungary, Holland, Scotland, Ireland, France, Germany, Spain and Italy. They represented all Christian denominations, Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist. They belonged to all classes: to the peasantry in the infantry, to the lesser nobility in the cavalry, to the higher aristocracy among the officers. Some were professional soldiers, others were forced into service. In the cities, vagrants were impressed into the ranks; in the country, recruiting agents appeared in the homes displaying gold and a rope and placing before the men the alternative of becoming soldiers or of being hanged. The army was not exclusively composed of fighting men; these were accompanied by their wives and children. No commissariat or quartermaster's department was maintained; the army lived on the land which it traversed, frequently consuming and destroying everything in the territory contiguous to its line of march.

**124. Warfare of That Time.**—The passage of such an army was the ruin of the peasant. The soldiers indulged in a general execution of the poultry and live stock, stabled their horses in the living rooms, made a bonfire of beds, chairs, tables, and took with them whatever could easily be carried off. Such sacking was looked upon with indulgence by the leaders. Tilly, a commander admittedly of benevolent disposition, remarked anent such performances: "The soldier is entitled to a little rest from the hardships he endures and the dangers he runs." The soldier was in the war for his personal profit; his arms were his means of support. Frequently he did not even know why and for whom he was fighting. No country was secure from devastation. When the supplies of a belligerent state were exhausted, the armies passed into the neighboring territory; whether this territory was hostile, neutral or allied mattered little. In retreat, growing crops were systematically destroyed, even the unripe wheat was mowed and fruit trees cut down to prevent provisions from falling into the hands of the enemy.

**125. Defeat of the King of Denmark; Peace of Lübeck (1629).**—Wallenstein, at the head of his new army, took the field in September, 1625; Tilly remained in command of the troops of the League. The two leaders, for some unknown reason, did not unite their forces but operated separately against the Danish armies. The latter had invaded Germany, but soon suffered a double defeat. One of Christian IV's lieutenants was worsted at *Dessau* by Wallenstein; the king himself was defeated at *Lutter* by Tilly, and forced to retreat northward. His states were invaded and he saw himself constrained to sue for peace. It was concluded at Lübeck on condition that his former territories should be restored to him and that he would abstain for all future time from any intervention in German affairs.

**126. The Edict of Restitution (1629); Dismissal of Wallenstein (1630).**—The second period of the war, like the first, thus terminated with the triumph of the Catholic side. The emperor was now at the height of his power. As a Catholic, he desired to push back Protestantism; as emperor, he sought, by a change of the imperial constitution, to strengthen his authority.

Even before the peace of Lübeck was signed, he had published the *Edict of Restitution* (1629). This ordered the restoration to the Catholics of all ecclesiastical properties seized by the Protestants since 1552. Two archbishoprics, twelve bishoprics and more than one hundred and twenty abbeys were affected by the decree. The edict, though unassailable on the grounds of justice, and legality, since it was strictly in accordance with the terms of the Peace of Augsburg, met with enormous opposition and estranged from the emperor his Protestant supporters.

On the other hand, in the Catholic states Wallenstein's method of recruiting and maintaining his army caused keen dissatisfaction. Orginally, he had levied contributions particularly on the territories hostile to the emperor. Little

by little, however, he had to look for his supplies and allow his soldiers to commit their depredations also in districts which had always loyally supported Ferdinand. Complaints were soon heard on all sides against him and his mercenaries. The fault, however, lay with the system rather than with the man, for the soldiers of the League ransacked and plundered no less.

In addition, Wallenstein was particularly obnoxious to the princes, because they considered him the emperor's staunch supporter in the contemplated reorganization of the government and the imminent reduction of their unlimited power. They became so loud in their complaints and so insistent in their demands, that the emperor was forced to yield and dismissed Wallenstein. The latter quietly withdrew to his estates, while Ferdinand assumed unassisted the heavy task of conciliating domestic opponents and of repelling foreign enemies.

## IV. The Swedish Period (1630–1635)

**127. The Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus.**—The conclusion of peace with Denmark was almost immediately followed by a war with Sweden. This country was ruled at the time by one of its most illustrious monarchs, Gustavus Adolphus. He was a straightforward and chivalrous king, an eminent military leader, and a highly educated man. Personal, religious, and political reasons induced him to take part in the Thirty Years' War. He deeply resented the fact that his enemies, the Poles, had been extended support, and that some of his relations had sustained the loss of their duchies at the emperor's hands. Staunchly Protestant in his religious opinions, he viewed with concern the defeat of his coreligionists in northern Germany. The fact that both Pope and emperor considered not him, but his Catholic cousin, King Sigismund of Poland, as the lawful sovereign of Sweden could not but increase his dread of a complete overthrow of Protestantism in the

empire. The emperor's triumph would endanger his own crown and also imperil the power and prosperity of his kingdom. German predominance in the north would be a standing menace to Sweden, particularly as Ferdinand aimed at control of the seas and had already conferred on Wallenstein the title of "Admiral of the Oceanic and Baltic Seas."

Gustavus Adolphus considered that the vital interests of Sweden, which could not become a great power without supremacy on the Baltic and a foothold on German soil, were jeopardized by imperial ambition and he resolved on weakening the emperor's power. He had at his disposal to effect this purpose a strong, though never very numerous, national army recruited from the Swedish peasantry. It constituted an efficient fighting force, was exceptionally well armed and was welded together by excellent discipline. Financially unable to maintain it, the king was assured of French subsidies and counted on the cooperation of the German Protestants.

**128. Gustavus Adolphus Lands in Germany (1630): Siege of Magdeburg; Tilly's Defeat at Breitenfeld (1631).**— Gustavus Adolphus landed in Germany with an expeditionary force in 1630. He received but little assistance from the German Protestants from whom he had expected support. Most of them completely ignored him and in no way facilitated his advance. A few cities alone entered into an alliance with him. Among these was Magdeburg to which the king furnished a small Swedish garrison for its defense. Tilly, who remained in command of the troops of the League, soon after laid siege to the fortress and captured it, while Gustavus Adolphus was busily engaged in his efforts to win over the Elector of Saxony to his side. The city had offered obstinate resistance: 20,000 persons had lost their lives in the siege, and, owing to a general conflagration, the origin of which cannot be determined, only a mass of smouldering ruins fell into Tilly's hands (1631).

After this conquest Tilly marched against the wavering

Elector of Saxony, but could not prevent him from throwing in his lot with the Swedes. Gustavus Adolphus now offered battle to Tilly at *Breitenfeld* near Leipzig and defeated him (1631). It was the first defeat sustained by the great commander. The victory was so far decisive that it caused the dissolution of the League, permitted the Swedes to advance to the middle Rhine, and forced Tilly to retreat into Bavaria. The Swedish king soon followed. In an engagement of only secondary importance, Tilly was seriously wounded and died shortly after. Almost all Germany was now at the mercy of Gustavus Adolphus. Hard pressed, Maximilian of Bavaria concluded a truce with him, and the emperor found himself in the most difficult situation of the whole war (1632).

**129. Recall of Wallenstein; Battle of Lützen and Death of Gustavus Adolphus (1632).**—The emperor was compelled to recall Wallenstein. After lengthy negotiations, an agreement was arrived at between sovereign and nobleman. All its provisions are not known in detail; but it is certain that Wallenstein promised to raise and command a new army of 40,000 men. He was given unrestricted control over it, was granted the privilege of appointing all its officers, save generals, and received the extraordinary power of entering, if he saw fit, into peace negotiations with the Elector of Saxony. The Spanish ambassador at Vienna wrote in reference to this treaty, "The emperor is in complete dependence on the Duke."

Wallenstein promptly raised the troops agreed upon and took the field against the Swedes. His army and the forces of Gustavus Adolphus were soon in presence of each other near Nuremberg where both had taken up a strong position, but neither commander was sufficiently confident of success to risk a battle. They watched each other for weeks, and then the Swedish king withdrew and marched for a time aimlessly through southern Germany followed by Wallenstein. The latter suddenly drew off towards the north to

about terms lasted for four years, and in the meantime a complete cessation of hostilities did not take place.

**132. The Congress of Westphalia (1644–1648).**—As early as 1636 the Pope and the Republic of Venice had offered to mediate between the belligerents. The offer was not accepted and the congress which was to treat of peace met only in 1644 in Westphalia. The powers represented were the emperor, the Pope, France, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Venice, the Netherlands and the German princes. The negotiations between the Catholic powers were carried on at Münster; those between the Protestant states at Osnabrück. France was represented in both places.

It had been difficult to get the plenipotentiaries together; it was still more difficult to get them to work. As no armistice was arranged for the duration of the negotiations, the principal contestants sought in turn to delay or promote the conclusion of peace as the fortunes of war shifted from one side to the other. Questions of precedence and etiquette —important items for diplomats of any age—lent themselves admirably to protract useless discussions. Years passed before the final pact was signed. While the plenipotentiaries were wasting time about formalities, the armies continued their bloody and destructive work. They were still engaged when, in 1648, the welcome news was announced to a world weary of strife that peace had been signed in Westphalia.

**133. Conditions of the Peace of Westphalia.**—The conditions of the treaty were of a *religious*, *territorial* and *constitutional* nature.

In regard to *religion*, Calvinism became like Catholicism and Lutheranism an officially recognized religion in Germany. The ownership of church property and the freedom of worship were determined by the adoption of the year 1624 as the standard year; property was to remain in the hands of the denomination which held it on January 1, 1624, and the worship which was at that time prevalent in the terri-

Scale of Miles
Longitude 10° East from 15° Greenwich 20°
EUROPE
after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.
Hapsburg
Spanish Hapsburg
Hohenzollern
Savoy
France
Venice
Poland
Sweden
The Empire
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH SEA
BALTIC SEA
SWEDEN
DENMARK
NORWAY
FINLAND
RUSSIA
POLAND
LITHUANIA
PRUSSIA
THE EMPIRE
FRANCE
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
SWITZERLAND
SAVOY
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
VENICE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
ADRIATIC SEA
Black Sea
Paris
London
Madrid
Barcelona
Rome
Vienna
Berlin
Prague
Amsterdam
Brussels
Antwerp
Cologne
Frankfurt
Hamburg
Stockholm
Copenhagen
Warsaw
Moscow
Kiev
Lemberg
Cracow
Riga
Konigsberg
Danzig
Budapest
Venice
Genoa
Florence
Naples
Marseilles
Lyons
Geneva
Munich
Augsburg
Nuremberg
Strasburg
Dresden
Leipsic
Breslau
Posen
Thorn
Smolensk
Kharkov
Poltava
Dnieper
Dniester
Danube
Jassy
MOLDAVIA
CRIMEA
KHANATE OF THE YEDISAN
Bordeaux
Toulouse
Orange
Avignon
Saragossa
Santander
Pamplona
Nantes
La Rochelle
Orleans
Rouen
Brest
Calais
Dunkirk
Dover
Bristol
Oxford
Worcester
Nasby
Limerick
Kinsale
Dublin
Aughrim
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
Edinburgh
Dunbar
Berwick
Marston Moor
York
Hull
Lincoln
Derby
Nottingham
Shrewsbury
Chester
Liverpool
Manchester
Leeds
Sheffield
Gibraltar
Corsica
Sardinia
Sicily
Malta
Ragusa
Trent
Milan
Turin
Bologna
Parma
Modena
Mantua
Padua
Verona
Trieste
Zurich
Basel
Berne
Lucerne
Coire
Innspruck
Trent
Tyrol
Styria
Carinthia
Carniola
Croatia
Hungary
Bohemia
Silesia
Saxony
Brandenburg
Pomerania
Mecklenburg
Holstein
Lubeck
Bremen
Hanover
Brunswick
Magdeburg
Dessau
Lutter
Lutzen
Breitenfeld
Osnaburg
Munster
Cleves
Utrecht
Rotheringay
Bergen
Oslo
Upsala
Abo
Revel
Narva
Pskov
Novgorod
Wisby
Calmar
Lund
Ingria
Carelia
Livonia
Estonia
Courland
Kovno
Vilno
Brest Litovsk
Warsaw
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300

tory was to be maintained. An exception was made for the hereditary Austrian dominions in which the emperor made no concessions to the Protestants.

So far as the *territorial* settlement was concerned, France gained possession of Alsace and secured recognition of her complete sovereignty over the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun. Sweden received territory in northern Germany and a heavy indemnity. Brandenburg-Prussia, which had claims on certain lands ceded to Sweden, was granted, in compensation, the territory of some bishoprics. Switzerland and the Netherlands were formally recognized as independent states.

The *constitutional* changes affected Germany. The weakness of its political organization was not only maintained but increased by this great international treaty. Every imperial principality or city (and there were more than 300 of these) was granted in its territory complete sovereignty including the right to conclude treaties with foreign powers as long as they were not directed against the emperor. In all important affairs the emperor was dependent on the diet which declared war, concluded peace, and decided questions of taxation and legislation.

In order to secure the carrying out of these provisions, the constitution was placed under the guarantee of the signatory powers. The two great powers, France and Sweden, thus enjoyed the permanent right to intervene in German internal affairs. The ruin of the imperial authority was complete and the empire was absolutely defenseless against foreign aggression. The emperors gradually neglected general for Austrian interests and in the pursuit of territorial aggrandizement sought to profit by the weakness of Turkey.

**134. Results of the Thirty Years' War.**—The Thirty Years' War had reduced the population of Germany by one-half. The number of twenty-five million inhabitants which the country had reached before the war was again attained only in 1820. Germany was thrown back in its progress

and development for over a century. From 1648 to 1789 France was the dominant power in Europe. Her ascendency was indicated by the use of French as the diplomatic language of the future. The Treaty of Westphalia was the last great international document written in Latin.

As some of the stipulations of the Treaty of Westphalia were greatly detrimental to the interests of the Catholic Church, the Pope protested against its provisions. His protest, however, had been anticipated by the powers, and they had agreed among themselves to ignore it.

The war between France and Spain continued. The Peace of the Pyrenees, which was not concluded between the two powers until 1659, sealed the triumph of France over the Spanish Hapsburgs as the Peace of Westphalia had sealed her triumph over the Austrian Hapsburgs.

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# SECOND EPOCH OF MODERN HISTORY

## Royal Absolutism and the Ascendency of France (1648-1789)

**135. General Statement.**—In negotiating the Treaty of Westphalia, the European Powers had deliberately ignored the wishes of the Pope and freely violated the rights of the Catholic Church. During the subsequent period, they continued to strive almost exclusively for the advancement of their secular interests under the willing direction of their rulers, who were generally autocrats. The epoch extending from 1648 to 1789 is characterized by: (1) *royal absolutism;* (2) *the ascendency of France;* (3) *the introduction of the principle of the balance of power;* (4) *the appearance of rationalism;* (5) *the general practise of intolerance.*

1. *Royal Absolutism.* The kings or princes now exercise absolute power over their subjects as at no other epoch of the Christian Era. This is accounted for on the one hand, by the fact that Protestantism had vastly extended their authority and increased their resources, and, on the other hand, by the absence of effectual checks on the abuse of power. The Church, and particularly the papacy, had, as long as unity of faith prevailed, frequently curbed the power of tyrannical princes and defended the rights of oppressed peoples. The dreaded sentence of excommunication and the extreme penalty of deposition were then fearlessly pronounced against the most powerful Christian princes. Now, however, the papacy was held in contempt in Protestant countries, and the power which it once wielded was in the hands of the very princes against whom it was formerly used with such telling effect.

Protestant practise had weakened the allegiance to Rome even in Catholic rulers. Not slow to perceive the material advantages accruing to Protestant princes from the untrammeled exercise of combined ecclesiastical and civil jurisdic-

tion, some Catholic rulers also evinced a pronounced tendency to become the religious heads of the churches in their own states. Among the important errors of these times were Gallicanism in France, Febronianism in Germany, Josephism in Austria. These false systems all resulted from attempts of the respective states to usurp the rights of the Catholic Church.

The existence of a strong *territorial* nobility had so far formed another check on the royal power. The king could not become absolute, so long as an aristocracy proud of its strength, jealous of its rights, and independent of spirit was prepared to resist royal encroachments to the utmost. This nobility had disappeared in centralized states like France and England. In France there survived a *court nobility* more anxious to divine and execute the royal will than to manifest and assert a mind of its own.

Parliamentary institutions, which in our own day are an effective restraint on the highest civil authority, were nonexistent or in their infancy at the time. With the exception of the British Parliament they became a force with which governments had to reckon only during and after the French Revolution.

2. *The Ascendency of France.*—France was the leading state in Europe during this epoch. She had in the seventeenth century a well-organized government, remarkable ministers, a successful foreign policy and a brilliant king. French political ascendency is unquestioned throughout the reign of Louis XIV. It did not endure after him, because in this age of colonial expansion and trade establishments, France's policy was narrowly European to the detriment of her overseas interests. Her monarchs, including Louis XIV, were dazzled by brilliant events which they could witness at home, and but slightly attracted by the vaunted wealth of distant lands. However, although the political predominance of France passed with the Peace of Utrecht and Louis XIV, her intellectual ascendency continued and her

literature, art, and culture fascinated Europe throughout the eighteenth century.

3. *The principle of the balance of power.*—The French King, Louis XIV (1643–1715), and the Prussian King Frederic II (1740–1786) are characteristic rulers of the epoch. The former, too proud to consider himself bound by treaties, typifies the period in its disregard for human laws. The latter, an irreligious scoffer, exemplifies its contempt for supernatural principles. Both pursued as their highest aim in their foreign relations personal glory and territorial aggrandizement. As a result the principle of the balance of power became a fundamental principle in international intercourse. As the observance of treaties and the practise of justice occupied no place and played no part in international relations, a certain equilibrium or equality of strength had to be maintained among the various powers, lest one state's growth endanger the safety and existence of another. This system was called the balance of power. It was a necessity at a time when a state's rights were measured by the physical force at its command to defend them.

4. *The appearance of rationalism.*—In religion the period was characterized by the appearance of rationalism and the practise of intolerance. The former was chiefly, the latter partly, the result of the Protestant Revolt. In theory the so-called Reformers had proclaimed the principle of private interpretation of the Bible and had constituted every man a free and independent judge of his own religion. They had done away, so far as it was within their power, with any living infallible teaching authority. The result was that those outside the Catholic Church soon found in the Bible everything but the truth.

The blame for the consequent confusion and unbridled multiplication of religious beliefs was laid on the Word of God itself and the revealed religion it contained. Some men entirely rejected the sacred character of the Scriptures and discarded all revealed truth. They insisted that reason

alone must be followed in religion and that reason can admit only such truths as it can comprehend and such facts as it can demonstrate. They were called *Rationalists*, because of this excessive reliance on reason which involved the rejection of mysteries and of all revealed religion.

5. *Religious intolerance.*—The Protestant leaders, after preaching individual religious liberty, established in reality national churches. These new creations, despite the alluring declarations of their authors, tolerated dissenters no more than the Catholic Church tolerated them. The Catholic Church held, as it still holds, that it alone is the true religious society founded by Christ and that its supreme pontiff is, by divine commission, its infallible teacher and lawful ruler. It refused to recognize similar teaching and ruling authority in any other person, and contended that error cannot be entitled to the same rights as the truth.

As for the Protestants they proclaimed the religious freedom of the individual, but subjected him, in reality, to the whims of princes who had received no religious authority either from Christ or any other competent person. It was in the name of such religious authority usurped by the civil government that the most savage persecution ever practised in any Christian state was carried out against the Catholics in Great Britain and Ireland.

## CHAPTER VIII

### FRANCE: THE REIGN OF LOUIS XIV (1643–1715)

### I. Personality, Court, Ministers and Wars

**136. Louis XIII (1610–1643); Cardinal Richelieu.**—When assassination ended, in 1610, the reign of the popular Henry IV, the succession fell to his son Louis XIII. The new king was only eight years old and his mother, Mary de' Medici, assumed the regency of the kingdom. Later the government was controlled by Cardinal Richelieu who, as leading minister, remained in power for eighteen years (1624–1642). This highly talented and energetic man laid the foundations of the mighty French state ruled over by Louis XIV. He pursued a twofold aim in his policy: *at home the removal of every restraint on the royal power; abroad the establishment of French political predominance.*

How absolute and supreme he intended to make the royal power may be gathered from his declaration that, "kings are the living image of the Godhead" and that the royal majesty is second only to the divine. Accordingly, all power was to be concentrated in the king's hands and every disobedience to the royal authority was to be severely punished. At the time, however, serious obstacles hindered the realization of such a plan. The nobles of France were powerful and turbulent; the governors of provinces ruled in many instances as independent sovereigns; the parliament of Paris, which was the highest French law court, and not a parliament in a true sense of the word, aspired to control taxation and exercise political power; the Huguenots, owing to the fortresses which had been left in their hands, were a serious menace to national unity.

**137. Richelieu Lays the Foundation of French National Strength.**—Richelieu resolutely addressed himself to the

task of suppressing all opposition. The power of the nobility was reduced and obedience to the laws of the land rigorously enforced. Even the king's brothers and relatives had to submit to royal decrees. In the provinces, the governors were subjected to central control and the lower classes were protected against their encroachments. The parliament was restricted to its judicial functions and denied interference in political affairs. The Huguenots were deprived of their strongholds, but continued to enjoy the freedom of worship and the civil rights guaranteed by the Edict of Nantes.

In external affairs, Richelieu endeavored to establish the political power of France by energetic resistance to the Hapsburg family in Austria and Spain. It was in successfully combating this House that Richelieu established or rather prepared the ascendency of France. He weakened Austria by prolonging and finally taking an active part in the Thirty Years' War, and he reduced the power of Spain by supporting the Dutch. His work was still incomplete when he died in 1642, but he was succeeded by a man of his own choice and mind.

**138. Cardinal Mazarin and the Early Years of Louis XIV's Reign (1643–1661).**—Cardinal Richelieu, on his deathbed, had recommended to the king as his successor another church dignitary, Cardinal Mazarin (1602–1661). Louis XIII died a few months after Richelieu, leaving his throne to his son, Louis XIV, who was then less than five years old. Queen Anne of Austria became regent of the kingdom and gladly availed herself of Mazarin's ability and experience in the government of France.

An Italian by birth, Julius Mazarin—or Mazarini to call him by his original name—had studied with the Jesuits in Rome and had completed his education in Spain. After following the military profession and rising to a captaincy in an Italian regiment, he received minor orders and entered the papal diplomatic service. Artful and cunning he proved

very successful in negotiation, and Richelieu, an excellent judge of men, secured his services for France.

Mazarin became a naturalized French citizen in 1639, was, through the intervention of France, created cardinal in 1641 and became, after Louis XIII's death, in 1643, the all-powerful minister of the widowed regent Anne of Austria. His power ended only with his death in 1661, although Louis XIV was declared of age ten years earlier. So intimate was his friendship with Anne of Austria that he is said to have been married to her. No conclusive proof, however, can be adduced either of the marriage or the ordination to the priesthood of this cardinal-statesman.

**139. Mazarin's Policy; the Fronde.**—As minister, Mazarin continued at home and abroad the policy of Cardinal Richelieu. At home, he aimed to concentrate all authority in the king's hands: abroad he sought, by Protestant alliances, to destroy the power of the Hapsburgs. His position, however, was not an easy one in France. He was hated as a foreigner and opposed as an enemy by the nobility and Parliament. The "Fronde" (sling), as the party that resisted him was called, went so far as to raise an army and to fight a civil war against the royal court and its hated minister. Mazarin was forced to flee and spent a year in exile in Germany.

His opponents were not to enjoy a lasting triumph as they had no program and received no hearty support from the people. Formed by ambitious noblemen and distinguished ladies, the Fronde was more a fashion than an organized political opposition. Its name was not inappropriately borrowed from a children's play, for this rebellion was a wicked amusement indulged in by frivolous and self-seeking nobles at their country's risk and peril. Mazarin finally triumphed over it, despite the demands of a foreign war.

**140. Foreign Affairs Under Mazarin.**—His success against foreign enemies was no less complete than his triumph over domestic opponents. It was he—not Richelieu—who reaped the fruits of the Thirty Years' War in the Treaty of West-

phalia and it was he who personally concluded the *Treaty of the Pyrennees*. By the latter he secured an increase in territory for France and concluded a matrimonial alliance between the two royal houses. Roussillon and Artois were ceded to France, and Louis XIV married the Spanish Infanta Maria Teresa.

In his work for France, Mazarin was ever mindful of his own personal interests. He amassed a fortune of 40 million dollars, a fabulous sum for an individual to possess at that time. Perhaps to atone for his indifference to the interests of Catholicism in his foreign policy, he bequeathed $120,000 to the Pope for the prosecution of the war against the Turks.

**141. Personality of Louis XIV (1643–1715).**—With Mazarin's death in 1661 begins the personal government of Louis XIV whose reign of seventy-two years is the longest recorded in French history.

Louis' personal qualities admirably fitted him for the kingship. He was tall, handsome, of noble bearing, and unsurpassed dignity. Everything in his external appearance pointed to a man truly born to rule. Serious, thoughtful, and endowed in an eminent degree with the rare gift of common sense, he manifested at an early date an observant curiosity for everything that came under his notice.

Nor is it true that an over-ambitious prime minister, too long kept him in ignorance of state affairs. At the age of fifteen the youthful monarch was obliged to attend meetings of the council of state and was accurately informed about the general interests of the realm. He waited patiently for the time when the death of his great minister, Mazarin, would place all power in his hands. The coming of that day he desired and dreaded at the same time. As soon as it arrived he announced his intention of taking personal and absolute control of the government. His declaration caused general surprise, because he was looked upon as a young man more fond of pleasure than accustomed to work. The king,

however, lived up to his declaration until death snatched the reins of government from his hands.

**142. The Kingship as Understood by Louis XIV; His Alleged Healing Powers.**—In his royal position he considered himself not merely as the manager of state affairs but as God's lieutenant, as the supreme master of the kingdom. The realm was, in his eyes, not only a sovereign state over which he had absolute and exclusive control, but a huge property which he owned. His conquests were undertaken to increase this property and to add to the renown and glory of the royal person. Louis considered it unworthy of himself to work for the happiness of his people, rather than for the acquisition of personal glory. In his eyes the state existed for the king and not the king for the state. Such views, though they appear preposterous to modern minds, were generally held, in continental Europe at the time of Louis XIV. The king was looked upon as God's agent on earth and his subjects paid him all but divine honors.

So true is this that, "had it not been for the fear of the devil which God left in him even in his greatest excesses, Louis would have caused himself to be worshipped and would not have lacked worshippers." Many persons undoubtedly believed in his powers as a wonder-worker. Patients afflicted with scrofula particularly had recourse to his pretended miraculous healing powers. No less than 2,500 of these sought relief from their sufferings at the ceremony of his royal consecration. On the great feasts the king usually "touched the sick," that is, after the Mass in which he had received communion, he impressed on scrofula patients the sign of the Cross saying: "May God heal thee, the king touches thee." How widespread was the belief in the king's wonder-working ability is shown by the fact that the persons seeking relief came from all parts of France and even from distant Spain.

**143. Versailles Becomes the Royal Residence.**—Louis XIV, never fond of Paris as a place of residence, selected for

this purpose Versailles, a spot more congenial to his tastes. The present city bearing that name was non-existent at the time, but sprung up around the magnificent palace which he erected in this picturesque landscape. His father had built a castle and often hunted in this wooded district. This castle and a few houses represented all there was of the town when Louis XIV resolved to establish his residence at Versailles. His plans, at first moderate, gradually assumed vast proportions, as his needs and pretensions grew with his power, and his love of beauty and splendor delighted in giving increasing scope to the architect and other artists who raised and adorned the edifice. The castle of Versailles became the richest and most imposing royal palace of the time and was, as a model of architecture, frequently copied in the residences of nobility at home and of royalty abroad.

Louis XIV took up his residence in the palace of Versailles only in 1682 and even then the elaborate work of interior decoration was far from completed. Such proportions did the royal establishment assume that the city of Versailles was built to lodge and serve the royal court. Two classes of courtiers—all nobles—formed the city: (1) the gentlemen and ladies engaged in the personal service of the royal family; (2) the noblemen who came to Versailles to pay homage or solicit favors at court. The splendor-loving monarch wished that the nobility of the realm should fix its residence around the royal residence and exacted that it be present at least from time to time at Versailles. Lucrative offices and positions of trust were granted only to such as appeared in the king's presence and came under his personal notice.

A minute ceremonial, extending to the most insignificant details, prescribed the day, hour, manner, costume, and order in which a subject might be admitted to the royal presence or be allowed to perform a personal service to his majesty. Numerous festivals, gorgeous displays, artistic surroundings, brilliant entertainments, and refined associations served on the one hand to enhance the prestige of the most exalted

Palace of Versailles Built by Louis XIV

king and on the other to compensate the courtiers for their absence from their native province and hereditary estates.

The wonder is that amidst all this pomp the king found time to give daily eight hours to the hard and exacting task of government. It is a fine tribute to his judgment that he was not more frequently betrayed into rash deeds and extravagant undertakings by the interested flattery and unmeasured adulation of those who were in constant attendance upon him.

**144. Art in France Under Louis XIV.**—The principal architect of the royal palace at Versailles was Julius Mansard (1646–1708) upon whom Louis XIV conferred many offices and bestowed numerous titles. Mansard was appointed inspector of public buildings and was connected with most of the king's architectural undertakings. He was the most representative architect of the time and must be considered, in some degree, as an exponent of the Barocco style, since his works are characterized by a strange admixture of classical elements and new, fantastic features. The frequent imitation of the Versailles' palace in other structures and the use of his name in English to designate a particular style of roof are eloquent proof of Mansard's influence. The very building activity of this time was itself of course a powerful encouragement to allied arts like sculpture, painting and engineering.

Louis XIV fostered art not merely by the opportunities which he created for artists, but likewise by the distinction and honors which he conferred on all persons of genius and talent. These, like the nobility, were an ornament of his court, were gladly seen at its festivities and added intellectual distinction to its social gatherings. The court was a centre of social refinement, artistic taste and literary elegance.

**145. French Literature Under Louis XIV.**—The seventeenth century was the classical period in the history of French literature. The reign of Louis XIV represents in France, as the reign of Augustus represented in Rome, the golden age of letters.

In letters, as in most other fields, the influences which produced such happy results were at work long before Louis XIV ascended the throne. The culture which began to spread widely in French society at the beginning of the seventeenth century had helped to chasten the language and to transform it, by the elimination of low and vulgar expressions, into a fit instrument of polite intercourse. To this spread of culture had been added by Richelieu in 1635, an authoritative guide in matters of literary taste, the *French Academy*. This institution, established and still supported by the state, was not a school as the name seems to suggest, but a learned society founded to watch over the purity and correctness of the French tongue.

France, under these favorable circumstances, produced a host of remarkable writers in poetry and prose. Descartes (1596–1650) the philosopher of methodical doubt, and Pascal (1623–1662) the thinker and polemist, furnished that precision and clearness of diction so distinctive of the French idiom. Corneille (1606–1684) gave to the stage its first masterpiece, and deserved the proud title of "Father of French tragedy." Racine (1639–1699) a dramatist like Corneille, surpassed the latter by the beauty and purity of his style and the subtle analysis of character and emotion. Molière (1622–1673), a writer of comedies and unexcelled observer of human frailties, ridiculed the defects, follies, and vices of the personages depicted in his plays.

In oratory, the age produced Bossuet (1627–1704), the most forceful orator that ever occupied the pulpit in France. His sermons and discourses not only enlightened and moved his hearers, but formed a mine of information for students of subsequent generations. His friend and later antagonist, the gentle Fénelon (1651–1715), was a distinguished writer on varied subjects, as well as a zealous preacher, saintly bishop and most attractive man. Great literary charm attracts the reader also to the simultaneously amusing and instructive *Fables* of La Fontaine (1621–1695) and to the

Letters of that noble and most judicious lady Madame de Sévigné (1626–1696) whose collected writings teem with priceless bits of information for the court historian.

**146. The Government Under Louis XIV.**—Louis XIV may not have pronounced the words "I am the state," which have been without sufficient reason attributed to him. He was nevertheless, as has already been stated, imbued with the idea which they express. He considered himself the centre of national interests and the source of all power, and he intended to retain in his hands absolute control of all official business. There was to be no division of authority with him, the supreme and sole master in the kingdom.

While Louis XIV debarred the people from all share in the government, he was not opposed to a *division of labor.* He gladly welcomed *guidance* and eagerly sought *assistance* in his administration. He found the former in the *royal council;* he secured the latter in the *secretaries of state.* The royal council was a long-established institution; it gained under Louis XIV increasing importance through the greater frequency of its meetings, its more business-like organization and the king's constant presence at its deliberations.

As for the needed assistance, Louis XIV obtained it by the appointment of government officials who, being clerks rather than ministers, performed enormous tasks but enjoyed little authority. They filled particularly the following positions: the chancellorship, the controllership of finances and the secretariates of state. The chancellor was at the head of the Department of justice and corresponded to our Attorney General. The Controller of the Finances was in charge of the public treasury. As for the secretaries of state, they were originally merely officials who carried out, in their respective departments, the decisions of the royal council or council of state. By the very nature of their employment, they became more and more familiar with state affairs, were frequently appealed to in controverted questions and grew steadily in importance until they occupied.

as at the present day, the highest executive positions under the supreme head of the nation.

Four secretaries of state were in existence in France under Louis XIV: (1) Foreign affairs; (2) War; (3) the Navy; (4) the Royal Household. The very names of the first three mentioned sufficiently indicate the attributions of their incumbents. The secretariate of state for the royal household looked after the interests and organized the festivities of the court; it likewise recorded the favors granted, or the punishments decreed by the king. With his special attributions each secretary of state combined the internal administration of a distinct part of France so that the four together performed the work of our secretary of the interior. Furthermore not infrequently one official served simultaneously as head of several administrative departments.

**147. Colbert (1619–1683) and His Work.**—The principal ministers of Louis XIV were Colbert and Louvois. Colbert was Controller General of Finances, Secretary of the Navy and of the King's Household and willingly assumed the burden and performed the work of many other charges. He was the chief minister of the reign and his unflagging activity was felt in nearly all departments of the public service. His rival Louvois was secretary of state for war. Both ministers were indefatigable workers, efficient organizers and most faithful servants of their king. Colbert provided the funds, Louvois the soldiers for Louis XIV.

Colbert had been trained in the school of Mazarin who, shortly before his death, is reported to have said to Louis XIV: "Sire I owe you all, but I believe that I pay at least part of the debt in leaving you Colbert." Colbert reorganized the public finances, promoted industry, developed the merchant marine, created the royal navy, and protected literature and art. He suppressed, by energetic measures, graft and corruption in the collection of taxes and thus lightened, at least temporarily, the burden of the people,

while he increased the revenues of the state. A believer in high protective tariffs, he nevertheless favored, so as to bring foreign gold and silver into the country, the free importation of raw materials and the exportation of manufactured articles. He sought to stimulate commerce by the construction of canals, the improvement of roads, the establishment of trading companies and the promotion of shipbuilding. For the protection of French foreign commerce he realized the need of warships and created a strong navy.

Although a man of saving habits, he generously rewarded artistic and literary merit, founded several scientific societies and, with his help, the Royal (now National) Library began to grow into the largest collection of books in the world. He spent a life of unceasing toil in the service of his country, but earned neither the gratitude of his sovereign nor the love of his countrymen. His last illness was saddened by the scant sympathy he received from the court. Neglected by the king, he was detested by the people whose financial burden he had, owing to extravagant expenditure, in vain sought to reduce. For fear of a hostile popular demonstration his dead body was carried to its place of burial in the secrecy of night.

**148. Louvois (1639–1691) Minister of War.**—Colbert's aim had been to make France a commercial state; Louis XIV, however, cared nothing for commerce and a great deal for military glory. The king, in the rivalry for his support between Colbert and Louvois, naturally leaned toward the latter, his minister of war. As Richelieu and Mazarin had centralized the civil administration, so Louvois centralized the administration of the army. Through his untiring efforts the disconnected units of not very dependable troops were unified under the royal command, subjected to strict discipline and organized for coordinate effort. Special training formed an efficient body of officers and the uniform, now for the first time generally introduced, heightened the sense

of responsibility among enlisted men. The establishment of storehouses of provisions and supplies in places where they were most needed made possible and safe a more rapid movement of troops.

Military hospitals, an ambulance service, and a magnificent National Soldiers' Home (Hotel des Invalides) cared for the sick, wounded and permanently disabled soldiers. The maintenance of a large number of men under arms in peace time increased the efficiency of the troops, and brought for the first time standing armies into prominence. Louvois thus made the French army the best in Europe. With this highly efficient instrument of war Louis XIV won the brilliant victories of the early part of his reign and put up a strong defense against his numerous enemies when his resources began to decline.

**149. The War of Devolution Between France and Spain (1667–1668); Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668).**—Louis XIV remarkable for his diplomatic ability, was endowed with insignificant military talent. He liked war, however, was fond of the glitter of arms and loved conquest. In his pursuit of territorial aggrandizement he sought, like Richelieu and Mazarin, to secure for France her natural boundaries: the sea, the Pyrennees, the Alps, and the Rhine. He combined with this leading aim of his foreign policy the promotion of Catholic interests, an object conspicuous by its absence in the two cardinals' direction of foreign affairs. The following wars were fought during the reign: (1) The War of Devolution (1667–1668); (2) the Dutch War (1672–1679); (3) the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697); (4) the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714).

In his ambition for new territory and strong frontiers, Louis XIV first put forth a claim to the Spanish or Belgian Netherlands. These provinces, it will be remembered, had remained Catholic and subject to Spain when the northern Netherlands had become Protestant and independent. Louis XIV, as stipulated in the treaty of the Pyrenees, had

married Maria Teresa, a daughter of King Philip IV of Spain by his first wife. Upon Philip's death, Charles II his son by a second marriage, succeeded him on the throne. Louis XIV laid claim to part of Philip's inheritance.

Admitting no distinction between sovereignty and private ownership, he demanded, basing himself on a local custom of the Low Countries, the cession of the Spanish Netherlands to France. The custom he invoked was known as the right of *Devolution* and has left its name to the war which resulted from its misapplication by Louis XIV. It granted the property of a man, although he might have married more than once, to his children by his first wife. Maria Teresa, Louis XIV's consort, was the eldest child by Philip IV's first marriage. In her right the French king claimed as his inheritance the Belgian Netherlands, as though these provinces were nothing more than a piece of private property.

Spain rejected these pretensions, and in 1667 Louis XIV began the war of Devolution. He was well prepared for the conflict and the international situation appeared very favorable to him. His armies at once overran the Spanish possessions to the north and east of France, viz., the Netherlands and the Free County of Burgundy.[1] He seemed to have Spain at his mercy when some European states, alarmed at the growth of French power, entered into an alliance against him. This compact was the famous Triple Alliance of 1668 concluded by England, Holland and Sweden. It was "the first formal expression of European resistance to the aggressions of Louis XIV." The French king, yielding to the threats of the coalition signed with Spain the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668). He consented to the restoration of the Free County of Burgundy, but acquired a fringe of strong fortresses to the north of France.

**150. The Dutch War (1672–1679); Preparations and Beginning.**—Louis XIV had yielded to the force of circum-

[1] This reference is exclusively to the Free County of Burgundy, frequently called Franche Comté, not to the former Duchy of Burgundy which was French since 1544.

stances in concluding peace with Spain. His plans had suffered an unexpected setback, but were not even temporarily abandoned. The years from 1668 to 1672 were years of preparation for a war against the Dutch whom he considered the chief authors of the Triple Alliance. He keenly resented their interference, because he despised them as upstart merchants and hated them as republicans and Calvinists. The efforts of his diplomacy were at once directed toward the breaking up of the Triple Alliance and the isolation of Holland.

In a short time these aims were attained. In 1670 the secret treaty of Dover secured England's withdrawal from the compact by the promise of an annual pension to Charles II who was thus freed from reliance upon Parliament. Bribery also produced a change of front in the Swedish government. This was the more easily accomplished as Sweden never had serious reasons to fear Louis XIV. The latter thus rid of two powerful cpponents, still further strengthened his position by allying himself with the Archbishop of Cologne and the Bishop of Münster. The territories, held by these churchmen, permitted of an attack on the Dutch without traversing the Spanish Netherlands and risking a war with Spain. Furthermore, as Holland was torn by civil strife and only defended by a disorganized soldiery, an invasion of her territory promised to be an interesting travel tour rather than a difficult military expedition.

In 1672 Louis declared war against the Dutch and took personal command of his troops. Within a short time most of the territory of the small republic was in his hands. The Dutch army, unable to offer any kind of resistance, retreated before the overwhelming numbers of the invaders, and the Dutch Government, in its anxiety to save the country from supreme disaster, asked for peace. The French king intended to dictate rather than negotiate peace, and laid down unacceptable conditions including the surrender of Dutch

independence. This roused the prostrate nation to supreme efforts of resistance and forced it to unite for common defense.

**151. William III of Orange; Spain and the Emperor Join the Netherlands Against France.**—An astute and obstinate leader was found by the Dutch in William III of Orange, a descendant of the famous William the Silent. The sea proved an unconquerable ally after the sluices were opened, the dikes cut and the lower parts of the country flooded. The rising waters forced the French troops to retreat and reduced them to impotence. Their proud king, who in his glorious advance, had been chiefly occupied in receiving the submission of Dutch towns, left to one of his generals the unpleasant task of dealing with an ugly situation and returned to France. He fondly cherished the thought that time would supply a settlement in conformity with his desires.

The hopes he so complacently placed in the future were not fulfilled. William of Orange soon persuaded some governments that the French king's unbounded ambition was not only a danger to Holland, but a general danger to Europe. Spain and the Emperor abandoned their neutrality and entered the lists against Louis XIV. The French troops, being now needed elsewhere, almost completely evacuated Holland.

In this formidable opposition which she had to face, France had the good fortune of being served by two great commanders, Turenne and Condé, and by the greatest military engineer of the time, Vauban. She continued to win important military triumphs and defended herself successfully against superior numbers. The complete overthrow of her enemies, however, seemed to be out of the question and expedients, like the inhuman devastation of the Palatinate resorted to in self-defense, added but little to her military glory. After Turenne's death in 1675 and Condé's voluntary retirement which followed shortly, the

French soldiers gradually became weary of war. As their adversaries tired of fighting battles which they never won, so the French tired of victories which profited them nothing. In 1678 both sides were inclined to abandon the struggle and peace negotiations began.

**152. The Treaty of Nimwegen (1678–1679).**—The treaty of *Nimwegen* put an end to the war; it was signed by Holland and Spain in 1678 and by the Emperor in 1679. Holland did not lose a foot of ground; Spain was forced to cede the County of Burgundy and fourteen towns in the Netherlands to France; the emperor gave up the important city of Freiburg in Baden to Louis XIV.

Louis had thus failed completely in his main aim, the subjugation of Holland. The treaty was, nevertheless, favorable to him. Through it France permanently acquired the County of Burgundy and part of the Spanish Netherlands; she also secured a footing on the right bank of the Rhine. The city of Paris conferred on Louis the title of Great, and erected in his honor an equestrian statue representing him as a Roman emperor.

**153. The Commissions of Reunion.**—Just when the capital and nation were expressing their admiration for their king, Louis XIV was sowing the seeds of new wars and of bitter suffering for his people. He used the period of peace to usurp territory which he had not conquered in war. His disregard for the rights of neighboring states and his arrogance in treating with foreign princes led in a few years to the formation of a formidable coalition against him.

France, in his scheme, was to come into possession of all the land she had once held; also of the districts sometime dependent on the territories she had acquired in the treaties of Westphalia and Nimwegen. To give the annexations made in peacetime the appearance of legality, he instituted the famous *Commissions of Reunion.* All the members of these pliant instruments of his will were appointed by himself. Gratifying his desires they adjudged to France

cities and districts to which she had no rightful claim either in virtue of a treaty or of former ownership. The strong fortress of Luxemburg was taken from Spain; the rich and free city of Strasburg from the German empire. Decadent Spain was too weak and the emperor too much menaced in the east to resist these encroachments.

**154. The League of Augsburg (1686).**—Such high-handed proceedings aroused hostile sentiment throughout Europe. The Dutch viewed with alarm the seizure of Luxemburg; the emperor and the German princes could not forgive the occupation of Strasburg. In 1686, several European states secretly entered into an alliance, which from the city where it was signed, received the name of *League of Augsburg*. It included the emperor, the Kings of Spain and Sweden, the Dutch republic and several German princes. The avowed aim of the alliance was the defense of the treaties of Westphalia and Nimwegen; its real purpose, resistance to the aggressions of the French king.

It was strengthened and welded together by the accession of England in 1689. Her Stuart kings, yielding to personal considerations rather than national sentiment, had maintained friendly relations with Louis XIV. In his wars they had usually either furnished him help or observed neutrality. In 1688 an unexpected event completely changed the situation. Louis' most implacable enemy, William III of Orange, landed in England, overthrew the Stuarts and united under his rule, England and Holland. The following year England ranged herself on the side of France's enemies and thus began between the two countries that period of rivalry in Europe and hostility in the colonies which has been called the second Hundred Years War and which lasted from 1689 to 1815.

**155. The War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697).**—When England joined the allies, Louis XIV abating nothing of his pretensions and hoping to reap an advantage by taking the offensive, had already attacked his enemies and invaded

the Palatinate. The war thus kindled became not only a continental European war, but extended also to the colonies in North America where it received the special name of King William's War.

The dreary days of the protracted conflict were marked by few events of general interest or primary importance. The fighting occurred mainly in the lands and on the seas surrounding France. Aside from the second devastation of the Palatinate ordered by the merciless Louvois, the principal battles were fought in Ireland, in the Belgian Netherlands and at sea.

James II, after his overthrow in England, sought refuge and help at the French court. He was warmly welcomed by Louis XIV who confidently expected that with French support James would rally round his person all the elements of disaffection in his former dominions. He would thus be enabled to fight a long-drawn-out civil war for the English throne and would prevent William of Orange from taking an active part in the struggle on the continent. A French expeditionary force was at once equipped and placed at the disposal of the deposed Stuart king. It sailed for Ireland, effected a successful landing at Kinsale and occupied part of the island. Its expectations of effecting the complete conquest of the country were not realized. James II showed himself inferior as a military leader to William of Orange and was worsted in the battle of the *Boyne* (1690).

This battle was followed by a decisive action at sea. The French fleet was utterly defeated by the combined English and Dutch naval forces off Cape La Hogue in the English Channel (1692). This victory was of great importance for the war and for all subsequent time. It removed by the destruction of French sea power, the danger of an invasion of England or Ireland. It introduced that English predominance at sea which has in a high degree shaped the history of the world to our own day.

After this naval victory, King William could freely use

England's strength and resources on the continent. He opposed the French in the Spanish Netherlands where he fought with great stubbornness, but little success. The victories, barren though they were, were usually won by the French. Her military successes, however, could not conquer peace for France. Her king first expressed readiness for peace negotiations, not because he had decisively defeated his enemies, but because he wanted a free hand in the settlement of the succession to the throne of Spain. This question was likely to become at any moment a momentous issue in the politics of Europe, and Louis' candidate stood little chance of being accepted by the Spaniards as long as France was at war with them.

**156. The Treaty of Ryswick (1697).**—The peace delegates met at the village of Ryswick near the Hague in the Netherlands. The treaty on which they agreed reflected the indecisive issue of the military operations. Louis XIV recognized William III as King of England and undertook not to encourage any plots against him. He agreed to the presence of Dutch garrisons in some important fortresses of the Spanish Netherlands thus accepting the establishment of a fortified barrier between France and the Dutch Republic. He restored all the places occupied since the peace of Nimwegen excepting Strasburg, and withdrew from the right bank of the Rhine.

The treaty caused profound discontent in France. The nation, after so many victories and heavy sacrifices, considered the terms humiliating, and the king's prestige was seriously impaired.

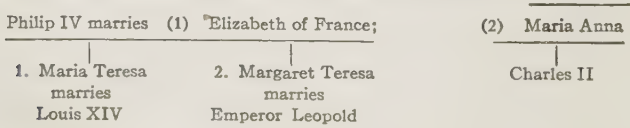
**157. The Spanish Succession.**—Although Spain steadily declined in the seventeenth century, her dominions were still vast not only in Europe, but also in America and Asia. Since 1665 she was, as it were, a monarchy without a monarch. Her king, Charles II (1665–1700), weak in body and mind was generally in a poor and frequently in a desperate state of health. He was the only son of Philip IV and, al-

though married twice, had no children to succeed him. From the year of his accession in 1665, until that of his death in 1700, the Spanish succession was a most perplexing problem for European statesmen. The dynasties which were most likely to lay claim to the inheritance were the Bourbons of France and the Hapsburgs of Austria.

Louis XIV had married Maria Teresa, Charles II's eldest sister and the Emperor Leopold I had become the husband of Margaret, another sister of the Spanish monarch.[1] The claims advanced by Bourbons or Hapsburgs to the throne of Spain could not be satisfied without unsettling the balance of power, that is, without upsetting the equilibrium or equality of strength among European states which was the best guarantee of international peace. A settlement safeguarding general European interests seemed to demand the dismemberment of the Spanish monarchy. Several partition treaties were in fact concluded, but never put in force. Neither the king nor the people of Spain would at any time consent to such a solution and uncompromisingly upheld the integrity of the Spanish dominions.

**158. Last Will and Death of Charles II.**—Charles II's last will and testament aimed chiefly at the attainment of this end. France seemed to him best qualified to defend Spanish territorial integrity. She was contiguous to Spain and had the best army in Europe. He bequeathed his crown with Spain and all her possessions to a grandson of Louis XIV, Philip, Duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin. In order to prevent discord and avoid war he explicitly stipulated that the two crowns of Spain and France should never be united.

A few weeks after signing this will, Charles II, the last scion of the Hapsburg line in Spain, breathed his last. His


Philip IV marries (1) Elizabeth of France;
(2) Maria Anna
1. Maria Teresa married Louis XIV
2. Margaret Teresa married Emperor Leopold
Charles II

death was followed by a short period of intense suspense in the cabinets of Europe. Louis XIV was party to a treaty dividing the Spanish inheritance among several states. Would he abide by this treaty, or honor the royal will instituting his grandson King of Spain? His council was divided on the course to be adopted, but Louis preferred a definite testament to a vague treaty and solemnly presented to his court the Duke of Anjou as Philip V, King of Spain.

**159. The Grand Alliance, Contestants in the War of the Spanish Succession.**—For a short time no general European conflict appeared likely to result from this important announcement. The emperor was arming, it is true, and William of Orange was incensed at the French king's decision. But both in England and Holland the nations themselves saw little danger in a remote dynastic settlement which maintained the separate existence of France and Spain. If Louis XIV had practised prudence and moderation peace might have been maintained with these two peoples. He chose an attitude of provocation, sent French troops to occupy the Spanish fortresses garrisoned by the Dutch in the Netherlands and recognized, upon James II's death, the latter's son, James III, as King of England. This course led to the formation of the Grand Alliance against him and resulted in the war of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714).

In the conflict France had on her side Spain and for a time Savoy and Portugal. The Grand Alliance was formed by the Emperor, England, Holland and Prussia. Philip of Anjou was, of course, the French candidate for the Spanish throne; the emperor's brother, Charles, Archduke of Austria, was the candidate of the Grand Alliance.

**160. The War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714).**—The war lasted for thirteen years and was, if military successes be considered, less glorious for France than the preceding wars of Louis XIV's reign. The country's resources were drained, its best leaders and organizers were dead and the

people's ardor had cooled in support of its exacting monarch. England and the Empire had remarkable commanders at the head of their armies: the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene.

Although the French made, at the very outset, a vigorous and successful attack on the imperial troops and advanced a considerable distance into Germany, they were soon thrown back and forced to fight a defensive war. Their utter defeat by Marlborough and Eugene at Blenheim in Bavaria (1704) placed France in danger of foreign invasion. Her armies, in bloody battles, held back the enemy and saved their country from such a calamity. However neither they nor the king could alleviate the indescribable suffering of the people in the terrible years of 1708 and 1709. A winter so rigorous that it killed the fruit trees brought in its train famine, disease and an alarming death rate. Louis XIV was moved by this general misery and sued for peace. The allies laid down impossible conditions and nothing remained for him but to issue to his people an appeal for continued support which met with an enthusiastic response.

The war continued for a few more years. It was not long before a rift appeared in the mutual understanding among his enemies. A peace ministry came into power in England and the Duke of Marlborough was recalled from his command (1711). Charles of Austria, the Grand Alliance's candidate for the Spanish crown, was elected Emperor and there seemed to be little reason why the war should be prolonged to effect the union of Austria and Spain. The tide of military fortune turned partly in favor of France and the allies were soon as ready as the French to end the war.

**161. The Peace of Utrecht (1713–1714).**—The treaties which put an end to the war are together called the Peace of Utrecht, although not all of them were signed in that city. They stipulated important territorial changes in Europe and in the colonies.

France attained the main object for which she fought the

war, the recognition of one of her princes, Philip V, as King of Spain. In yielding to her the allies granted to the Spanish people the monarch of its choice. He was to rule, however, over a diminished Spain. For the Spanish possessions in the Netherlands were given to Austria and were henceforth called the Austrian Netherlands. The greater part of Spain's provinces in Italy also went to Austria, while Sicily, which was several years later exchanged for Sardinia, was granted to the Duke of Savoy. The latter received with Sicily the title of king and thus secured at the end of the war the royal dignity which at its beginning had been conferred on the Elector of Brandenburg.

England made the greatest gains through the war. In Europe she obtained possession of the stronghold of Gibraltar; in the colonies she gained the Hudson Bay territory, New Foundland, and Nova Scotia. By a special compact concluded with Spain she secured for over thirty years the exclusive control of the slave trade with the Spanish colonies. More advantageous to her than this abominable trading privilege was the famous *Methuen* treaty signed with Portugal during the war. It was named after the English statesman who negotiated it, and, although in appearance a mere commercial agreement, it transformed Portugal into an English dependency.

While France emerged from the war not only crippled but exhausted, England had become a nation of acknowledged power and had considerably increased the sources of her strength. France still failed to recognize in the island kingdom her most dangerous rival; England had already laid the foundation of that colonial, commercial and naval supremacy which forms the most important fact of modern secular history.

## II. Religious Affairs Under Louis XIV

**162. Louis XIV Restricts the Liberty of the French Protestants.**—In religious as well as in civil affairs, Louis XIV

sought to be, in so far as possible, absolute master over his subjects. He persecuted the Huguenots, used repression against the Jansenists, and tried to usurp, in some important matters, the authority of the Pope.

Richelieu, it has been said, had taken from the Huguenots their fortresses; Louis gradually withdrew the concessions granted to them in the Edict of Nantes, and in 1685 revoked the edict itself. Nationality and religion were still identified in his time, and he thought it highly expedient and comparatively easy to restore, by the conversion of the Protestant minority, unity of faith among his subjects. The one million two-hundred-thousand Protestants in France in 1661 were to be brought back to the Catholic faith. Persuasion, reward, and coercion were the means employed with a view to securing the desired result.

Catholic preaching and controversial literature effected the conversion of some Huguenots. These were rewarded by royal favors and enjoyed the king's goodwill. The favorable treatment accorded them was calculated to induce others to abjure the Protestant faith. Measures restricting the rights of Huguenots would, it was hoped, tend to the same end. The Huguenots were forbidden to hold national synods, were excluded from the highest public offices, and debarred from the liberal professions. As these disabilities did not produce complete success, a novel means of apostleship was employed: dragoons were used as missionaries in this strange crusade. Royal soldiers, mostly dragoons, were quartered in Protestant households to break the resistance of the families. This atrocious system was attended by much cruelty and produced many conversions. The suffering which it inflicted on the inhabitants remained partly unknown to the king; the conversions, frequently exaggerated and insincere, were trusted by him.

**163. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685).**— Under the false impression that but few Protestants were left in France, the king revoked the Edict of Nantes. All

public worship and all private religious meetings were forbidden to the Huguenots. Their churches were to be demolished, their schools closed. Their ministers were ordered to accept the Catholic faith or to leave France within fifteen days. Lay persons, though allowed to remain Protestant, were ordered to have their children baptized by priests and to send them to Catholic schools. They were forbidden to emigrate, the men under pain of the galleys, the women under pain of imprisonment.

Cruel as it seems to us today, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was greeted with unanimous satisfaction by French Catholics. While the suffering of the Huguenots is to be deplored, Catholics were subjected to more severe persecution in some Protestant countries. In England, for example, they were worse off than even in Turkey.

The Revocation did not produce the effect intended by Louis XIV. Despite the existing prohibition, about 100,000 Huguenots emigrated to Brandenburg, Holland, England, or America. Others rose in rebellion during the War of the Spanish Succession, and three French armies and several years' fighting were necessary to reduce them to submission. After the middle of the eighteenth century, the French government became less severe in its treatment of its Protestant subjects. In 1787 it granted them partial and in 1789 complete religious liberty and political equality.

**164. Jansen (1585–1638) and St. Cyran (1581–1643), the Authors of Jansenism.**—Louis XIV likewise dealt severely with Jansenism, a new heresy which had appeared in France shortly before his accession. It derived its name from Cornelius Jansenius or Jansen, a native of the Netherlands. He became professor at the university of Louvain and during the last two years of his life was bishop of Ypres in Flanders. He died in the Catholic Church. The controversies connected with his name broke out only after his death. He left in manuscript a book in which he pretended to present the genuine teaching of St. Augustine, chiefly concerning

divine grace. This work entitled *Augustinus* (Augustine) was published in 1640. It was received with approval in the Netherlands where the controversy had its origin; it was also greatly admired in France where the real struggle respecting Jansenism was to be waged.

In France the ground had been prepared for the false principles contained in Augustinus by a former fellow-student and intimate friend of Jansen, the abbot of St. Cyran, often briefly called St. Cyran.[1] The latter was born in southern France, but resided for some time in Paris where he spread his ideas among the numerous members of the Arnauld family. He also successfully propagated Jansenism among the solitaries and nuns of Port Royal near Paris. The Solitaries were cultured men, who, tired of the world, retired into solitude where they gave themselves up to prayer and intellectual or manual work. Their residence was close to the convent of the nuns of Port Royal.

**165. Teaching of the Jansenists.**—Jansen in his alleged restatement of the doctrine of St. Augustine denied the existence of human liberty. Man, he contended, in his moral life yields in every action to an irresistible delectation or force. This force compels him to do either good or evil, good whenever he is under the irresistible influence of divine grace, evil whenever he yields to the equally irresistible attraction of concupiscence. It followed naturally from this teaching that man is either saved or lost without his own cooperation, and, further, that redemption was not intended for all men, but only for those who receive the undeserved blessing of irresistible grace.

Along with these doctrinal principles, St. Cyran advocated excessive austerity in practical conduct. His system of unjustifiable rigor was particularly apparent in the severe conditions and high perfection he required of persons who wished to receive the Holy Eucharist. His unheard-of

[1] His real name was John du Verger de Hauranne.

demands caused some people to abstain from communion even at Easter time and led some priests to forego celebrating Mass. He himself died without receiving communion even on his deathbed. The priest Antoine Arnauld succeeded him as leader of the party and in characteristic fashion published at once a book *On Frequent Communion.* The title "Against Frequent Communion" would have better described its contents, since it did not promote, but strongly discouraged the reception of the Blessed Eucharist.

Throughout their history the Jansenists were the bitter opponents of the Jesuits whom they denounced as the authors of an easy and lax code of morality. In reality the Jesuits defended Catholic truth against Jansenist error.

**166. The Jansenist Controversy from 1640–1669.**—Jansen's *Augustinus* had been published but a short time when it was condemned by the Holy Office in 1641 and by the Pope in the following year. The Jansenists refused to accept the condemnations as final. Throughout the controversy and in all its phases they resorted to quibbling, evasion, and disloyal tactics to elude the condemnations of the ecclesiastical authorities. After unsuccessful attempts to repudiate as a forgery the papal bull of 1642, which pronounced their condemnation, they then proclaimed it to be too general and indeterminate to be binding upon them. To silence them the Pope condemned five specific propositions taken from the Augustinus (1653). They refused to abide by this second condemnation, published with the sanction of the royal government, just as they had refused to submit to the first. Some rejected it outright; others in larger number, by a subtle distinction, admitted that the five propositions had been rightly censured, but contended that these propositions were not to be found in Augustinus in the sense in which the Holy See had rejected them.

They also fell back on ridicule, always an effective weapon in their day and country, to throw discredit upon their opponents and their opponents' teaching. Pascal, the most

illustrious of the Port Royal solitaries, wrote and published in 1656 his famous letters addressed to a fictitious provincial correspondent (hence *Provinciales*). In captivating style and with inexhaustible sarcasm he decried in these letters the supposedly corrupt moral teaching of the Society of Jesus.

In 1664, the Jansenists were required by the Pope and Louis XIV to sign a short formula of faith, in proof of their sound Catholic belief. Many of them, including the larger number of the nuns of Port Royal, obstinately rejected the formula. When in 1669 Pope Clement IX succeeded in establishing a peace to which his name has remained attached (Clementine Peace), the Jansenists claimed that they had triumphed and that the Church had yielded to them. In fact, the Church had neither made excessive concessions nor been defeated, but the Jansenists had been notoriously guilty of double-dealing. They had publicly and officially signed the statements and accepted the doctrines imposed by the Holy See, only privately and unofficially to remain steadfast in their errors.

**167. Jansenism at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century.**—After a period of relative calm the controversy again broke out at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Its renewal was due to the publication of another book. The author of this new work was Paschasius Quesnel who had succeeded the deceased Antoine Arnauld as leader of the Jansenists (1696). Quesnel published an edition of the New Testament in which copious notes or reflections gave expression to his heretical opinions. New condemnations became necessary and were issued. The Jansenists, repeating the tactics of former days, either refused point blank to submit or had recourse to evasion to escape censure. The nuns of Port Royal were again conspicuous in the discussions by their vehement opposition to Rome. Louis XIV, angered at their obstinacy, had them turned out of their monastery and scattered in other convents of the realm. To obliterate

every trace of their institution, he ordered the destruction of the buildings and the removal of the dead from the cemetery (1709). The dispersion of the rebellious nuns brought about their submission. The prioress alone remained obstinate and died without the sacraments in 1716.

Louis XIV could level Port Royal to the ground, but he did not succeed in destroying Jansenism. The controversy continued, in all its fierceness, and was still raging when he died in 1715. The change of rulers was favorable to the Jansenists as the Regent was less decided in his opposition to them. They profited by this circumstance to become, for a while, more defiant in their attitude toward the Apostolic See. About 1730, however, they began to lose ground. Although their decline was steady, Jansenist rancor and Gallican hostility in alliance with Rationalistic impiety and Bourbon intrigue were still powerful enough in 1773 to bring about the suppression of the Society of Jesus. The Jansenist spirit—a spirit of insubordination and exaggerated rigor—poisoned the religious life of France long after the Jansenist party had ceased to exist. All traces of this spirit disappeared only in our own day with the publication of the decree in which Pope Piux X strongly encouraged the faithful to frequent and even daily communion (1905).

**168. Louis XIV and the Holy See; the Dispute respecting the "Regalia."**—From the assistance furnished by Louis XIV to the papacy against the Jansenists, it must not be inferred that he was throughout a warm friend and loyal supporter of the Holy See. In his relations with Rome, as in all else, his chief aim was to assert or increase his own power. He supported the Pope when such a policy served his interests, he frequently opposed the Pope when the latter exercised independent authority in France.

The concordat of 1516, by which the French Church was governed, granted to the king very extensive ecclesiastical rights. Louis exercised them partly in the interest of the Church and partly for the benefit of the state. He generally

selected excellent ecclesiastics for vacant bishoprics, to which he enjoyed the right of nomination. But in appointing to abbacies he was more anxious to provide suitable incomes for deserving laymen or impoverished nobles than to promote the welfare of the Church. He even conferred two wealthy abbacies on an illegitimate son of his own.

The Church silently tolerated the abuse. She was less forbearing when the king decreed the arbitrary extension of the "Regalia." This word does not designate here any royal insignia or distinctive decorations; it stands for the royal right (1) to appropriate the revenues of vacant bishoprics and (2) to appoint to certain ecclesiastical positions when vacant. This right had been exercised for centuries by the French kings in some, but not in all, of their provinces. In 1673, Louis XIV extended it to all his dominions and began to exercise it even in those provinces in which it had never been in use. The French clergy were so accustomed to obedience to the king that the usurpation met with resistance only from two bishops. These were supported by the Pope and the question of the Regalia thus became a dispute between Louis XIV and the Holy See. The king protested that the intervention of Rome was a violation of the Gallican Liberties and summoned, to settle the question, an Assembly of the French clergy.

**169. The Assembly of the French Clergy (1681–1682).**— The General Assemblies of the French Clergy were held every five years for the discussion of important religious questions and the voting of a free contribution to the state. Each province sent four deputies: two prelates representing the higher and two other ecclesiastics representing the lower clergy.

The Assembly of 1681–1682 was not general in point of representation, as the king summoned only those delegates whom he knew to be favorable to him. Thirty-six bishops and thirty-four other deputies were present. The most illustrious member was the distinguished bishop and eloquent

orator Bossuet who delivered the opening discourse. Two questions were considered at the sessions: (1) the Regalia; (2) the Gallican Liberties. On both issues the delegates pronounced in the king's favor. They held that he had the right of Regalia in the whole realm.

The Liberties of the Gallican (French) Church were then considered. Eighty-three such liberties or so-called rights have been enumerated by a French writer. Their general purport was to free, without causing a schism, the church of France from subjection to the Holy See and to limit to the utmost the authority of the Pope. The French bishops in this system seemed to gain power in direct proportion to the limitations imposed on the supreme authority of the Vicar of Christ. In reality, however, it was not the bishops, but the king who profited by the denial of papal authority. The liberties of the French church, so much insisted upon, meant the power of the French king.

**170. The Four Gallican Articles (1681–1682).**—The four articles drafted by Bossuet and voted by the Assembly of 1681–1682 express the fundamental ideas of the Gallican teaching. They are clearly opposed to the Catholic doctrine of papal supremacy in ecclesiastical government and papal infallibility in deciding questions of doctrine. Papal power, according to Catholic teaching, is not limited by, but superior to general councils. The exercise of papal authority is in no way limited by ecclesiastical law, or by the customs of any national church. Furthermore, the Pope has not only the chief part in deciding questions of faith, but his definitions are infallible by themselves, independently of the consent of the Church.

With this Catholic teaching in mind, it is plain that grievous errors are contained in the following four Gallican articles framed in 1681–1682:

1. The Popes have received from God only a spiritual power; they have no authority over princes in temporal concerns.

2. The fulness of papal power is limited by general councils; these are superior to the Pope.

3. The exercise of papal authority is limited by the existing ecclesiastical laws and particularly by the customs and uses of the French Church.

4. Although the Pope has the chief part in deciding questions of faith, his decisions become infallible only after the Church has consented to accept them.

Three days after these articles were formulated, Louis XIV imposed them as obligatory on the church in France. On the other hand, the Pope annulled all the decisions of the assembly regarding the "Regalia" and refused his confirmation to all candidates for bishoprics who accepted the four articles. As the king refused to nominate any other episcopal candidates, there were, within six years, thirty-five vacant dioceses in the country. At this very time (1688) the dispute was embittered by a question of a different character, the right of sanctuary.

**171. The Abolition of the Right of Sanctuary enjoyed by Foreign Embassies in Rome is resented by Louis XIV.**—A long-acknowledged practise forbade, in Rome, the seizure of an offender who had sought refuge on the grounds of a foreign embassy. This privilege had been extended in the course of time from the embassy itself to its neighborhood and even to the entire part of the city in which a foreign representative to the papal court resided. Things had come to such a pass that the apprehension of criminals and the punishment of crime were well-nigh impossible in the city of Rome. Pope Innocent XI suppressed the privilege. The measure, reasonable, and necessary, was accepted as a matter of course by the governments accredited to the Apostolic See. Louis XIV alone refused to give up the right and took drastic measures against the papal government. He broke off diplomatic relations, seized the nuncio in France and occupied the papal territories of Avignon and Venaissin.

He did not long persevere in this course, but profited by

a change of occupants of the pontifical throne to adopt a milder policy. In 1689, he restored Avignon and Venaissin and renounced the right of sanctuary. A few years later he himself wrote to the Pope that his order compelling the acceptance of the four articles had been rescinded. Despite his official declaration, the four articles continued to be taught and imposed, just as the Regalia continued to be enforced, throughout France until the Revolution. The Regalia then disappeared with the absolute monarchy. Gallicanism was struck a heavy blow because religious persecution forced the bishops to seek protection in a close union with Rome. It was directly condemned, with its offshoots Febronianism and Josephism, by the Council of the Vatican (1869–1870).

**172. French Colonial and Missionary Enterprise; Father Jogues (1607–1646), Father Marquette (1637–1675).**—A brighter sight greets our view in the robust vigor of religious life and the splendid efflorescence of missionary enterprise, social achievement and educational initiative which distinguished Catholic France in the days of Louis XIV. When the latter's reign began French mariners and explorers had for over a century made more or less successful attempts to discover new lands, find unknown treasures and spread Christian civilization. They had received commissions or encouragement from French kings and had laid the foundation of a priceless colonial empire.

In America, especially, they had made sufficient headway to place large territories within the grasp of the motherland. Champlain the founder of Canada had set up at Quebec a permanent French post (1608) long before the Pilgrims reached Plymouth Rock. The French had thus established themselves on the banks of the St. Lawrence, the great American river of the north. In the very days of Louis XIV the name Louisiana chosen in his honor was applied by them to the newly occupied territory along the Mississippi. They fully realized then as at all times in their history the

great advantage of controlling the natural means of communication.

Their aim, like that of the Spaniards, was not mere gain and territory in acquiring colonies. They conquered primarily for Christ and only secondarily for France. In Champlain's opinion, the salvation of a single soul was worth more than the conquest of an empire. Parkman, writing of the French in America, declares that "France aimed to subdue, not by the sword but by the Cross. She invaded only to convert, to civilize, and to embrace the natives among her children."

While Louis XIV was subjugating by force and intrigue unhappy populations in Europe, French missionaries were winning by persuasion and example souls for Christ and hearts for France in America. The names of these numerous missionaries cannot be enumerated here; they belong particularly to American history. Among the most illustrious were Father Jogues, the Martyr, and Father Marquette, the Discoverer of the Mississippi. Most of these heroes of the Cross belonged to the Society of Jesus. All of them came to America to live, to suffer with the Indian and, if necessary, to accept death at the hands of those for whom they had sacrificed all they held dearest in the world: home, family and country.

**173. Social Work: St. Vincent de Paul (1580–1660).**— Among the men who spent themselves in working for the relief of the needy, providing for the care of the sick and procuring the alleviation of human suffering, St. Vincent de Paul (1580–1660) occupies a preeminent place in modern times. Born of poor parents in one of the poorest districts of France, he rose from the humble station of a shepherd-boy to the eminent position of almoner to the Queen of France. After studying in his native Gascony, at Saragossa in Spain and at Toulouse in France, he was ordained to the priesthood in 1600. A few years later, he was, during a voyage on the Mediterranean Sea, kidnapped by Barbary

pirates, carried off to Africa and sold into slavery. He himself has left us an account of his experience in the slave market. "The merchant," he says, "looked at us just as you do at a horse or an ox when you are going to buy one, making us open our mouths to see our teeth, feeling our sides, forcing us to show our paces, to trot and run, to lift weights and also to wrestle to test our strength."

Vincent, as a slave, became successively the property of three owners. The third of these was an Italian renegade whom he brought back to the Catholic faith. The conversion resulted of course in the freeing of the slave who shortly afterwards returned to Europe with his former master.

**174. St. Vincent Establishes the Priests of the Mission and the Sisters of Charity.**—In 1613, Vincent was appointed tutor to the children of Count de Gondi, commander of the royal galleys. He used his position not only to instruct the children, but also to preach missions to the tenants and to catechize the poor on the Count's estates. He soon extended his preaching and was forced to call upon fellow-priests for assistance in the work. Gradually a new and important religious congregation thus came into being. Its members were called "the priests of the Mission" and are frequently referred to as the "Vincentians" or the "Lazarists" in the United States. They were established for the twofold purpose of preaching missions to the poor and of training seminarians for the priesthood.

While he was providing for the spiritual welfare of the people, Vincent was not unmindful of their material needs and bodily suffering. In this respect he successfully organized relief by instituting the Sisters of Charity. This congregation has since spread all over the world. It has established asylums for foundlings and orphans, and has, with unsurpassed devotedness and heroism, ministered to the sick in hospitals and to the wounded on the field of battle.

**175. St. Vincent de Paul as a Social Worker.**—The Priests of the Mission and the Sisters of Charity were the

two permanent organizations with which St. Vincent de Paul enriched the Catholic Church. They represent only part of the great work he performed. The confidence which his complete disinterestedness and unfailing charity universally inspired was rewarded by official appointments conferred on him by the government and by generous assistance given by private persons. He was appointed almoner-in-chief to the royal galleys and improved the condition of the unfortunate galley slaves or convict rowers. He founded a hospital for this abandoned class of human castaways, some of whom had been sentenced to hard labor for not very grievous offenses. He worked energetically to reconcile them to their terrible lot by reminding them of a just God and a better, everlasting life. More honorable than his duties as almoner was his membership in the royal council. In this capacity he was responsible for the appointment of many virtuous and zealous priests to bishoprics and other ecclesiastical positions.

He started relief work and distributed funds, food and clothing among the inhabitants of France and Lorraine who during the years extending from 1639 to 1660 suffered from the horrors of war. Fifty million francs are said to have passed through his hands for the devastated provinces. Priests of his newly founded Congregation of the Mission were sent to unfortunate Ireland then ravaged with fire and sword by Cromwell. Help was also extended to the Irish refugees in France.

Humble, kind, prudent and energetic he was a priest in whose charitable heart every form of human suffering touched a responsive chord. The institutions which he created have continued a blessing to mankind to our own day.

The St. Vincent de Paul Society of laymen, which is engaged in social welfare work particularly in our cities, seeks to imitate his noble deeds and to perpetuate his self-sacrificing spirit. It was established by Frederic Ozanam in the nineteenth century and placed under the protection

of this great social worker whom the Catholic Church canonized as a saint in 1737.

**176. Educational Initiative: St. John Baptist de la Salle (1651–1719).**—Through the efficient organization of social work St. Vincent de Paul relieved the distress and assuaged the suffering caused by incessant war, external or internal, in France. The indefatigable social worker was soon followed by the educational reformer: St. John Baptist de la Salle (1651–1719), stemmed the tide of dangerous ignorance and increasing corruption by the establishment of free schools.

De la Salle was born of wealthy parents at Rheims in northern France and was almost unconsciously led to undertake educational work and to found the Institute of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. At the age of sixteen, he was appointed canon of the cathedral at Rheims. After pursuing studies at Paris and in his native city, he was ordained to the priesthood and received the degree of doctor in theology. As a canon at Rheims, he was instrumental in establishing two free schools for boys in the city. After their organization he continued to encourage, assist, and contribute to the support of the teachers.

When these began to lose heart in their difficult task, he aided them in their class work, admitted them to his own table and later received them into his household. This was the initial step (1681) toward the founding of the Brothers of the Christian Schools.

Gradually de la Salle was led to devote himself entirely to the training of teachers and the management of schools. In 1683, he resigned his canonry and during the famine of 1684 distributed his fortune to the starving people. He was thus freed from all wordly attachments and lived in poverty among his poor teachers. They made a retreat together and, after it, pronounced their first vows. The new institute thus began to assume the character of a religious congregation.

De la Salle's success, however, was neither easy nor rapid. He suffered for many years from the hostility of lay teachers,

the opposition of distrustful authorities and the defection of trusted friends. Heroic zeal and unconquerable energy alone enabled him to persevere in his arduous undertaking. Persuaded that he was doing God's work, he shrank from no sacrifice to carry it to a successful issue. Although he did not live to see his new congregation approved by the Holy See in 1725, he was fortunate enough to witness its firm establishment before his death. When he breathed his last in 1719, the Institute numbered 274 Brothers; it had risen to 15,000 members when he was canonized in 1900.

**177. Importance of St. John Baptist de la Salle's Work.**—The founding of a successful body of teachers like the Christian Brothers constitutes alone an ample title to recognition and distinction. But de la Salle did more than establish a new teaching order. He organized the first training or normal school for lay teachers in the primary grades. Such schools have since been founded in all civilized countries. He likewise used for the first time the simultaneous method of teaching. So far instruction had been imparted successively to every individual pupil. In the simultaneous method the children were divided into classes, graded according to their age and capabilities and given instruction in groups. They observed strict silence, followed the same lesson and could all profit by the master's corrections.

All teaching, whether religious or secular, was in de la Salle's plan carried on in a spirit of prayer. The Christian Brothers solidly grounded their pupils in religious truth and fitted them better for their duties as citizens. St. de la Salle, by the services which he rendered to education, merited well of the Catholic Church and the Christian state.

**178. Private Life of Louis XIV; His Death (September 1, 1715).**—Louis XIV's reign, it has just been seen, was illustrated by men remarkable for their heroic virtue and eminent sanctity. As for the king's own private life, it was not without disorders and blemishes. It naturally falls into two periods of an entirely different moral character. During

the life of his first consort Maria Teresa his conduct was licentious and disgraced by intrigues with single and married women of the court. At her death in 1683 the king became more earnest and reformed his morals. Under the tactful and religious influence of Madame de Maintenon, whom he married in 1684, he led a good, Christian life until his death.

His last years were saddened not only by the unhappy events of the War of the Spanish Succession, but also by several deaths in his own family. The Dauphin and several grand-children dying in rapid succession, the kingdom had to be left to a mere boy and an unpopular Regent.

In August, 1715, it became evident that the king's end was not far off. He received the last sacraments on his own name-day, the feast of his royal predecessor St. Louis IX. Exhorting his youthful successor to be obedient to God and kind to his people he expired on Sunday, September 1, 1715.

The members of his family and his court mourned him. The people, sensible to their own suffering for which they held him responsible, received with joy the news that deliverance had at last come through his death. A talented man, an ambitious king, and successful conqueror, Louis XIV died hated by his subjects.

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# CHAPTER IX

## ENGLAND FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE COMMONWEALTH TO THE END OF THE STUART DYNASTY (1649–1714)

## I. The Commonwealth and Protectorate (1649–1660)

**179. Establishment of the Commonwealth (1649).**—The civil war which desolated England under Charles I was chiefly a struggle for power between king and Parliament. However, neither of these contestants issued victorious from the conflict; the immediate gainer was the army. It was responsible for the king's execution and controlled the government under the Commonwealth and the Protectorate. Royal absolutism was destroyed only to be replaced by military despotism, and neither Parliament nor people gained any power through the civil war. The government formed after Charles I's death was a Commonwealth or Republic in name, but an autocracy in fact, and Oliver Cromwell was the autocrat.

In February, 1649, the truncated Commons[1] abolished the kingship, suppressed the House of Lords and declared England to be a Commonwealth. They arrogated to themselves the name of Parliament and created, to exercise executive power, a council of state. This council was composed of forty-one members who were appointed for one year and were most of them also members of Parliament. Two governing bodies—a parliament of a single chamber and a council of state—were established, but were largely formed by the same men.

The new government had obviously no democratic character and enjoyed little popular favor. Its sole support was the army on which it had to rely at once for the suppres-

[1]See No. 111.

sion of the Levellers in England and the Royalists in Ireland and Scotland.

The Levellers, a name which explains itself, insisted on more general equality and a greater degree of popular liberty. They asked for the suppression of the council of state and for a representative Parliament. They were to be found not only in the civilian population, but also in the army. As they had no commanding personality to lead them, their efforts came to naught. The mutinies and risings which they started were summarily put down by Cromwell.

**180. Cromwell in Ireland (1649–1650).**—The great majority of the Irish people did not recognize the government of the Commonwealth. They remained loyal to the Stuart dynasty and, after Charles I's execution, proclaimed as king his son Charles II. Parliament without delay equipped an army to crush royalism in the island. Some Englishmen contributed money for the expedition accepting in return a prospective share in the lands to be forfeited by Irish rebels. These English soldiers and creditors became later the beneficiaries of new plantations established in Ireland.

Oliver Cromwell was appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland and commander-in-chief of the expeditionary force. He landed in Dublin on August 14, 1649. His conquest of Ireland was carried forward by a series of sieges, the best-known of which are those of Drogheda and Wexford. His soldiers appeared before Drogheda in September, 1649. After two unsuccessful attempts, they succeeded in a third assault in storming the town. The whole garrison was put to the sword. Some of the townspeople were also massacred, including every priest on whom the soldiers could lay their hands. At least 2,800 persons perished. A little later the town of Wexford, betrayed into Cromwell's hands, shared the fate of Drogheda.

These massacres struck the Irish with terror and town after town surrendered to Cromwell. A considerable part

of the island was subdued when in May, 1650, he was recalled by the London government. The conquest was continued by his son-in-law Ireton. Plague and famine, the two great allies of war, completed the work of the sword and in 1652 the peace of desolation settled on the unhappy country.

**181. The Cromwellian Settlement in Ireland (1652–1658).**—Even now Ireland's woes were not at an end. Upon the inhuman slaughter of the war followed the unjustifiable confiscations of the Cromwellian settlement. To satisfy the claims of its creditors and to procure compensation for its soldiers, the English government divided Ireland into two portions: (1) the province of Connaught including County Clare; (2) the other three provinces. The first portion was reserved for the Irish proprietors who managed to save a title to some property in any part of Ireland. The three provinces were to be apportioned among the English creditors and Cromwell's soldiers.

This scheme of expropriation and resettlement was, in its crying injustice, carried out with barbarous cruelty. Its results upon the various classes of the Irish people were as follows: (1) The Irish landowners were compelled to transplant themselves to Connaught. (2) The Irish laborers and plowmen were allowed to remain among the new English settlers who would be in need of their labor. (3) Many persons—men, women and children—who would not abandon their homes to foreign settlers, were, under the pretext of vagrancy, shipped to the West Indies and sold into practical slavery. (4) The Irish soldiers who had fought in the war were permitted to leave Ireland and enlist in other European armies.

A few figures will illustrate, though only imperfectly, the infinite suffering the Irish people endured at this time. Two-thirds of all the land of Ireland was transferred to new owners. Of a population of one million and a half, 600,000 perished through war, hunger or plague between 1642 and

1652. After the war several thousand were transported to the West Indies; 34,000 soldiers left the country for service in France, Spain, Austria and Venice.

The people who remained in Ireland enjoyed neither civil rights nor religious liberty. The Catholic inhabitants were excluded from political life and corporate towns, their religion was proscribed, their priests hunted down, their religious worship everywhere prohibited. Cromwell hoped, by such savage treatment, to make the people English and the religion Protestant. He only succeeded in setting up a system of foreign landlords with native tenantry which, by its cruel injustice, stands out as England's dishonor and Ireland's misfortune.

**182. Cromwell in Scotland; his Victory at Dunbar (September 3, 1650).**—Scotland, like Ireland, recognized Charles II as king upon his father's death. The Scots, however, exacted a pledge from the young monarch that he would protect Presbyterianism in Scotland and establish it in England and Ireland. Charles, ready to adopt any expedient capable of raising him to the kingship, signed a treaty to that effect in Holland where he was in exile. In June, 1650, he embarked on a small squadron furnished by his brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange. He successfully eluded the cruisers of the Commonwealth and effected a landing in Scotland.

Meanwhile the English government had raised an army for the invasion of that country. Oliver Cromwell who had just returned from Ireland was appointed commander-in-chief with General George Monk as one of his lieutenants. He marched northward, and in July, 1650, crossed the frontier separating the two kingdoms. The Scots, commanded by General David Leslie, had strongly entrenched themselves near Edinburgh. Cromwell who felt certain of victory if the enemy accepted battle was anxious to provoke an engagement. For a month he tried all his art to bring about an open battle. As his maneuvers proved unsuccess-

ful he retreated to Dunbar to await reenforcements or to effect his escape.

Leslie followed him, seized the passes to the south and occupied with the main Scottish army an impregnable position. Cromwell's retreat by land was thus virtually cut off and his army in imminent danger of destruction. Leslie had but to hold his positions to force a surrender or a most doubtful escape by sea. Unhappily yielding to pressure from his countrymen who were tired of inaction he left his entrenchments to complete his triumph. This was Cromwell's opportunity. He fell on the Scots and routed them at the battle of *Dunbar* (September 3, 1650). The Scottish losses were 3,000 dead and 10,000 prisoners. The city of Edinburgh surrendered to Cromwell.

**183. Battle of Worcester (September 3, 1651); Flight of Charles II.**—The defeat was serious; but not without its advantages. It freed the king from the control of noblemen under which he chafed. Amidst the dangers in which the country was placed he secured sufficient support to be solemnly crowned at Scone on January 1, 1651. A call for a fresh levy of men increased the royalist forces and Charles, marching southward, carried the war into England. Here he counted upon popular risings in his favor, and hoped for the triumph of his cause before Cromwell could overtake him or offer successful resistance.

The latter had reckoned with such a move. Leaving Monk in command in Scotland, he started with the main army in hot pursuit. The royalist support on which Charles had relied did not materialize; the English people were unprepared for his coming and only a few royalists rallied to his standard. Cromwell caught up with the king's forces at *Worcester* where on the anniversary of the battle of Dunbar, he annihilated the Scottish army (September 3, 1651). The greater part of Scotland submitted to Monk, and the government of the Commonwealth was securely established in the three kingdoms.

Charles II distinguished himself by conspicuous courage during the battle. When he perceived that the day was lost, he fled southward. With extreme difficulty, he eluded capture by his enemies, concealing himself on one occasion in the thick foliage of an oak tree while his pursuers rode past below. He eventually succeeded in reaching the coast and took ship for France.

**184. The Ejection of the Rump or Remnant of the Long Parliament (1653).**—The brillant victory of Worcester made the military absolute masters of England. However, neither the army which had brought the civil war to a successful conclusion, nor the Rump which still exercised authority, was backed by the majority of the nation. Both were conscious of this lack of popular support and feared the results of a free general election. The army nevertheless demanded with insistence the dissolution of the Rump and the election of a more truly representative assembly. It brought against some members of Parliament the well-founded accusations of taking bribes and of misusing their official positions to better their fortunes and to promote the interests of their relations.

The Parliament yielded with the greatest reluctance to the pressure of the army and began the discussion of a bill calling for a new election. The measure was so framed as to apply to those districts only which had been deprived of their representation by Pride's Purge and other expulsions. The present members of the Rump were to continue to hold their seats without submitting to reelection. They were moreover to enjoy the extraordinary privilege of probing the validity of every election and of examining every new representative's fitness for membership or loyalty to the Commonwealth. Briefly the Rump was to have the right to nullify every election held.

This shameless attempt of a remnant of the House of Commons to perpetuate itself in power caused bitter resentment in the army. Cromwell, who so far had been opposed

to the use of force, determined on independent settlement. On April 20, 1653, he proceeded with a squad of soldiers to the meeting place of the Rump. He stationed the men under his command at the door of the hall, went inside and quietly took a seat. For a while he seemed to listen with interest to a discussion of the bill by which the Rump selfishly sought to entrench itself.

When the vote was about to be taken, he arose and addressed the House. He reproached it with injustice and misgovernment and referred to some members as drunkards, gluttons and extortioners. In reply to a remonstrance he shouted: "Come, come, I will put an end to your prating. You are no parliament, I say you are no parliament. I will put an end to your sitting." He called in the soldiers and ordered them to clear the hall. The Speaker was dragged from his chair; the other members, in fear, crowded to the door. Pointing to the mace wielded by the Speaker in the exercises of parliamentary authority, Cromwell comtemptuously asked: "What shall we do with this fool's bauble?" He ordered a soldier to carry it away. When all had left the hall he commanded the doors to be locked and put the key in his pocket.

**185. Barebone's Parliament; the Instrument of Government; Cromwell Lord Protector (1653).**—With the suppression of the Rump, the last remnant of the government, as formerly constituted, disappeared. King, Lords and Commons had in turn been swept away by the sword. The refusal of the Rump to submit to reelection had resulted in its ejection. But the army itself, while eager to get rid of an assembly which no longer deserved the name of Parliament, dreaded the results of a general election. To save constitutional appearances, Cromwell and his officers summoned an assembly which was virtually of their own choosing. This body, derisively styled "Barebone's Parliament,"—from the leather-dealer Praise-God Barebone, one of its members—comprised some distinguished men and

many impractical fanatics. Division soon paralysed its well-meant efforts and a minority of the members got up early one morning and while the others were in ignorance of what was going on, declared Parliament dissolved and resigned their power into the hands of Cromwell.

The latter's supporters with Cromwell's assistance drew up in December, 1653, the *Instrument of Government*, the only written constitution under which England has ever lived. In it Oliver was named Lord Protector. He was to hold office for life and was to share authority with a council of state appointed by himself and a Parliament consisting of a single chamber. He accepted this document and began to rule in accordance with its provisions.

An election was held, but Catholics, Anglicans or Prelatists, and Royalists were disfranchised. Parliament was summoned in 1654, and immediately came into conflict with the Protector. It was brought under control by the exclusion of nearly a hundred members. As even then it failed to show the desired subservience it was dissolved in 1655.

**186. Cromwell is Offered, but Refuses the Royal Title.**— The discord between the Protector and Parliament had raised the hopes of the Royalists and small risings had disturbed the country's peace. Cromwell stamped out all opposition by the establishment of military rule. He divided the country into ten districts and placed at the head of each a major-general, who was responsible to himself as commander-in-chief.

When law and order were everywhere restored, Parliament was again summoned. As it showed some independence, the convenient method of excluding opponents was again resorted to by Cromwell. He deprived about a hundred members of their right to sit. The rest of the assembly offered him the title of king. This flattered his vanity and gratified his ambition. The army, however, was strongly opposed to the restoration of the kingship

even in his person, and Cromwell, consulting prudence rather than his cherished wishes, declined the proferred title. He accepted the confirmation of his title of Protector for life, the right to designate his successor, and the power to name the members of the Upper House which was to be created. This second chamber had no sooner assembled than it came into conflict with the House of Commons. Cromwell put an end to the controversy by dissolving both Houses of this, his last Parliament (1658). He had been afforded the opportunity to deal with four so-called Parliaments, but had not been able to work with any of them.

**187. Foreign Affairs: England and Holland.**—Since the time of Queen Elizabeth, England had become more and more conscious of the fact that maritime development and colonial expansion were to be the sources of her prosperity. The pursuit of these ends brought her into collision with rival powers according as this or that nation gained or threatened to gain a leading position in maritime relations or colonial possessions. She fought against and destroyed the power of these rivals as they arose, first Spain, then Holland, afterward France, and recently Germany.

When the Commonwealth was established, Spain was declining, but Holland held a preeminent position at sea and possessed the monopoly of the carrying trade of the world. Most of the merchandise transported by sea was carried in Dutch ships. In 1651, England passed the first Navigation Act thereby interfering very seriously with this lucrative business. The Act stipulated that foreign goods might be brought into England and her colonies only in English and colonial ships, owned and manned by Englishmen, or in the ships of the nation that produced the goods. As Holland manufactured only a comparatively small part of the merchandise carried by her vessels, the Navigation Act was a heavy blow to Dutch shipping.

The ill feeling which it caused was increased by the connections between the Stuart dynasty and the House of

Orange. The members of the latter had greatly influenced and at times controlled the destinies of Holland. One of them, the Stadtholder, or Governor, William II, had married a daughter of Charles I, given hospitality to her brother Charles II and enabled the latter to invade Scotland.

Moreover, the Rump, to offset the prestige gained by the army through the victories of Dunbar and Worcester, was anxious to afford the navy an opportunity for development and distinction. A war with Holland was likely to give the Commonwealth an experienced and popular navy on which Parliament could depend in its struggle with the army.

**188. War with Holland (1652–1654).**—The occasion, which led to the first engagement of this war, arose from an insignificant point of naval etiquette. The English government demanded that the Dutch and all other vessels salute the English flag in the English Channel. Some Dutch war vessels refused the required salute, were attacked by their English opponents and forced to honor the flag of the Commonwealth. The war thus begun lasted for two years and was fought with varying success. Holland had abler leaders in Admirals *Van Tromp* and *Ruyter:* England had the better navy, her ships of large size and heavy armament, more effectively withstanding battering. The Dutch relied exclusively on the number of their craft. So confident were they of victory that Admiral Van Tromp on one occasion appeared in the English Channel carrying a broom at his masthead to signify that he would sweep the sea clear of English shipping. These sanguine expectations were not realized in the war. He lost his life in the struggle, and his successor Ruyter, though an able sea captain, did not succeed in decisively defeating the English Admiral Blake.

Holland asked for peace in 1654, and promised, among other conditions, to recognize the Navigation Act, to salute the English flag in the Channel and to banish the Stuarts from the Netherlands.

**189. War with Spain (1655–1658).**—A war with Spain followed closely upon the signing of peace with Holland.

The Treaty of Westphalia had not restored peace between France and Spain. In the war which they continued, Cromwell finally sided with France. The Anglo-French treaty of alliance had not yet been formally concluded when a British naval expedition made a successful descent on the Spanish Island of Jamaica, and permanently added this gem of the West Indies to England's colonial possessions (1655).

Later, British soldiers fought victoriously with their French allies against the Spaniards in the Netherlands. The Protector shortly before his death secured possession of the Flemish city of Dunkirk. The acquisition of this port, formerly held by Spain, compensated England for the loss of Calais in the preceding century. It gave her a foothold on the continent and gratified her national pride. However Dunkirk did not long remain in English hands. King Charles II, in need of money, sold it in 1663 to France in whose possession it has since remained.

**190. Cromwell's Political and Religious Work; His Death (September 3, 1658).**—The acquisition of Dunkirk was one of the Protector's last triumphs. He was more successful in war than in peace as would be expected from a man whose power came to rest solely on the army. Supported by the army, he imposed the government of the Commonwealth on Ireland and Scotland, governed England as an absolute ruler, and secured for the country victory and respect abroad.

He attempted to clothe his autocratic power in constitutional forms, but was bound to fail in the attempt, because he was resolved on being absolute master, and the majority of the people at no time willingly accepted him as ruler. He knew his own unpopularity so well that toward the end of his life he constantly dreaded assassination. His nights were spent in restless anxiety, and during the day concealed armor protected him from sudden violence.

In religion, he granted liberty to the Puritans and concessions to the Jews, but hated the Episcopalians and denied all freedom of worship to the Catholics. "There are few of

the cathedral or parish churches of England," writes the non-Catholic Montgomery, "which do not continue to testify to the destructive hatred which during the civil wars vented itself on everything savoring of the rule of either Pope or bishop. The empty niches, where some gracious image of the Virgin or the figure of some Saint once looked down; the patched remnants of brilliant stained glass, once part of a picture telling some Scripture story; the tombs broken, hacked, and hewed by pike and sword because on them was some emblem or expression of the old faith—all these still bear witness to the fury of the Puritan soldiers, who did not respect even the graves of their ancestors, if those ancestors had once thought differently from themselves."

Cromwell died on September 3, 1658, the anniversary of his victory over the Scots at Dunbar and over the Royalists at Worcester.

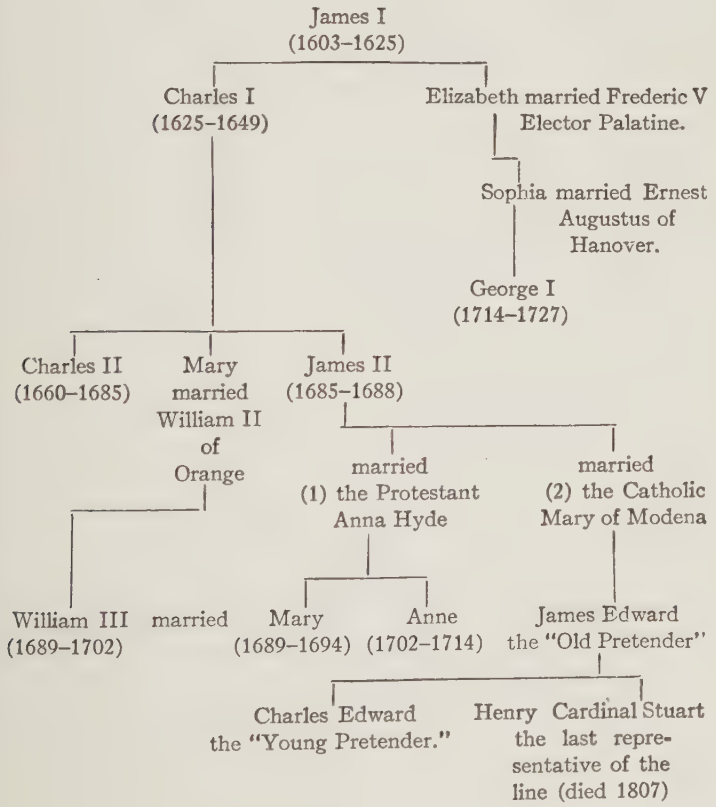
**191. Richard Cromwell, Protector (1658–1659); George Monk; Restoration of the Stuart Dynasty (1660).**—Richard Cromwell, Oliver's eldest son, succeeded to the Protectorate. He was said to have been designated by his father for the office and was recognized, without opposition, by a considerable party.

His rule lasted for several months. It was wrecked by his absolute incompetence as a statesman and nonentity as a personality. He lost favor with the army and was asked to resign. He relinquished his high office with apparent relief, and was later familiarly known as "Tumble-Down-Dick" by the people. So negligent a factor was he that after the Restoration he was allowed to live his own life in peaceful retirement.

The military leaders again summoned the surviving members of the Rump, the very men Oliver Cromwell had expelled from power. It was a far-fetched expedient adopted in extreme circumstances and produced no improvement in the situation. As a result the Rump was dissolved, the army became a prey to internal division, and the country

lapsed into anarchy. It was then that General George Monk, commander-in-chief in Scotland, put an end to the prevailing confusion. He marched southward, entered London and had a full, free general election held. The newly chosen Parliament voted that "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of the kingdom, the government is and ought to be by King, Lords and Commons." Charles II was recalled from exile and returned to London amidst the wildest demonstrations of popular enthusiasm (May 29, 1660.)

THE DYNASTY OF THE STUARTS



## II. From the Restoration to the Revolution (1660–1688): Charles II (1660–1685); James II (1685–1688)

**192. Charles II (1660-1685); His Talents and Aims.**—Charles II entered London in triumph on his thirtieth birthday, the 29th of May, 1660. The restored exile was over six feet tall, had a strong physical constitution and was fond of outdoor exercise. Intelligent, witty, and courteous, he also had the practical accomplishment of being able to make in the heat of conflict concessions to his opponents. Thus happily endowed he had likewise gone through the bitter school of adversity and had had excellent opportunities of training his character and strengthening his will. His father had died at the block; he had himself been driven from his hereditary dominions, and had been forced to lead the uncertain and unhonored life of political exile.

When by a sudden stroke of good fortune he was returned to the English throne, he evinced a resolute determination to hold it, because, as he said, he did "not wish to go on his travels again." He thus expressed his aversion to renewed exile and practised moderation in critical circumstances for fear of losing his crown.

This needful prudence was the only lesson bitter experience had taught him. In private conduct, he was a slave to the coarsest passions, and in political affairs he was actuated by personal, selfish interests. King and court led the way in the revolting immorality which disgraced the reign in the national reaction from enforced Puritanism. In politics, Charles II was as unprincipled as his father and not less anxious to be independent of Parliament. The pensions which he accepted from France freed him at times from parliamentary control and ranged him on the side of Louis XIV in international politics. Such an agreement with the French king was the more easily attained as Louis and Charles were at one in a common hatred of the Dutch.

In religion, Charles II considered Presbyterianism "no religion for gentlemen;" an Episcopalian through expediency, he always inclined toward, and died in, the Catholic faith.

**193. Religious Affairs: Laws Against Catholics and Dissenters.**—The brightest spots in the history of Charles II are his attempts to grant religious toleration to Catholics and Dissenters. These efforts proceeded from his leanings toward the Catholic religion. He desired chiefly to improve the unfavorable condition of the Catholics, but the Dissenters were included in his scheme of religious toleration. The term "dissenters" so frequently used at the time, applied to four Protestant sects: the Independents (now Congregationalists), the Presbyterians, the Baptists, and Friends.

The king failed in his efforts for wider religious liberty; the lot of both Catholics and dissenters, instead of improving, became more intolerable during his reign. Parliament was opposed to the toleration of more than one religion and the following new measures were passed in defense of the Established Church:

1. *The Corporation Act* (1661) demanded of all persons seeking office in municipal corporations that they swear allegiance to the Crown and receive communion according to the Anglican rite.

2. *The Act of Uniformity* (1662) imposed on every schoolmaster and clergyman the explicit acceptance of the Book of Common Prayer in its entirety. This act hit with particular severity the dissenting ministers, 2,000 of whom resigned their charges rather than declare their submission. Despite Charles' efforts to dispense with the penalties imposed by the instrument, the Act was enforced in the kingdom. About the same time all Catholic priests were banished from England.

3. *The Conventicle Act* (1664) virtually forbade all non-Anglican religious meetings. Any person attending a conventicle, that is, a religious meeting at which the Anglican rite was not observed and at which members of a household

and five or more other persons were present, was liable to punishment increasing in severity with the number of offenses.

4. *The Five Mile Act* (1665) forbade any clergyman who had not accepted the Act of Uniformity to come within five miles of a corporate town.

**194. The Declaration of Indulgence (1672); the Test Act (1673).**—Amidst the wave of bigotry which swept over England, Charles II did not swerve from his purpose to establish wider religious freedom. In 1672, he issued his famous *Declaration of Indulgence* which suspended all penal laws enacted against either Catholics or dissenters. In other words, he granted general religious freedom to his subjects. The instrument, commendable as it was, did not find favor with Parliament and the king was forced to withdraw it in 1673, as an unwarranted royal interference with the laws.

Proceeding further in its spirit of persecution, Parliament passed the *Test Act* which, similar in character to the Corporation Act, but more comprehensive in its tenor, barred from public office every person who refused to take the test, that is, who refused to deny the doctrine of Transubstantiation and to receive communion according to the Anglican rite (1673).

**195. Titus Oates and the Popish Plot.**—The frenzy of bigotry and anti-Catholic violence reached its height with the invention of the Popish Plot, an imaginary conspiracy falsely and wickedly imputed to Catholics by Titus Oates. This imposter had been expelled from several of the many schools which he had frequented, and had successively joined different religious denominations, disgracing each in turn. In 1677, he feigned conversion to the Catholic faith. This procured him admission to a Jesuit college and after being expelled from that institution he succeeded in entering another, only to be expelled again.

In 1678, he concocted the story of the Popish Plot. The

Catholics, so he charged, had formed a conspiracy to assassinate Charles II, overthrow the government, and extirpate the Protestant religion in England. No accusations made against Catholics were at the time too monstrous for the belief of Englishmen. A storm of anti-Catholic wrath now gripped the people, and brought additional suffering upon the already sorely tried Catholic body. They were declared incapable of sitting in Parliament, were everywhere sought out, ill-treated and dragged before the courts. The magistrates, before whom they were summoned, if they wished to escape popular anger, had no alternative but to pronounce condemnation.

Titus Oates became the idol of the country, was awarded almost regal honors, and was proclaimed the saviour of the nation. Two years elapsed before this madness of credulity and orgy of persecution began to subside, and not till then did Titus Oates begin to lose his prestige and authority.

**196. Blessed Oliver Plunket (1629–1681).**—The Popish Plot, to be complete, had to be laid also in Ireland. Archbishop Oliver Plunket, Primate of Armagh, was accused of being at the head of the conspiracy and of chartering a fleet of French and Spanish vessels to land a foreign army in the island. He was seized in 1679 and cast into prison. As no conviction could be hoped for in Ireland, he was taken to England where a host of perjured witnesses were ready to swear his life away. In the eyes of the chief justice before whom he appeared there was nothing more displeasing to God or more pernicious to mankind than the Catholic religion.

Sentence was pronounced against the innocent prelate, as follows: From Newgate, "you shall be drawn through the city of London to Tyburn. There you shall be hanged by the neck, but cut down before you are dead, your bowels shall be taken out and burned before your face, your head shall be cut off, and your body be divided into four quarters, to be disposed of as His Majesty pleases."

The execution took place in all its ghastly details on July 11, 1681. The great archbishop died after having anew protested his innocence, forgiven his enemies, and asked the Divine Majesty to be propitious to his own soul. He was the last Catholic executed for his faith in England, although the period of the penal laws was far from its end. The memory of the illustrious archbishop has been vividly recalled by his solemn beatification in 1920. Now Blessed Oliver Plunket takes his rightful place amidst the glorious throng of saints and martyrs who are the crown of the Irish Church.

**197. Leading Secular Facts of Charles II's Reign.**—The preceding account of the religious situation has drawn attention to the difficulties which troubled the relations of king and Parliament. Differences arose likewise between the two powers in political questions, but never caused a violent break between them. When parliamentary opposition became very threatening, Charles II either offered concessions or prorogued or dissolved Parliament.

Although he was anxious to keep all power vested in his person, he did not govern by himself. He relied on a few special ministers who performed the work, but who were not always acquainted with all the king's designs and measures. He consulted with them, at his pleasure, now as individuals, now as a body.

Certain important facts stand out in the history of the reign and must briefly be touched upon. In domestic events mention must be made of a terrible plague which raged during the summer of 1665 and claimed a large number of lives. It raged with particular fierceness in London. The victims were so numerous in the capital that pest carts went the rounds at night, collected the dead and flung them into a coffinless common grave. This calamity was followed closely by another, the great fire of London (1666). It raged for three days and burned two-thirds of the metropolis.

Eighty-nine churches and more than thirteen thousand houses were consumed by the flames.

Abroad, Charles II became involved in two wars with the Dutch. These conflicts proceeded not only from trade jealousies, but also from a personal grudge which the king harbored against that nation. He resented Holland's attempt to suppress the office of stadtholder, a measure which was directed against William II of Orange, the husband of his sister, Mary.

The main result of the Dutch wars was the capture by the English, in 1664, of New Amsterdam which was renamed New York in honor of its proprietor, the Duke of York and thenceforward remained English until the winning of American independence. In an opposite part of the world, Bombay, another colonial treasure, was added to the English crown by Charles II. It was the first spot secured by England in India and was brought to Charles by the Portuguese princess whom he married.

**198. Whigs and Tories; Habeas Corpus Act (1679).**—One of the notable facts in the parliamentary history of the time is the appearance of the two great English political parties: the Whigs and the Tories. These names under which the parties just mentioned became later generally known were now used for the first time to designate them. The words were at this stage insulting epithets, but later were to convey a proud connotation. In the course of their history the Whigs or Liberals stood for parliamentary rights, limitation of the king's power and maintenance of popular liberty. The Tories or Conservatives were the defenders of the royal prerogative, the authority of the central government, and the Anglican church.

The celebrated *Habeas Corpus Act* which advanced in an eminent degree the cause of personal liberty, was passed by Parliament in 1679, and restrained the arbitrary power of king and royal officials. It was designed to protect the accused criminal from unjust detention and interminable

delays in being brought to trial. To this end it decreed that the accuser must at a certain time bring the accused before a designated court for a specified purpose.

**199. Charles II's Last Years, Conversion and Death.**—The opposition to Charles II was gaining considerable strength toward the end of the reign when the discovery of a plot organized by his adversaries again threw the whole nation on his side (1683). The object of the conspiracy was to seize or to kill the king. It was frustrated by an unexpected change in the king's traveling dates and several of the conspirators were executed. The danger to his life restored to Charles the affection of his people who dreaded nothing more than civil war. A general expression of loyalty followed the discovery of the plot, and during the last years of his life Charles was one of England's most popular rulers.

His death, in 1685, was unexpected. He appeared to be in excellent health, when on February 2 he suddenly took sick and died of Bright's disease a few days later. His brother James, Duke of York, who was an ardent Catholic, frequently appeared at his bedside and seizing a favorable opportunity, asked him whether a priest should be summoned. The dying man at once and with great earnestness replied in the affirmative. Father Hudleston, who after the battle of Worcester had helped Charles to elude his pursuers, was sent for and hurried to the royal palace. As soon as he appeared in the king's presence Charles cried out: "You that saved my body are now come to save my soul." The king made his confession, was anointed and received the Holy Viaticum. He lingered until the ninth of February, 1685, when, after asking pardon of those around him for being so long a-dying, he calmly expired.

**200. James II (1685–1688) Succeeds His Brother Charles II.**—Charles II died without leaving any legitimate male issue. He was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of York, who was proclaimed James II without opposition. The

new king had displayed brilliant courage as a soldier and had rendered conspicuous service to his country as Lord High Admiral. In 1672, he had with courage, publicly avowed his conversion to the Catholic faith, despite the unpopularity of such a step throughout the nation. So hostile was English sentiment to the succession of a Catholic to the throne that determined attempts had been made to deprive him of his right to the crown; but they all had come to naught in face of the unwavering support given to his brother by Charles II.

Brave and courageous, James II lacked practical insight and a conciliatory temper. He was less immoral and more sincere than his brother. As for religious liberty he could not understand why it should be denied to Catholics and dissenters, while Anglicans proudly and freely enjoyed its advantages. He was unquestionably in advance of his time on the subject of religious toleration, but it is certain also, that in his personal exercise of religious freedom and in his efforts to extend the same freedom to others, he inaccurately gaged the hostile sentiments of his subjects and underrated the difficulties to be overcome. Instead of proceeding with that discretion which the Pope advised, he showed intemperate zeal and used imperious methods. The upshot of it all was that he harmed more than he served the Catholic cause and in a short time completely turned popular sentiment against himself. He was forced to seek safety in flight when a new pretender effected a landing in England in the person of his nephew and son-in-law, William III of Orange.

**201. The Unsuccessful Invasions of the Earl of Argyle and of the Duke of Monmouth (1685).**—James II inherited his brother's popularity and, upon the latter's lamented death, was gladly recognized in his dominions as the lawful king. The opposition which soon declared itself against him proceeded from Holland. Here many malcontents and political offenders had sought refuge during Charles II's reign.

Among them were a Scotch leader, the Earl of Argyle, and a natural son of Charles II, the Duke of Monmouth. The latter refused to recognize James II, and claimed the throne for himself.

Two expeditions, of inconsiderable size, were fitted out in Holland and sailed, on different dates, for James' dominions. The first, commanded by the Earl of Argyle, landed in western Scotland and hoped to rouse that country against its Catholic king. The people, however, did not respond to the call to arms and the incapable adventurer was captured, and executed in summary fashion.

The Duke of Monmouth landed in western England and had a slight initial success. Few influential men rallied to his standard, and he presently found himself in a precarious situation. On July 5, 1685, his troops were utterly routed by the royal army in the battle of Sedgemoor, the last pitched battle fought on English soil. Monmouth was caught hiding in a ditch and, like Argyle, executed; many of his followers suffered the same fate.

**202. James II's Aims in his Domestic Government.**—James II, in his domestic government, strove for the realization of a threefold aim; he sought (1) to maintain a permanent army, (2) to be independent of Parliament, and (3) to secure freedom for his Catholic subjects.

Monmouth's invasion had forced him to raise a fairly considerable army. He kept these troops under arms after all danger of civil war was passed, stationed them near London and considered them a reliable force competent to overawe the capital in any critical situation that might arise. He applied to Parliament for the sum necessary for the upkeep of this army, but was voted only a portion of the credits asked for.

Thus at variance on the military question, king and Parliament differed more widely in their views on religious toleration. As a result James II decided at an early date to govern without parliamentary sanction. He had resolved

on removing the civil disabilities and religious restrictions imposed on English Catholics, and when Parliament refused to make the necessary changes in the existing laws he freely used his own dispensing and suspending power in favor of his coreligionists and of Protestant dissenters.

Although he had consented to the use of the Anglican rite at his coronation, he soon practised openly his own religion and granted extensive privileges to his fellow-Catholics. He allowed the opening of several Catholic chapels in London, permitted monks to appear publicly in their religious habits, received the papal nuncio to England with public solemnities, appointed Catholics to military and civil offices, and admitted several of them, including a Jesuit, to his privy council. In 1687, he published a first Declaration of Indulgence which granted freedom to Catholics and Dissenters. In 1688, he issued a second Declaration of this kind which confirmed the preceding concessions and was to be read in all the churches of the land.

**203. Resistance to the King's Measures; William of Orange Invited to England.**—The king, by the aforementioned measures, did not infringe on the rights of the Established Church nor impose any restrictions on its members. His policy, in complete harmony with modern ideas of toleration, merely extended to other denominations some of the rights enjoyed by the official church. Unfortunately, he was too precipitate in his desire to provide relief and took no account of the hatred entertained by Englishmen for everything Catholic. When he ordered the Declaration of Indulgence of 1688 to be read from the pulpit, seven bishops first demurred and finally refused obedience. The king, incensed at their resistance, had them arrested and brought to trial. The case caused a great stir, a verdict of acquittal was finally pronounced, and wildly acclaimed throughout the land (June 30, 1688).

Meanwhile other events had roused the fears and worn down the patience of English Protestants. Louis XIV had

revoked the Edict of Nantes and many Huguenot refugees had appeared in England. A son was born to James II and his second, Catholic wife (1688), and the hope that Catholic rule would come to an end with the reigning king was abandoned. Many persons had hitherto borne with James in the expectation that the succession would go to one of his Protestant daughters, Mary or Anne, his only children by his first wife.

As these calculations were brought to naught by the birth of a male heir, who would of course be brought up in his parents' religion, seven leading personages decided on united and concerted action against their king. On the very day of the bishops' acquittal, they sent an invitation to William of Orange, Princess Mary's husband, to come with a foreign army and defend the liberties of England and Protestantism. It was the appeal William had been awaiting, and on November 5, 1688, he landed, with a Dutch expeditionary force, at Brixham in Devonshire.

**204. James II's Flight to France (1688).**—James II was little minded to abandon his kingdom to his Dutch enemy and collected an army against the invader. But his expectations of support were doomed to bitter disappointment. Some of his trusted officers forsook him, and his very friends and relatives went over to the enemy. John Churchill, the later Duke of Marlborough, who so far had been a favorite at court, and James' own son-in-law, Prince George of Denmark, who had married Princess Anne, were among the leaders who offered their services to William of Orange. When James heard that his daughter Anne had also left London, he lost heart and exclaimed: "God help me; my very children have forsaken me!"

He sent his wife and son away to France and without much delay tried to follow them. Recognized by fishermen he was brought back to London. William of Orange who considered him less embarrassing as a fugitive in France than

as a prisoner in England, allowed him to escape a second time and James II safely reached the court of Louis XIV.

**205. William and Mary are Recognized as Joint Sovereigns (1689).**—After James II's flight, William of Orange took over the government and summoned Parliament. Some members of this assembly, holding fast to the theory of a king's inalienable right to his hereditary crown, proposed that James II be allowed to retain the royal title and that William of Orange govern the kingdom as regent. The proposal failed of acceptance and was dropped. A second attempt to settle the question met with more success. James' flight from the country was declared to be equivalent to abdication, and the throne was considered vacant.

Parliament was disinclined to recognize a new king without constitutional guarantees. It drew up the *Declaration of Rights* in which it stipulated the conditions on which it would recognize William and Mary as sovereigns. The couple consented to accept the instrument which was subsequently renamed the Bill of Rights. They were now acknowledged joint rulers of England; all official acts were to be performed by William in his own and Mary's name. He remained at the same time Stadtholder of Holland, but at his death the latter country again became a state separate from England.

**206. Declaration or Bill of Rights (1689).**—This instrument forms, with Magna Carta and the Petition of Right, a most important document in English constitutional history. It contained little that was new, but again "asserted the ancient rights and liberties of England." It did not stop at general declarations, but denounced the unconstitutional acts of James II, and imposed specific limitations on the royal prerogative. It declared that without the consent of Parliament, no standing army could be maintained in peace time, and no taxes whatever could be levied by the king. It demanded freedom of parliamentary elections and of parliamentary debates, and excluded from the throne

all persons who were either Catholic or married to a Catholic.

With the revolution of 1688, the struggle between king and Parliament, which had lasted for almost a century, came to an end. For a king ruling in his own hereditary right there was substituted a king chosen by Parliament. The Revolution marked the definitive triumph of Parliament over the Crown.

## III. William III (1689–1702) and Mary II (1689–1694); the Last Stuart Ruler, Queen Anne (1702–1714)

**207. Position of William and Mary in England at Their Accession.**—William III, Prince of Orange and nephew of James II, had also become the latter's son-in-law in 1677, by his marriage to Princess Mary. He had grown up in an atmosphere of intrigue; cold and reserved, he never became popular with the English people. They accepted him as king and maintained him in power more because he had by a bloodless revolution delivered them from James, than because they were sincerely attached to his person. They reserved their affection for his consort, Queen Mary, who, little as she honored her father, was nevertheless possessed of certain attractive qualities in their eyes, in that she was a native Englishwoman and a fervent Protestant. Her popularity made her foreign husband's position less difficult amidst a proud nation.

William had been received with no enthusiasm and only after submitting to rigorous conditions. As his chief concern was always with continental affairs, his administration made no stirring appeal to Englishmen. His main purpose in coming to England was to secure help against Louis XIV, the powerful enemy of his native Netherlands. He realized this leading aim of his momentous undertaking; but England's domestic interests were protected and her constitutional liberties safeguarded more by her vigilant Parliament than by her Dutch king.

William III had conquered the English crown with Dutch military assistance and continued to rely on his own countrymen for support. He favored them as much from necessity as from choice, because most Englishmen were untrustworthy as far as William was concerned. They accepted him as their sovereign, but were prepared to desert him for James II should fortune change sides. Some entered into correspondence with and made overtures to the fugitive monarch. In consequence William III, throughout his reign, showed a marked tendency to appoint Dutchmen and exiled French Protestants to high office.

**208. The Jacobites; Opposition to William and Mary in England.**—Opposition to William and Mary, after their recognition by Parliament, was not completely given up in the three kingdoms. Some Tories in England, the Highlanders in Scotland and most of the people in Ireland remained loyal to James II. From the latter's name in Latin, *Jacobus*, they came to be known as the *Jacobites*.

In England some persons, including several Anglican bishops, refused recognition to William III, the usurper as they called him. In their way of thinking, James II was king by divine right and was, despite his misrule, entitled to the allegiance of his subjects. Obedience to another ruler was sinful. These persons, without offering open resistance to the new government, acquainted James II with their sentiments of unswerving loyalty. They separated from the main body of the Established Church, and until 1805, lived under a separate ecclesiastical administration.

**209. The Toleration Act (1689).**—As a Dutch Calvinist, William III cared little for the Episcopal Church established in England. The dissenters were closer to his religious belief. They were at once granted freedom of worship and became grateful supporters of the new ruler. The latter was inclined to extend the same freedom to the Catholics in an endeavor to win these staunch supporters of James II over to his side. But anti-Catholic feeling was so intense in

people and Parliament that no concessions to the hated papists were possible.

The Toleration Act, passed by Parliament in 1689, applied only to dissenters. It granted them the right to practise freely their religion, but did not remove the civil disabilities to which they were subject. Two classes of persons did not benefit by its provisions, the Catholics, as stated above, and the Unitarians. Instead of becoming more tolerant toward the former, Parliament, in a spirit of persecution, passed severer laws.

**210. New Measures of Persecution passed against English Catholics.**—The new statutes now passed and enforced against the English Catholics were, it is true, less sanguinary in character than the earlier laws, but they had a more paralysing effect on the Catholic body. Formerly the Catholics cheerfully laid down their lives for their faith; now no such noble and inspiring sacrifice was asked of them. They were subjected instead to cruel laws of coercion; they were impoverished by confiscations and reduced to an abject state of social inferiority.

In 1689, they were forbidden to reside within ten miles of London, to possess firearms or ammunition. or to own a horse, the value of which exceeded five pounds. In 1700, added disqualifications were imposed. No Catholic, cleric or lay, could, under pain of perpetual imprisonment, open a school or even undertake the education of youth. Neither could Catholic parents send their children abroad to have them reared in the faith. Catholics were declared incapable of inheriting or purchasing land, and the younger son who became a Protestant was entitled by law to all his father's estate.

These cruel laws were indeed not always enforced in all their rigor. They were too barbarous to be generally applied amidst a people not devoid of all human feeling. But their purpose of extirpating the Catholic faith was virtually attained. One Catholic family disappeared after another.

A small number retained the true faith chiefly because, by constant watchfulness, they eluded the observation and notice of their fellow-countrymen. Despoiled of all rights and forced to deny themselves all social intercourse, they came to form, through no fault of their own, a dull, uncouth and uncultured set of persons.

**211. The Massacre of Glencoe in Scotland (1692).**—After James II's flight, the Scottish, like the English, Parliament acknowledged as joint sovereigns William and Mary. However this official recognition was not concurred in by all the inhabitants of the northern kingdom. The Highlanders particularly continued to defend and began to fight for the rights of James II. After winning a battle, but losing their leader, most of them withdrew from the war and returned to their homes.

King William, anxious to pacify the Highlands, issued in 1691, a proclamation in which he promised clemency to all persons making their submission before the end of the year. The holdout clans now swore allegiance to William. The chieftain of that sept of the Macdonalds which dwelt in the valley of Glencoe, alone omitted to take the oath within the prescribed time. Although willing to make his submission he arrived too late at the appointed place.

The excusable delay, due to no fault of his own, was to draw down unmerciful punishment on the Macdonalds of Glencoe. King William, informed of the omission, signed an order for the extirpation of this "set of thieves." His officials organized the massacre of the offenders. Soldiers were sent into the valley and posed as friends of the dalesmen. They were hospitably received by the unsuspecting Macdonalds, lived, ate and played with them until all the mountain passes were occupied. Suddenly on the early morning of February 13, 1692, they fell upon their hosts and put most of them to the sword. Those who escaped the slaughter by flight perished in the mountains of cold and hunger.

The massacre of *Glencoe* forms a deep stain on William III's reputation. It may indeed be pleaded in his favor that he did not fully know the circumstances under which the deed of blood was executed, but neither did he show, after becoming acquainted with its revolting barbarity, any inclination to mete out condign punishment to its perpetrators.

**212. James II's Power Upheld in Ireland; Battle of the Boyne (1690); Treaty of Limerick (1691).**—In Ireland the Catholic people continued to support James II after England had forsaken him. The Ulster Protestants alone turned to William of Orange and were henceforth called Orangemen. Their descendants still refer with rapture "to the great and good King William, who saved us from popery, slavery and knavery."

In 1689, James II with a small force lent him by Louis XIV landed at Kinsale on the south coast of Ireland. He was at once joined by a considerable, but ill-disciplined Irish army. The northern Protestants on their side took up arms in favor of William III. Marshal Schomberg, a Protestant who had left the service of France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was sent to their assistance. Sickness broke out in his army and he could accomplish nothing. In 1690, King William landed in Ireland and took personal command of his troops, meeting the Jacobite forces on the River Boyne. The battle was hard fought on both sides, but James' troops were defeated by William's veterans, superior in numbers and training.

The battle, though not final, decided the issue between the two contenders for the allegiance of the Irish people. James II fled and returned to France; William entered Dublin and took possession of the greater part of Ireland. The defeated Irish troops rallied, continued their resistance and under Patrick Sarsfield performed feats of valor. But with their defeat at Aughrim and their surrender of Limerick the war was brought to a close.

The Treaty of Limerick was concluded; it allowed the Irish soldiers to join the army of France and granted to the Irish people freedom of worship (1691). The first condition of the treaty was observed; several thousand Irish soldiers emigrated to France and, as the famous Irish Brigade, saw much service in the continental wars. The second condition was so shamefully disregarded, that Limerick became known among the Irish as the "City of the broken treaty."

**213. New Penal Laws Passed Against the Catholics in Ireland.**—As has just been stated, the Irish Catholics were never granted the religious toleration which the Treaty of Limerick had extended to them. King William, who was often heard to declare that he had come to Ireland "to deliver the Protestants, but not to persecute the Catholics," intended indeed to observe the instrument in its entirety, but he was overruled by the Irish Parliament. This body composed exclusively of Protestants rejected those conditions of peace which it deemed unsatisfactory and instead of granting religious freedom to Catholics inaugurated the worst of persecutions against them.

The statutes which were now enacted were substantially the same as those which were introduced about this time in England (see No. 210). The Irish Catholics, like their coreligionists in England, were placed under the severest restrictions as to the ownership of arms, ammunition, horses; also in regard to purchase and inheritance of land, and the attendance at Catholic schools either at home or abroad.

In Ireland these repressive measures bore a particularly odious character, because they were imposed by a small minority on the large majority of the people and enforced more rigorously. They were moreover enacted in violation of a solemn agreement, the Treaty of Limerick, which was faithlessly broken by Parliament.

It must be added, in all fairness, that even among the Protestant population the cruel laws of persecution did not

meet with general approval. The persons responsible for them were the Protestants in high places who, through confiscation, had come into possession of Irish land, and, through oppressive legislation, sought to keep their ill-gotten property. Among the people the kindliest feeling often existed between Catholics and their Protestant neighbors, and many a Catholic landowner retained his estate through the generosity and kind offices of a Protestant friend.

**214. Laws Against Irish Trade and Manufacture.**—The defeat of the Irish people in war and the loss of its leaders by the emigration of its bravest soldiers reduced the country to subjection to a Parliament Irish in name, but composed in reality of members of the British Protestant colony. In commercial and industrial matters this Parliament fell itself under English control. To guarantee its tyrannical rule over the majority, it needed England's support and purchased it by submitting to English dictation in economic and commercial affairs. It thus became an instrument of foreign domination in Ireland.

Irish trade and manufacture attained a high degree of prosperity in the seventeenth century. They flourished to such an extent that on two occasions laws were enacted to repress them. The purpose of these measures was to suppress industries with which Englishmen found it impossible to compete successfully. The repressive code applied to Protestants as well as Catholics. In fact it chiefly affected the former, because the latter were too poor to engage in trade or manufacture to any considerable extent.

About the middle of the seventeenth century the country had built up an extensive and lucrative cattle trade. From 1663 onward the English Parliament passed several acts of trade and navigation which forbade on the one hand commercial relations between Ireland and the British colonies, and on the other hand the importation of livestock and even butter and cheese from Ireland into England. A flourishing

Irish industry was thus destroyed and where English business ability had failed, English force triumphed.

The Irish people now turned to the trade in woolen goods and carried it on to the satisfaction of their customers and with profit to themselves. The English cloth merchants, also unable to hold their own in fair competition, addressed in 1698, a petition to their government declaring that the development of the Irish industry was a menace to its growth in England. "The growing manufacture of cloth in Ireland," the petition forwarded to the king recited, "both by the cheapness of all sorts of necessaries of life, and goodness of material for making all manner of cloth,. . . makes your loyal subjects in this kingdom very apprehensive that the further growth of it may greatly prejudice the said manufacture here."

In 1699, the Irish and English Parliaments either rendered unprofitable by the imposition of prohibitive duties or forbade entirely the exportation of woolen goods from Ireland to England or any other country. The industry was thus ruined, many well-to-do Protestants impoverished and their Catholic workmen reduced to misery. This marks the beginning of the immigration of Irish Presbyterians, Scotch-Irish, in ever-growing numbers to the American colonies.

**215. Constitutional Development.**—King William's advent marked, as has been stated, the triumph of Parliament over the kingship in England. During his reign Parliament continued to strengthen its hold on the government by adopting the practise of voting appropriations only for a limited time and for a specific purpose. The king was thus forced to call Parliament virtually every year.

His power was limited still further in 1694 by the passage of the Triennial Act. Up to that time he could prolong indefinitely the duration of a Parliament and, if the latter proved subservient to royal caprice, no election might be held for years. The Triennial Act set a definite limit to the

life of a Parliament by prescribing a new election at least every three years.

Progress was made likewise in the organization of the executive branch of the government. Members of both political parties—Whigs and Tories—had been instrumental in raising William to the throne. He rewarded them by choosing his ministers from both. This grateful recognition would, so he hoped, swing the votes of the Whigs and Tories to his side in Parliament. In other words he formed, what has been called in our day, a coalition ministry so as to secure general support. The combination was clumsy and functioned badly. He soon found it preferable to rely on that party which commanded a majority in Parliament and to choose his ministers among its members. The ministers, however, were still freely chosen by him; they were his ministers and not responsible to Parliament. An adverse parliamentary vote could not force them out of office.

**216. The Bank of England (1694); Freedom of the Press (1695); Lawyers in Treason Trials (1696).**—The first national debt of a permanent character was contracted in England in King William's time. Until then the government had frequently borrowed money from the goldsmiths, who combined banking operations with their trade. But such debts were usually cancelled, because the government refused either to refund the capital or ceased to pay interest on the borrowed sum. However, interest was paid steadily on the one million pounds borrowed by Parliament in 1692, and the permanent national debt of England is reckoned from that date.

Two years later, that great financial institution, the Bank of England was founded. It almost immediately became a creditor of the government and an invaluable promoter of public and private prosperity.

In 1695, the censorship of books and newspapers was discontinued and the freedom of the press introduced. This measure was closely followed, in the administration of

justice, by the permission granted to persons accused of treason to employ a lawyer in their own defense. Greater fairness toward the accused was thus introduced in treason trials (1696).

**217. Death of Queen Mary II (1694); the Act of Settlement (1701); Death of William III (1702).**—Queen Mary died from smallpox in 1694. Her death was keenly felt and sincerely mourned by her royal husband. It increased his difficulties in England, and the outlook at one time appeared so discouraging to him that he thought of abdicating and returning to Holland.

Mary died without issue and the Duke of Gloucester, Princess Anne's only surviving child, followed her to the grave in 1700. Under these circumstances it appeared imperative to Parliament, for the effective exclusion of Catholics, to pass a special statute settling the succession. The Act of Settlement of 1701 was voted and conferred the English crown, after Anne's death, on the Electress Sophia of Hanover and her Protestant descendants. She was the nearest Protestant heir and was descended from James I by the latter's daughter Elizabeth, wife of the Elector Palatine. All the living descendants of Charles I, except Mary and Anne, being Catholics, were excluded from the succession (see genealogical table, page 193).

William III did not long survive the passage of the Act of Settlement. While his health was never excellent, his death was due to an accident. His horse stumbling over a mole-hill, threw him and he died from the injuries sustained in the fall (1702). So little had some Englishmen become reconciled to his rule, that overjoyed at the news of his death, they drank "to the little gentleman in velvet" who by his underground industry, had prepared the accident.

**218. Queen Anne (1702–1714); Her Reign and Character.**—King William, before his death, had declared war against France. He left England involved in the protracted struggle caused by the Spanish succession. In foreign affairs, the

war and its conclusion, and in domestic concerns, the Union of England and Scotland, form the chief events of the reign of Queen Anne, William's immediate successor. The history of the war and the conclusion of peace have been treated in the preceding chapter (see nos. 160, 161).

The successes achieved by the armies of England were chiefly won by the great military talent of that strikingly handsome and extremely perfidious man, John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough. Whilst he fought for his country, he amassed riches and plunder for himself through the war. As he was for several years in command of England's armies, so his wife Sarah was in control of the queen's mind and government.

Anne was a well-intentioned, but dull and unskilful woman. Her striking trait, together with that of her sister Mary, as also the qualities or foibles of their respective husbands were in contemporary lines expressed thus:

"King William thinks all
Queen Mary talks all
Prince George drinks all
And Princess Anne eats all."

Two women favorites, first the imperious and domineering Duchess of Marlborough, and then the gentler and more insinuating Mrs. Masham, acquired excessive influence over Anne's mind, although they may not have shaped the policies of the reign to the extent since admitted. When the Marlboroughs fell into disfavor, the war party lost power, and the Treaty of Utrecht, so advantageous to England, was ultimately concluded with Louis XIV (1713).

**219. The Act of Union Between England and Scotland (1707).**—England and Scotland had come under the same ruler in 1603 with the advent of James of Scotland to the English throne. However, each kingdom retained its administrative system, kept its official religion, and elected its independent parliament. So little had a common ruler unified the two nations that their mutual relations were

strained almost to the breaking point at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Their conflicting commercial interests which were daily assuming increasing proportions, resulted in mutual jealousies and frequent recriminations.

England had settled the question of her commercial rivalry with Ireland by the forcible suppression of Irish trade. No such proceeding was possible in her dealings with Scotland, as the latter country was well able to defend its rights. English statesmen realized that Anglo-Scottish relations would be established on a sound basis only by mutual concessions. Negotiations were carried on in this spirit of compromise between the two countries and had the result not only of settling outstanding difficulties, but of effecting the union of the rival kingdoms.

The Act of Union, concluded in 1707, under which England and Scotland have since lived, stipulated: (1) one parliament, sitting in London, to which would be admitted forty-five Scottish representatives in the Commons and sixteen members, chosen by the Scottish peerage, in the House of Lords. (2) recognition of the Presbyterian faith as the official religion of Scotland; (3) equal commercial rights for the two realms.

The two kingdoms were united under the new official name of Great Britain and under a new flag, the Union Jack. The name Jack was derived from the French "Jacques" for James, because James I whose usual signature was Jacques, first designed a union flag long before the union itself was established. In the new flag the crosses of St. George, the patron saint of England, and of St. Andrew, the patron saint of Scotland were blended. The present Union Jack was completed when, with the "legal" union of Ireland in 1801, the cross of St. Patrick was added to those of St. George and St. Andrew.

**220. Death of Queen Anne (1714).**—Princess Anne's domestic life was saddened by the early death of her children, and embittered by a quarrel with her sister, Queen Mary, which led to her banishment from court during the latter's

reign. As queen she was wearied by the intrigues of courtiers and the factional strife between Whigs and Tories. She showed little interest in the literary life of the time, the time of Addison and Swift, but was greatly concerned about the welfare and government of the Established Church.

Although her last illness was sudden, death was, according to one of her physicians, most welcome to her. "I believe," he wrote, "sleep was never more welcome to a weary traveller than death was to her." As the Electress Sophia had preceded her to the grave, Queen Anne was succeeded by Sophia's son, George, Elector of Hanover.

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# CHAPTER X

## THE RISE OF RUSSIA AND PRUSSIA

## I. Russia from 862 to 1725

**221. Russia and Prussia Compared.**—Before completing the history of France and England during this epoch (1648–1789), we must turn our attention to two new states, Russia and Prussia. These two countries rose to prominence in modern times, more particularly since the beginning of the eighteenth century. In point of race the inhabitants of both were originally Slavs. The Prussians, however, made history almost exclusively as representatives of the German race by which they were absorbed. Both countries, particularly Russia, were until the great world war ruled by hereditary monarchs little subject to popular control. In other respects, however, their history presents characteristic differences.

Russia was formed by a vast expanse of country, was inhabited by a patient and submissive peasant class, and always remained backward in its development and crude in its civilization. Prussia was small in extent, highly organized, pronouncedly military, and extremely efficient. The military was the outstanding characteristic of her national life; it influenced her internal development and shaped her foreign relations. It was partly responsible for the recent World War in which the nations combined against her. Her prominence in this struggle and the contemporary rise of Bolshevism in Russia have directed the world's attention especially to these two countries and given added interest to their history.

**222. Conditions Under Which Russia Rose to Eminence.**—In the study of Russian history, it will be helpful to record from the outset, and to remember throughout, the conditions under which the country emerged from obscurity and became a leader among nations. Her geographical position between

civilized Europe and nomadic Asia seemed to have destined her to become a buffer state between east and west. It accounts likewise for that mixture of eastern and western civilization noticeable to this day in Russian national life.

The lack of access to the ocean, that great highway of civilization, shut the country off from frequent intercourse with distant lands and impeded its progress. The great Tartar or Mongol invasion overwhelmed it in the thirteenth century. It lay prostrate under the despotism of these conquerors while western Europe was aflame with holy enthusiasm for the Crusades and astir with the intellectual strivings of the Renaissance.

The vast expanse of Russian territory rendered communication difficult and at times impossible. The scattered population composed of many races and professing antagonistic religions always heavily taxed the capacity and energy of its rulers.

223. **The Slavs Invite the Russians or Northmen to Their Country (861).**—If Nestor, the earliest and most authoritative Russian chronicler, may be believed, the history of his country was, in its beginnings, not unlike the history of some countries of western Europe. The original inhabitants, whom he calls *Slavs*, but whom the Greeks and Romans called *Scythians*, were torn in the ninth century by internal dissensions. Unable to restore union and harmony among themselves, they invited the Russians (rowers or seafarers) to come and rule over them. The invitation was accepted; the Russians came as guests and remained as conquerors. It was probably from their presence in the land that the country, although it always remained chiefly Slavic in race, received the name of Russia. These Russians were no other than the Northmen or Normans so famous for their irruptions into western Europe. As they had used the natural water routes to plunder and conquer in the west, so they navigated the rivers in the east and became the founders and masters of a new and well-ordered state.

Among their leaders was Rurik, the best known of their chieftains. He advanced as far as Novgorod (New Burg), fortified it and made it his residence. His immediate successors pushed southward and settled at Kief, the city destined to become the first important political and commercial centre of Russia. Novgorod, although first chosen, was to rise to leadership only several centuries later.

**224. Kief and Aristocratic Government in Russia.**— Three distinct forms of government obtained in Russia at different times and in different centres. They were the following in order of time: (1) aristocratic or class rule at Kief; (2) democratic or popular government at Novgorod; (3) autocracy at Moscow. After the year 862, the Norman conquerors pressed southward and chose Kief, a trading town on the Dnieper, as their capital. They united the subjugated peoples in a confederation of which the grand princes of Kief were the presidents. Yet the lords, nominally subject to the grand prince of Kief, enjoyed, in the administration of their respective domains, almost complete independence. The government of the confederation was, as is obvious, similar to the constitution of the western feudal state.

The early Russian Law also bore striking resemblance to the early laws and customs of the Teutonic nations. It sanctioned private revenge, permitted ordeals by fire and water, held to the system of compurgation and fixed the damages or "wergeld," to be paid for various crimes to the injured party and to the prince's treasury.

The dependence of the subordinate states upon the sovereigns of the confederation was chiefly expressed by the payment of tribute and taxes. During the winter months the princes of Kief went on an annual tour through their dominions to collect these dues. Payments were made, sometimes in coin, usually in kind. Furs and skins, honey and wax were carried in boats to Kief and reshipped to southern Russia and eastern Islam.

Even before the advent of the Normans, considerable merchandise was carried from Kief down the Dnieper to the markets of the Greek empire. With the growth of the city, these commercial relations grew in frequency, assumed increasing importance and received an almost exclusively official character. In a treaty of 941 the Russian government imposed commercial exchanges on the Eastern Empire just as the great powers of our own day forced China and Japan to open ports to western merchandise.

This treaty is convincing proof of the might possessed by the confederation of Kief in those days. It also points to the early ambitions of Russia in that part of the world in which she has since continued to seek either commercial advantages, or territory; an outlet to the sea, or religious influence.

**225. The Conversion of Russia.**—If the claims of the Russian Church were well founded, the Apostle St. Andrew would have to be accepted as its founder. He is said to have preached the Gospel near Kief and to have become the object of especial veneration among the people whose conversion he effected.

No authentic record exists, however, of such apostolic preaching. Kief first became acquainted with Christianity not through St. Andrew, but through intercourse with Constantinople.

The conversion of the nation began in the ninth century contemporaneously with the founding of the Russian state by the Normans. While the state-builders came from the north, Scandinavia, the Christian missionaries hailed from the south, Constantinople. At the beginning the true religion made but little progress. It was only when Princess Olga, after receiving baptism in Constantinople (955), labored zealously to convert her fellow-countrymen, that the tide began to turn. True, she could not effect the conversion of her own son; but her grandson, Vladimir the Apostolic (972–1015), from a rude pagan warrior became a

zealous Christian ruler. He accepted baptism on the occasion of his marriage with Princess Anna, a sister of the Greek emperor (988). Many of his people imitated his example and embraced the true faith. Idols were everywhere destroyed, Christianity was imposed as the official religion, and the people were baptized in crowds in the rivers. The establishment of a Catholic hierarchy followed, and Kief became the religious and educational, as it was already the political and commercial, centre of Russia.

A considerable time elapsed before Christianity could transform the customs, mollify the hearts, purify the morals and soften the manners of this rude and barbarous people. Little by little however the Church made its civilizing influence felt through the unremitting efforts of the clergy. Educational institutions attached to the churches and monasteries taught by word and example religious truth, brotherly love and a spirit of mutual respect and helpfulness.

Having received the faith from Constantinople, Russia also inherited Constantinople's distrust of the Roman Church and antagonism to western civilization. She renounced allegiance to the Holy See and in the twelfth century, if not earlier, formed part of the Orthodox Greek Church. In 1328 the primatial see of Russia was transferred from Kief to Moscow, but it remained subordinate to the patriarch of Constantinople until 1589. At this time the latter renounced for compensation his rights over the Russian Church and created a patriarchate at Moscow. An independent, national church was thus established in Russia. It was governed by the patriarchs of Moscow until 1720 when Peter the Great instituted the Holy Synod. This permanent body, composed of ecclesiastics and laymen, became the supreme authority in the church. Controlled by the civil power, it functioned as long as the czars themselves held sway in Russia (until 1917).

**226. The City-State or Republic of Novgorod.**—Returning to the political history of Russia, we note that the loosely

connected states of the confederation were, after a time, distracted by internal feuds and wasted their strength in civil wars. Kief, "the mother of Russian cities," was frequently attacked and several times stormed and pillaged. It visibly declined in the twelfth century. Power, wealth and influence receded northward. The leadership among Russian cities and states passed to Novgorod, the very town in which Rurik had first set up his headquarters. After the middle of the twelfth century it was the chief commercial centre of Russia and an important outpost of the Hanseatic League.

The supplanting of Kief by Novgorod meant much more than a mere transfer of leadership; it was also a substitution of one type of government for another, the democratic for the aristocratic type. Novgorod, from its earliest days, had exhibited an independent spirit. Its government, with passing years, became very democratic. It acknowledged a prince, but the real power resided in a popular assembly. This situation was expressed with greater force than dignity in the popular maxim: "If the prince is bad, into the mud with the prince."

A principality in name, Novgorod was in fact rather a republic or city-state. "The supreme power resided not in the prince, but in the 'Veche' or assembly of citizens called together in the market place by the sound of a great bell. This assembly made laws for the prince as well as the people, entered into alliances with foreign powers, declared war and concluded peace, imposed taxes, raised troops, and not only elected the magistrates, but also judged and deposed them when it saw fit. The prince was little more than the hired commander of the troops and the president of the judicial administration. When entering on his functions, he had to take a solemn oath that he would faithfully observe the ancient laws and customs, and if he failed to fulfil his promises he was sure to be summarily deposed and expelled."[1]

[1] Wallace, *Russia*, p. 187.

Unfortunately Russian cities and principalities alike failed to realize that union is an indispensable condition of strength. National unity did not exist among them, it was even little striven for because the national spirit, on which it must rest, had not yet developed. Novgorod, like Kief, lost its power and independence, largely through domestic discord. Party factions often divided its own citizens and political freedom degenerated into anarchy. The Mongols and the princes of Moscovy, favored by these circumstances, first conquered her colonies or dependencies and then subjugated the proud city itself.

**227. The Mongol or Tartar Domination (1237–1480).**— While Novgorod was rising to a position of eminence, the Tartars or Mongols were winning sweeping victories and conquering vast territories in Asia. Under their leader Genghis-Kahn (1175–1227) their impetuous advance westward proved irresistible. In 1224 these barbarous hordes fell on Russia, devastated its southern provinces and then retreated. Thirteen years later they reappeared and effected the conquest of the country. "Terror and destruction followed in the wake of the invading hordes: pillaged cities, tortured people, skulls and skeletons, marked their passage through the land. Nothing could withstand their huge army, mounted on horses and camels; before their irresistible battering-rams towns fell after only a few days resistance—some even at once."[1]

The Mongols passed through rather than occupied Russia. They reduced it to the condition of a tributary and vassal state. They founded an empire on the banks of the Volga River and from its capital, Sarai, imposed their will on Russia. The Russian princes needed Mongol approval to take possession of their lands, had to submit their controversies to Mongol arbiters, were forced to pay taxes and to furnish military contingents to the conquerors and were forbidden to wage war on their own account.

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[1]Howe, S. E., *Thousand Years of Russian Life*, p. 21.

Although the Mongols had adopted the Mohammedan religion, they respected the rights, and even increased the privileges of the Russian Church. In the collection of taxes, however, they showed themselves exacting and the Mongol tax-gatherers inflicted severe suffering on the people. As many revolts broke out against the exactions of the oppressors, the taxes were farmed out to the Russian princes. These became the intermediaries between the Mongol Khan or ruler and their own people. Their interests and those of their subjects thus conflicted, for the most subservient princes were raised in dignity over their rivals. Bribery, adulation, obsequiousness became effective means to gain recognition with the conqueror. Forced to cringe before the Mongol Khan, the Russian princes exacted similar degrading behavior from their people. The worst evils of an Oriental despotism thus gradually infected Russian national life. Mongol domination left a lasting impress on the subjugated people.

In the race for Mongol favor, the princes of Moscow or Muscovy were at once the most selfish and the shrewdest. No means was too base, no service too abject, no method too vile for the advancement of their interests. Crafty and grasping they first rose to a leading position among Russian princes and later put an end to Mongol domination itself (1480).

**228. The Muscovite Prince Ivan III, the Great (1462–1505).**—Muscovy first acquired predominance in Russian affairs under Ivan (John) III surnamed "the Great," or more precisely "the Consolidator of Russia." This prince triumphed over all Russian rivals and even Novgorod was constrained to acknowledge him as autocrat. He also threw off the Mongol yoke refusing in 1480 to pay the customary tribute. The Mongols threatened to exact payment, but never put their threat into execution and the year 1480 marks the end of Mongol domination in the country.

Two other events, one political, the other personal

deserve mention in treating of this reign. In the internal government of the state, the authority of the prince became more absolute and autocratic than it had ever been. The fact is instructive particularly as Muscovy was the nucleus of the growing Russian empire and the Muscovite government formed the basis of the future rule of the Czars.

In choosing a consort Ivan III turned towards Constantinople and married Sophia Palaeologus, a niece of Constantine the last of the Greek emperors. Basing themselves on this union, the Muscovite rulers claimed the inheritance of the Eastern Empire (which had fallen in 1453), adopted as their arms the double-headed eagle and assumed the role of protectors of the Orthodox Church. In addition to these claims to the Byzantine inheritance, Sophia brought to Moscow from fallen Constantinople the last representatives of Byzantine culture and some Italian artists. Through her influence, humanism and the Renaissance flourished for a short time at the uncultured court of Moscow.

**229. Ivan IV, the Terrible (1533–1584).**—In Ivan IV, who in 1533 succeeded to the throne, there was a strange mixture of cruel instincts and religious sentiment. His cruel character which caused so much suffering among his contemporaries is aptly indicated to posterity by the epithet—"the Terrible"—by which he is commonly designated. His reign falls into two periods, the first good (1533–1559), the second terrifying by its severity (1560–1584). In striking contrast to these facts it is interesting to note that the closing days of his life were passed in severe religious seclusion. After the first attack of his last illness he took the habit of a strict religious Order and died as the monk Jonah.

Despite his cruelty, exemplified in the killing of his own son in an excess of rage, his reign was not devoid of beneficial results. In home affairs, he reduced the excessive power of the nobility and was the first to assume the title of czar of a united Russia. In wars with the Mongols he acquired

territory in the south and also extended Russian dominion over Siberia.

His wife Anastasia, whom he selected from numerous maidens gathered from all his dominions for his inspection, was the first member of the Romanof family to be seated on the Russian throne.

**230. The Romanofs; Peter the Great (1682–1725); His Character and Aims.**—Despite the work of consolidation and unification carried out under Ivan the Great and Ivan the Terrible, Russia suffered severely from renewed internal troubles. So serious was the crisis it faced that the state appeared threatened with imminent ruin. To avert disaster the national assembly raised to the Russian throne Michael Romanof, grandson of Ivan the Terrible, on his mother's side (1613). With him the country received a new dynasty and its government a new direction. The dynasty reigned until 1917; the new policy outlasted even the dynasty. The old feeling that the country was self-sufficient and ought to be exclusive began to weaken with the accession of the Romanofs. It gave place to a growing desire for guidance and inspiration from the countries of central and western Europe.

No ruler encouraged this desire more forcefully than Peter the Great (1682–1725) who imposed western methods and customs upon his subjects. He came to the throne at the age of ten in 1682 and had to submit for seven years to the regency of his half-sister Sophia. When the latter, with the help of that military caste, the Streltsi, tried to make her rule permanent, he overthrew her and sent her to a monastery (1689). Thus made sole ruler, he pursued two chief aims in his government: *the opening-up of Russia to western culture* and *the conquest of a preponderant position for her in northeastern Europe.* In other words he sought to modernize Russia and secure for her the position of a great power, both of which he attained.

A man of brutal instincts and iron will, Peter the Great

carried out his designs with ruthless energy and unremitting determination. Although ever ready to accept new ideas and to introduce improved methods, he was impervious to humane sentiments or refined taste. He was indefatigable in his efforts to create a mighty and respected Russia, and, true to native custom, sought rest from his labors by indulging his propensity to excessive drinking.

**231. The Internal Reforms Introduced in Russia by Peter the Great.**—In 1697 Peter visited as a student, observer and workman, several European countries. He appeared everywhere as a private citizen of Russia and mingled very freely with persons of the middle class. In Holland he worked for several weeks as a carpenter in a shipyard, cooking his own meals and attending to the care of his own household. Amsterdam, the great seaport and busy mart, was a source of wonderment and the occasion of varied and interesting study for him. In 1698 he crossed over to England and there as in Holland, besides working as a ship carpenter, took institutions, customs and people under close and penetrating observation. He investigated industrial establishments and admired particularly English naval progress. He collected models or samples of various objects and sent them to Russia. Among them was the reproduction of a coffin which he caused to be made and forwarded to Moscow. After three months' stay he returned from England to Vienna. He was on the point of proceeding to Italy when the news reached him that an insurrection had broken out against him among the Streltsi. He hurried back to Moscow executed many of the insurrectionists and disbanded the others, doing away with the organization of the Streltsi altogether.

Unperturbed by these signs of violent resistance to him and his foreign innovations, he introduced numerous reforms. Starting with externals he made the men shave their long beards and modify their flowing oriental costumes. He clipped off with his own hand the beards of some of the

leading noblemen. Men coming to a town in the traditional long costume were either to pay a special tax or to kneel under the city gate and submit to the shortening of their wearing apparel.

Fully realizing the need of instructing youth in order to insure true progress, he founded many elementary and some technical schools. Medicine, engineering and navigation were recommended as subjects of study. Foreigners, who were specialists in naval science, military art, industry or trade were induced to come to Russia and become the instructors of his people.

Hand in hand with these social and educational innovations, went reforms in the ecclesiastical government, the civil administration and the military establishment. Russia was to become supreme among states, but Peter was to be supreme in Russia. He suppressed the patriarchate, placed himself at the head of the church and appointed for its government the Holy Synod. He simplified the civil administration by dividing the whole country into provinces or "governments," and, by imposing fixed residence on the peasants, sanctioned the condition of serfdom which was becoming prevalent among the agricultural classes. He introduced compulsory military service on a limited scale and had Russian soldiers trained by competent foreign officers under his general supervision. His ambition to perpetuate his influence led him to designate his successor and to vest the same right in subsequent rulers.

**232. Peter the Great and Charles XII; War with Sweden (1700–1721).**—When Peter began his reign, Sweden was at once the mightiest and most unpopular country in northern Europe. Sweden proper being poor and sparsely populated, its political power was founded on the resources of lands conquered from Russia, Poland and Denmark. About the beginning of the eighteenth century these three powers combined against Sweden, as the western powers were uniting at the time against the France of Louis XIV. Peter

the Great who, strange to say, always dreamed of ships and the sea, saw in a war with Sweden an opportunity of acquiring the Baltic seaboard. All three allied powers—Russia, Poland and Denmark—considered the youth of the Swedish King Charles XII a favorable circumstance for an attack on their powerful neighbor. Charles born in 1682 had succeeded to the throne in 1697. In going to war against him his enemies looked forward to an easy triumph and hoped for abundant returns, but they were to be sorely disappointed in their reckonings. Charles XII was a venturesome and impetuous youth, a lover of danger and a talented military leader. Like a flash of lightning he tore across Europe winning victory after victory in his course.

As soon as Russia, Poland and Denmark had declared war against him in 1700, he attacked Denmark, threatened its capital and so frightened its king that the latter concluded peace and withdrew from the Polish-Russian alliance (1700).

Turning at once upon Peter the Great who was besieging *Narva*, a fortress subject to Sweden, Charles attacked, with his eight thousand men, forty thousand Russians and in a few hours routed them disastrously (1700). He had thus in one year defeated two of the states allied against him.

Endowed with the qualities of an adventurer but lacking the calculating temperament of the statesman, Charles gave Peter time to recoup his fortunes and marched against Poland. The campaign was again eminently successful. Defeat after defeat followed for the Poles; province after province fell into his hands and in 1706 Poland signed peace.

**233. Peter the Great Continues the War with Sweden; Treaty of Nystad (1721).**—Russia remained alone at war with the Swedish king. She had already suffered at Narva, as has been related above, an inglorious defeat at his hands. The issue of this battle, however, had little ruffled the feelings or shaken the confidence of Peter the Great. "I know," he declared, "that the Swedes can beat us; but we shall learn and the time shall come when we shall beat them."

While Charles XII was engaged in his campaign against the Poles, Peter had again invaded the Swedish dominions and pressed forward to the Baltic Sea. In 1703 he founded on the Gulf of Finland a new capital, St. Petersburg (Petrograd). He gave it his name and established it because he found the site better suited for frequent communication with the west.

The city was still building when Charles XII, after forcing peace on Poland, returned to Russia. In the hope of effecting a junction and cooperating with the rebellious Cossacks,[1] the Swedish king in the middle of winter advanced into the interior of Russia and besieged the town of Pultowa. Peter the Great marched to its relief and at the head of sixty thousand men defeated the nineteen thousand soldiers under Charles XII. The Russian victory was so complete that most of the Swedish army were either killed, wounded or forced to surrender. Its wounded king found, after experiencing the severest hardships, an asylum in Turkish territory (1709).

He used all the resources of his talent to obtain from the sultan a declaration of war against Russia. His protracted efforts were crowned with success in 1711. But the war was short, successful for Turkey, slightly injurious to Russia and of no bearing on the struggle between Sweden and Peter the Great. After its conclusion Charles XII was ordered to quit Turkey, but refused to comply with the sultan's injunction. He remained till news reached him that Sweden, in his continued absence, contemplated the appointment of a regent. In all haste he now sped homeward, crossing on horseback the European continent from south to north in fourteen days (November, 1714).

[1] The Cossacks (freebooters) were military tribes settled about the Russo-Polish frontier. Frequently at war with Russians or Poles, they acknowledged Russian suzerainty in the seventeenth century. Their independent and turbulent spirit frequently led them to revolt and enabled them to retain various privileges. As light and irregular cavalry they formed until our own time a valuable element in the Russian army.

After the defeat at Pultowa, Denmark and Poland had renewed the war against Sweden. Charles XII upon his return resolved on conquering Norway and wresting it from Denmark. To this end he undertook three campaigns against the latter. All three were unsuccessful and in the third he was killed in the trenches at the siege of Frederikshall by a Danish bullet (1718).

His death was followed by peace negotiations between Sweden and her enemies. The treaties signed were unfavorable to the former. By the peace concluded with Russia at *Nystad* in 1721 a considerable portion of the Baltic seaboard was ceded to Peter the Great. Sweden fell to the position of a secondary state, while Russia took her place among the great powers.

Peter the Great had realized his plan of supremacy in the north; Charles XII had astounded Europe by his foolhardiness and military triumphs, but had caused the ruin of his country. He has been aptly described as the "Madman of the North."

## II. Prussia from Its Beginning to 1740

**234. Prussia from its Beginning to its Union with Brandenburg in 1618.**—The Prussians are mentioned for the first time in history in the tenth century. They were then settled in a small territory east of the Vistula. They spoke a language of their own which was akin to Lithuanian, but which became extinct at the end of the seventeenth century. Originally Slavs they were gradually Germanized, but in turn their name came to be applied to the territory of their conquerors, so that today it is used to designate all northern Germany.

When first spoken of, the Prussians were heathens. For over two centuries they stubbornly resisted all attempts at Christianizing them. The missionaries sent among them were usually, like St. Adalbert (939–997), who is called the apostle of Prussia, massacred by the natives. Even a

Crusade preached with the object of implanting Christianity in Prusssia failed to produce the desired result (1218–1223). This organized effort was followed by an appeal for help to one of the military religious associations of the time, the Teutonic Order. With their appearance in Prussia, the aspect of the situation changed and the successful Christianization and concomitant Germanization of the country began. The thirteenth century, that glorious period of Catholic achievement, witnessed the triumph of the Cross in the land of the Prussians.

In 1230, a small band of twenty-nine Teutonic Knights, assisted by a host of German crusaders, undertook in Prussia that work of conversion which had already cost the lives of so many Christians. Their persevering efforts were, after a struggle which lasted for about sixty years, crowned with complete success.

Along with the conversion of the Prussians went the colonization of their country by German settlers. Owing to the advantages promised and the privileges granted to the latter, towns arose on all sides, agriculture flourished trade was promoted and education encouraged. Prussia became a flourishing state, a military principality subject to the Teutonic Order. The latter in 1309 established as headquarters at Marienburg in Prussia a strongly fortified castle.

The signal success of the conversion and colonization of Prussia was not achieved without detriment to the Teutonic Order. Worldliness and internal division soon impaired its spiritual vigor and undermined its military strength. The rise of neighboring Poland also became a menace to the Order and a danger to the state it had founded. In 1410, the Poles won the bloody battle of Tannenberg which cost the lives of six hundred knights. As the number of fighting members of the Order never exceeded a thousand, the blow was of the heaviest. The losses among the subordinates or soldiers was in proportion to the number of killed among the

knights or officers. The war caused moreover the ruin of the Order's finances.

The Teutonic Order never recovered from the blow sustained at Tannenberg. Its efforts to recoup its finances brought it into conflict with the nobility and cities of Prussia which resisted the imposition of new taxes. The incessant wars with Poland resulted in 1466 in the cession of West Prussia to Poland and the recognition of Polish suzerainty over East Prussia. This was the political condition of East and West Prussia, when the Hohenzollern Albert of Brandenburg became Grandmaster of the Teutonic Order in 1511. He apostatized, accepted Lutheranism and transformed East Prussia into a secular, hereditary and Protestant dukedom (1525). His descendants ruled here until 1618 when the line became extinct and the country was united with the Electorate of Brandenburg.

**235. The Counts of Hohenzollern, Rulers of Electoral Brandenburg and Later Kings of Prussia.**—Modern Prussia owed her greatness neither to an advantageous geographical situation, nor to abundant natural resources. She was raised to an eminent position among the world's leading nations through the patient work and unremitting toil of the Hohenzollern dynasty. This House derived its name from its castle, which, like the ancestral home of the Hohenstaufen, was situated in southern Germany. The name Hohenzollern was applied to it for the first time in 1061. After this date the Counts of Hohenzollern played an increasingly important role in the history of the Holy Roman Empire. They split in the course of time into a Suabian and a Franconian branch. The former remained in possession of the ancestral castle until 1849 and always retained the Catholic faith. The candidacy of one of its members, Prince Leopold, for the Spanish throne was an immediate occasion of the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71). Another of its representatives occupies at present the throne of

Rumania. This Catholic branch of the Hohenzollerns had nothing to do with the government of Prussia.

The dynasty which ruled over that country belonged to the Franconian or Protestant branch. The further its members moved northward, away from their castle, the more powerful they became. First Counts of Hohenzollern, they were named burgraves of Nuremberg in 1227 and princes of the Empire in 1363. About the very time when the Teutonic Order suffered the above-mentioned decisive defeat at Tannenberg at the hands of the Poles, the Emperor Sigismund appointed the Hohenzollern, Frederic, to the government of the margravate of *Brandenburg* (1411). This appointee became hereditary Elector of Brandenburg and was solemnly invested with the dignity in 1417 at Constance where Emperor Sigismund was then in attendance upon the General Council. Frederic's descendents reigned in Brandenburg until 1918; they accepted Protestantism in 1539; received the title of Kings in Prussia in 1701 and became German emperors at Versailles in 1871.

**236. Brandenburg from its Beginning to its Union with Prussia in 1618.**—Brandenburg, not Prussia itself, was the nucleus from which developed modern Prussia. Inhabited in early times by Germans, it was overrun, in the sixth century, by a Slavic tribe named the Wends. The latter pressed west to the Elbe. This river formed for centuries the boundary between Slavs and Germans. Frequent frontier wars were waged by the two races until Charlemagne defeated the Wends and forced them to pay tribute. He established several strongholds which, like Magdeburg, subsequently grew into flourishing cities. Christian influences seemed about to triumph in Brandenburg when, under the weak successors of Charlemagne, advantages so laboriously secured, were again lost. The wars of former days were renewed between Wends and Germans, and this period of lawlessness and disorder lasted until 928. At that date King Henry I, the Fowler, captured the Wendish

capital and established the Northern March which was later called the March of Brandenburg.

The work thus auspiciously inaugurated by Henry the Fowler was successfully continued by his successor Otto the Great. Here as elsewhere in those days, the conquest of the country resulted in the spread of civilization and Christianity among the inhabitants. The Wends were forced to keep the peace and had the Gospel of Christ preached to them. To consolidate the conquest, German colonists were settled in Brandenburg, and to promote conversion, Christian bishoprics were founded in the land. But the native inhabitants submitted reluctantly to German rule and, unfortunately, too readily identified the Christian religion with it. They rose in rebellion in 983, defeated their German conquerors and destroyed the Christian settlements. A new, protracted struggle ensued between Wends and Germans, between paganism and Christianity.

This period of conflict lasted until 1134 when Albert the Bear became ruler of the Northern March. He was the founder of the earliest of the four houses which ruled it in subsequent history. These four dynasties were: (1) the Ascanians (1134–1320); (2) the Bavarians (1324–1373); (3) the Luxemburgers (1373–1415); (4) the Hohenzollerns (1415–1918).

The founder of the Ascanian line, Albert the Bear, was also its ablest and most illustrious representative. He it was who first assumed the title of Margrave of Brandenburg (1150). With him began the successful Germanization and lasting conversion of the territory. The rule of the Ascanians was a period of comparative peace and internal development.

Unfortunately, their successor, the House of Bavaria, showed little ability to maintain order in the land. Its members never identified themselves with the best interests of the country, no more than the Bavarian people ever cordially sympathized in all things with the modern Prussians. An outstanding fact of this period was the acquisi-

tion by the margraves of the rights and title of electors (1356). Brandenburg received by the Golden Bull of Charles IV the dignity of an electorate and its rulers were ranked among the seven princes who chose the emperor.

The House of Luxemburg was no improvement on the Bavarians. Brandenburg continued to be considered a property for division and distribution among greedy rivals and a pawn for disposal in difficult situations and thorny negotiations.

After suffering so long and so acutely from misgovernment, Brandenburg was conferred in 1415 as an hereditary domain on Frederic of Hohenzollern. The latter with a strong hand imposed internal peace, and, despite great difficulties, successfully maintained law and order in the land. The Hohenzollern period was a time of internal consolidation and development and of external acquisitions and expansion. Berlin became the capital of the electorate (1448). The right of primogeniture was adopted in determining the question of succession (1473). The Electorate of Brandenburg, and also the Duchy of Prussia, if it ever fell under the elector's jurisdiction, were to be handed down undivided to the reigning prince's eldest son. The territory of the electorate was increased by the addition of neighboring districts and the acquisition of distant provinces. Among the latter were the Duchy of Cleves situated in the extreme west and the Duchy of Prussia in the extreme east of present Germany. Cleves was acquired in 1614 and the more important union of Brandenburg and Prussia took place in 1618 following the extinction of the Hohenzollerns in Prussia proper.

**237. Brandenburg-Prussia after 1618; Causes of the Success of the Hohenzollerns.**—In the religious revolt of the sixteenth century, the rulers of Brandenburg had at first opposed the so-called Reformers. After some years, however, they yielded to heretical influences, adopted Protestantism and imposed it on their subjects. Branden-

burg was destined to become the centre of the Protestant movement in north Germany.

Their domains, after the union of Prussia with Brandenburg, were made up of three scattered groups: Prussia in the east; Brandenburg in the centre; and Cleves in the west. They continued to add to these possessions and to increase their power until they were the sole rulers of a united Germany.

Several general causes may be assigned for their success: (1) the separation of their dominions into three distant parts led them to take a lively interest in the vicissitudes of the Holy Roman Empire and in general European conditions. Opportunities might arise and should not be lost to connect these scattered fragments and form one united state. (2) The law of primogeniture precluded recurring territorial divisions among the male heirs at every new succession. (3) The persevering efforts and unscrupulous methods of the Hohenzollerns effectually contributed to the success of their definite policy to connect their dominions. (4) The military training of the male population and the great efficiency of the Prussian army provided a powerful defense in danger and secured at times important gains through successful wars.

**238. Frederic William, the Great Elector (1640–1688).**— Frederic William, surnamed the Great Elector, was the first great Hohenzollern and the real founder of modern Prussia. His reign fell in troubled times. The Thirty Years' War was in progress when he ascended the throne, and the wars of Louis XIV together with the struggle for supremacy in the Baltic regions were being fought out when death put an end to his career.

Frederic William took no active part in the Thirty Years' War. Before him Brandenburg had supported first one side and then the other as her interest dictated. He concluded a truce with the Swedes and observed neutrality to the end of the war. To be prepared for all emergencies he used

this time to improve the condition of his people, to increase public revenue and to train an army of 8,000 excellent soldiers. At the Peace of Westphalia his ambition was gratified by the acquisition of several secularized bishoprics.

In the Swedish-Polish war (1655–1660), he started fighting for Sweden, but, in the hope of better returns, went over to Poland during the conflict and opposed his former allies. In the peace which ended the struggle, the Duchy of Prussia was released from all dependence on Poland. Frederic William thus became in that part of his lands, an independent ruler.

In the war of Louis XIV against the independent Netherlands, the elector helped the Dutch defend their invaded country. The interests of a common Protestantism, the dangers to which the French king's aggressive policy exposed the Duchy of Cleves, and family ties through his wife, binding him to the House of Orange to which his wife belonged, account for his support of the Dutch Republic. While his troops were fighting on the Rhine, the Swedes invaded Brandenburg. Hastening eastward to defend the electorate Frederic William won in 1675 a brilliant victory over superior numbers. Nevertheless the treaty which he negotiated with France and Sweden in 1679 brought him only slight advantage. His allies had signed peace separately, and he was forced to submit to the conditions imposed by his enemies.

For the remainder of his reign, Brandenburg-Prussia enjoyed comparative peace. The elector devoted considerable time to the increase and training of his army and to the development of his newly created navy. He opened up friendly commercial relations with England and encouraged immigration to fill up the depleted population. Holland and France furnished most of the immigrants. From the Dutch the people of Brandenburg learned to drain and cultivate their lands. From the French, who were mostly Prot-

estant refugees, they copied the art of wool manufacture and other skilled industries.

Frederic William died in 1688. He had promised his aid, for the descent on England, to William of Orange but did not live to redeem his pledge. His eldest son, Frederic, succeeded him.

**239. Brandenburg-Prussia becomes the Kingdom of Prussia (January 18, 1701).**—Frederic, the Great Elector's successor, was the last ruler using as his chief title Elector of Brandenburg and the first styling himself king. He did not possess his father's qualities. The latter loved work and shunned ostentation, whereas Frederic was fond of display and maintained a splendid court. Frederic's ambition was to wear a royal crown. For the realization of this desire he turned to the emperor, hoping to obtain the latter's sanction for the assumption of the kingly title in the independent Duchy of Prussia. He promised the support of the Electors of Brandenburg to the House of Austria for every imperial election and for all foreign wars. The emperor, in need of assistance in the settlement of the Spanish succession, signed the so-called "crown treaty" and acceded to Frederic's wish. As a result the elector took the title of King in Prussia, and on January 18, 1701, crowned himself and his consort amidst splendid festivities at Königsberg.

The title was derived from Prussia, because the Duchy was the sole independent part of Frederic's dominions. Brandenburg was under imperial suzerainty; the title read King *in* Prussia instead of the more pretentious King *of* Prussia, because West Prussia was still Polish and was only acquired by the Hohenzollerns at the first partition of Poland (1772). After its annexation Frederic the Great called himself King *of* Prussia.

The European rulers acquiesced at least tacitly in the assumption of the royal title by the Electors of Brandenburg. Pope Clement XI (1700–1721) alone protested against it.

His action has been the occasion of much misrepresentation and the object of frequent derision from non-Catholic historians. The protest, however, was perfectly natural since the right to bestow royal titles had, from time immemorial, belonged to the papacy. In utter disregard of papal rights, the leading Protestant ruler of north Germany now styled himself king in a country which by ancient right belonged to the Teutonic Knights, a military religious Order of the Catholic Church.

**240. Frederic William I of Prussia (1713–1740).**—Frederic William was a hard, coarse and despotic man who made the army his chief care. He increased its numerical strength, and, in a country of only two and a half million inhabitants, raised it from 40,000 to 80,000 men. The enlisted men were drawn from the peasantry and the officers from the nobility. The troops were thoroughly drilled under the personal supervision of the king.

Frederic William I's rigid disciplinary measures extended to civil as well as to military administration. He organized the Directory of five members, a kind of cabinet over which he presided. Beneath this body stood the provincial departments with subordinate branches reaching into every town. The whole system of government was so ordered that the king controlled every administrative act. He built up that machine-like government which made Prussia so efficient.

Frederic William was a great lover of economy, being the opposite of his father in this respect. He doubled the public revenue, but spent two-thirds of it on the army. He joined the coalition against Charles XII of Sweden and was thus able to annex in 1720 western Pomerania to his realm. In the war of the Polish succession (1733–1738), he fought on the side of the German empire but derived little profit from the conflict.

Among his personal characteristics was a hobby for tall men whom he collected for his favorite regiment from all parts of Europe. He did not shrink from paying fancy sums

for them, or impressing them by violent means into his service. His joy and recreation were the drill ground and the company of his generals. Frequently these met at a smoker at the royal palace. Seated on wooden stools they discoursed with the king on military topics, smoked long clay pipes and drank beer, the national beverage of the Germans.

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# CHAPTER XI

## ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

## I. England Under George I (1714–1727) and George II (1727–1760)

**241. The House of Hanover Ascends the English Throne (1714); Rising of the Earl of Mar (1715–1716).**—At the death of Queen Anne (1714), a change of dynasty occurred in England. The Stuarts were supplanted by the House of Hanover. George I (1714–1727), the first representative of the new line, was not the nearest relative of Queens Mary and Anne, but their nearest Protestant relative. He succeeded to the throne because, as has already been pointed out, the Act of Settlement excluded all Catholics from the succession.

Many Englishmen, nevertheless, continued to cherish the memory and to champion the cause of the Stuarts. During the reign of Queen Anne, some Tories, in their opposition to the liberal policy pursued since the Revolution, had become out-and-out Jacobites. They had gone so far as to enter into negotiations with the son of James II, James Edward, who was called "the Pretender" by his enemies and James III by his friends. They offered to acknowledge him as king at Queen Anne's death, on condition that he adopt Protestantism. He refused to barter his religion for a throne, and when Queen Anne died, George I, Elector of Hanover, was proclaimed king.

The new ruler retained his dominions in Germany. He met with opposition in England, as James Edward maintained his right to the throne and effected a landing in Scotland. The Scottish adherents of the Stuart prince rose in rebellion under the leadership of the Earl of Mar. Although the uprising was insignificant, and James Edward was soon forced to return to France, the rebellion influenced considerably the subsequent policy of George I. For a

long time he retained the Whigs, his loyal supporters, in power and, in his foreign policy, he constantly sought to frustrate any attempts of the Stuarts to regain the throne.

**242. The First Four Georges of England.**—Four Georges successively occupied the English throne. They were four rather unsympathetic men. Antipathy even characterized the relations among themselves: for each of the first three cordially detested his son and each son paid back the father in kind. All, except George III, were scandalously immoral. As rulers, they were not national kings, but considered themselves primarily Electors of Hanover and secondarily Kings of England. Under them the government was carried on more and more, not by the monarch but by the cabinet. As a consequence their history is only secondary, while that of the men in power and of the political parties is of primary importance.

**243. The Whig Party; Its Membership at This Time.**—George I for a considerable time relied for his government exclusively on the Whigs. Even before his arrival in England they had replaced the Tories in almost all the government offices. They secured the majority in the parliamentary elections of 1715 and thus also controlled the legislature. New elections were to take place in 1718, but the Parliament passed the *Septennial Act* by which it prolonged its own existence, and decreed that elections should be held every seven, instead of every three years.

The Whig party was made up of three classes: the noblemen, tradespeople, and dissenters. Its aristocratic element was formed by the wealthy landowners; in these families the eldest sons usually succeeded their fathers in the House of Lords, while younger children of the male sex often contrived to secure a seat in the Commons. The tradespeople were the *moneyed class*; they lived in London, the seaports, and in a few growing industrial centres. Dissenters were numerous, particularly in the towns. They feared and abhorred the Jacobite tendencies of the Tories.

The fact that the Whigs favored commercial interests and freedom of thought accounts for the popularity, which they enjoyed among merchants and dissenters. They also advocated the maintenance of peace with foreign powers, and were staunch supporters of the new dynasty. Their devotion to the latter enabled the English government to conclude in 1716 an agreement in which the French Regent promised to support the Hanoverian succession, while England promised the exclusion of the King of Spain, Philip V, from the French throne. The agreement was a few weeks later adhered to by Holland, and the triple alliance between England, France and Holland was thus formed.

**244. Financial Speculations: the South Sea Bubble.**— The broadening commercial interests of the nation led to the organization of mercantile companies of all kinds. One of these, the South Sea Company, has become especially famous because it acquired gigantic proportions and came to a sudden and disastrous end. It was founded in 1711 for the purpose of trading with the Spanish-American colonies and other undeveloped parts of the world. Its stock increased enormously in a very few years. It took over the national debt, and the government encouraged the exchange of national bonds for its stock. Thus the state seemed to guarantee, and the people believed it guaranteed, the company's sound financial character. For some time everybody wanted to buy shares of the South Sea Company. These rose while the excitement lasted; but after a while the people came to their senses. Some began to sell and it was not long before their example was followed by many others. An enormous number of shares was thrown on the market with no buyers to take them. The bubble burst and thousands of people lost all they had.

**245. The Ministry of Sir Robert Walpole (1721–1742).**— The ugly situation created by the financial crash demanded at the head of the government a man who was not implicated

in the mad speculation and who had the reputation of an able financier. Such a man was found in Sir Robert Walpole who was called to the ministry. His ministerial career lasted twenty-one years, the longest term of office in any country with parliamentary institutions. He owed his success partly to the confidence of the people and partly to corruption.

The ignorant and unthinking electors were accessible to arguments addressed to their pocket by their Whig landlords. They appreciated the comfortable lives they led under the Whigs who were determined to maintain peace and prevent the return of the Stuarts. As candidates to the House of Commons bribed their electors, so Walpole bribed members of Parliament. He secured the support of needy members by relieving their financial wants and that of ambitious politicians by appointing them to the offices which they coveted. His motto was "Quieta non movere," "Let sleeping dogs lie." Hence he took up no stirring problem and sought to maintain religious toleration and constitutional government. He knew the needs of the time and sought to meet them. He was indeed a leader, but not an original one; he adopted the policy mapped out for him by the circumstances of the time.

**246. Administrative Changes.**—Until the death of Queen Anne, the cabinets met in the presence of the sovereign. George I knew no English and conversed with his ministers in bad Latin. As the cabinet discussions were carried on in English, the king remained away. Thus the still existing custom was introduced that the king does not attend the cabinet meetings.

Up to this time the ministers were all equal; but a president was necessary in the king's absence from the meetings and thus the prime ministership was introduced. Walpole created it in his own person. He scouted the idea of making himself prime minister, because it was hateful; but he was derisively given the name and the institution remained.

The position has been usually filled by the First Lord of the Treasury, a logical choice, since the government cannot be carried on without the necessary resources.

**247. King George II (1727–1760), Walpole Remains Prime Minister.**—King George I, died from a stroke of apoplexy in his carriage while he was on his way to Osnabrück in Hanover. He was succeeded by George II, who at least had the advantage of being able to speak English. He was neither intelligent nor moral, but was brave and straightforward. Furthermore, he had the rare good sense to defer in all difficult questions to the advice of his wife, Queen Caroline, a woman of intelligence and sound judgment.

His first impulse was to choose one of his favorites for prime minister. This gentleman was so incapable, however, that Walpole had to write for him the speech in which he notified the Privy Council of his appointment. After this strange incident, the queen persuaded the king to retain Walpole. This meant that the reign of "Common Sense" was to continue. The age in England was a practical one without high ideals, ardent hopes or noble enthusiasm. Walpole was the logical minister for it, a statesman steeped in practical plans and solely guided by expediency.

**248. The Aggressions of English Traders Lead to War with Spain (1739) and Robert Walpole's Resignation (1742).**—Such a generation eagerly engaged in commercial enterprises. Englishmen carried on smuggling on a very extensive scale in the West Indies. They constantly appeared as traders in the Spanish-American possessions. As all nations then excluded foreign ships from their colonies, Spain was in no mood to tolerate the frequent visits of English vessels in the waters of her dominions. The fact that the English failed to observe the Treaty of Utrecht still less inclined her to concessions. That treaty had granted to Great Britain the right to send annually a six-hundred-ton ship to Panama. This ship, however, once in port discharged not only its own cargo but remained and received at night the freight

of other vessels, thus discharging an indefinite amount of tonnage.

Under these circumstances, Spanish officials were not disposed to deal leniently with English seamen, and the relations between the two countries were soon strained. Walpole, however, considered war the worst of all evils and heartily disliked the inconvenient and meddlesome energy of the British traders. But he was presently confronted with strong opposition to his pacific views. The Young Patriot Party was organizing in Parliament and joined the already existing elements of discontent. Walpole regarded the patriots with half-amused contempt. He said of them, "All these men have their price," and, "I can make a patriot by refusing an unreasonable request." The opposition became irresistible, however, when it found a born leader in the person of William Pitt and a popular pretext in the alleged injury of Captain Jenkins.

The latter declared in 1738 that his ear had been cut off seven years earlier on board his own ship by a Spanish coast-guard. He produced what he claimed to be the severed organ and showed it to a committee of the House of Commons. When asked about his sentiments on the occasion of the encounter he answered: "I recommended my soul to God, and my cause to my country." These words were repeated all over England and war could no longer be averted.

War was declared in 1739 and was merged shortly after in the great war of the Austrian succession (1740–1748). During Walpole's incumbency the fighting was unimportant and took place exclusively at sea. England won some victories and suffered some defeats. The credit of the successes was attributed to the Royal Navy, the blame for the failures to Walpole. In the elections of 1741 the number of his supporters was considerably reduced, and he resigned in the following year.

**249. Lord Carteret and the Pelhams in Power.**—It was easier to overthrow the existing government than to establish a new one. The enemies of Walpole were united in opposition to him, but divided in everything else. After considerable wrangling, Lord Carteret became prime minister for a short time (1742–1744). As he was thoroughly familiar with German political problems, he was excellently qualified for the conduct of affairs at this time of the Austrian Succession War. He did not remain long in office, however, because he was suspected of subordinating the interests of England to those of Hanover. He was also held responsible for the military failures of the war although he had no control over army appointments. Add to this that he disdained to use patronage to strengthen his position and thus insured his downfall.

The Duke of Newcastle, head of the Pelham family, who had entered the ministry with him and delighted in distributing offices, succeeded in pushing him out of the cabinet. Newcastle did not become prime minister himself as he was not only incapable, but made himself ridiculous by trying to appear energetic. He lost half an hour every morning, it was said of him, and spent the rest of the day in running after it. His brother Henry Pelham, an able business man, was selected to succeed Carteret in the prime ministership and remained in office from 1744 until 1754. This period of ten years was interrupted in 1745 by the resignation of the Pelhams, because the king refused to admit William Pitt to the ministry. That same year, however, Parliament forced the monarch to reinstate them in office with Pitt as a member of the cabinet. This was the first acknowledgment of the king's powerlessness in the face of parliamentary opposition. Another important event which occurred during the ministry of the Pelhams was the introduction of the Gregorian Calendar in England (1751).

When Sir Henry Pelham died, Newcastle became prime minister; but he did not possess sufficient ability to remain

alone at the head of affairs for any length of time. He soon divided the responsibility with Pitt. The two managed government affairs together during the last years of King George II's reign: Newcastle distributing offices and patronage, Pitt conducting the Seven Years' War in which England was then engaged.

**250. Charles Edward, the Young Pretender, in Scotland (1745).**—While England was involved in the War of the Austrian succession, Charles Edward, "The Young Pretender," landed in Scotland with only seven friends (1745). Some Highland chiefs advanced to meet him. They were surprised at his rashness; but his gallant bearing and persuasive words won them over, and they ordered their clans to follow the prince. The latter was soon at the head of 1,600 men whose strength was reinforced by the incapacity of the British Commander, Sir John Cope, who owed his appointment to corrupt politics rather than personal merit. Charles Edward was able to take Edinburgh, to gain followers and to invade England.

The English people, at his appearance, remained apathetic, neither joining his forces, nor rising to oppose them. The Duke of Cumberland, sent against him, advanced into Scotland with 8,000 men. He defeated the Pretender at Culloden and slaughtered the helpless enemy with such unrelenting cruelty, that he became known as "the Butcher." Charles Edward long wandered about the mountain fastnesses of Scotland. The Scots to the end exhibited a loyalty to him that has not been surpassed in the annals of history. He eventually made his way back to France, became a confirmed inebriate, and died in 1788. His brother Henry became cardinal and survived until 1807. He was the last descendant, in the male line, of the unhappy but romantic House of Stuart.

## II. England During the Early Reign of George III (1760–1789)

**251. The Policy of King George III.**—George II was succeeded by his grandson George III who was twenty-two years old when he came to the throne and began one of the longest and most eventful reigns in English history (1760–1820). The new king's accession signified more than a change of personality; it implied a change in situation and policy. In him an Englishman took possession of the English throne. He declared himself a "Briton" in his first speech from the throne.

The king intended not only to occupy the throne, but to rule and govern. "George, be a king", had been the oft repeated advice given him by his mother, the Princess of Wales. The sincerely religious, kind, moral, but somewhat narrow-minded and prejudiced son faithfully adopted this rule. As the period of the first two Georges (1714–1760) was characterized by the rule of the Whigs, so the reign of George III was the epoch of the efforts made by the king to exercise personal influence over the administration of the kingdom. These endeavors were temporarily successful, and George III ruled in reality from 1761, the year of the fall of the elder Pitt, to 1782, when Lord North resigned and was shortly after succeeded in office by William Pitt, the younger. With the advent of the latter to power, the king's role became secondary; Pitt, as prime minister, governed more than George III as king.

**252. Ministerial Changes.**—The accession of George III was soon followed by a change of cabinet. William Pitt, who was the principal minister at the time, seemed, it is true, indispensable as long as the Seven Years' War was in progress. But in 1761, he failed to convince the cabinet of the desirability of continuing the war and tendered his resignation. Newcastle left the ministry soon after him and the

Scot, Lord Bute, the king's tutor and favorite, was chosen premier.

With Lord Bute, a Tory ministry came into power after the protracted administration of the Whigs. He remained in office for a very short time and, after several rapid changes in the ministry, Lord North formed a new cabinet. Lord North was not so much the representative of a political party, as the exponent of the king's personal views and aims. Throughout his term of office (1770–1782), he maintained his power over Parliament by the time-honored method of Walpole: bribery and liberal distribution of patronage. With these means he constituted the party of the "king's friends" as his supporters were called. This following was the more easily secured because of disunion and lack of leadership among the Whigs. The latter party numbered, with the exception of Pitt, no capable politician among its members.

**253. Interest Taken by the People in Politics.**—During the reign of George III, the people, like the king, took a more active interest in political affairs. Popular sentiment, however, had little bearing on the settlement of public questions. The system of parliamentary representation then in use neither defended the people's interests nor faithfully reflected popular sentiment. Both Parliament and king at times took such action as clearly proved that they were out of touch with the nation.

This happened notably in the John Wilkes case. Wilkes was a noted writer and effective speaker, but he was also remarkable for low moral standards and corrupt political principles. He was elected to the Parliament and became a notorious opponent of king and ministry. For this reason he was considered a friend of the people. In his paper, *The North Briton*, he severely attacked the ministers and the king, particularly on one memorable occasion when he characterized a speech of George III as "the most abandoned instance of political effrontery." This attack enraged the

king. Wilkes was prosecuted for libel and ultimately condemned.

The people, however, sided with him, "the defender of English liberty," as was clearly proved by the fact that amidst the agitation he was twice elected to Parliament by a handsome majority. He was not allowed to take his seat, however, until the agitation had subsided. During this excitement (1768–1772), the *Junius Letters* were published from time to time in the *Public Advertiser*. Their author, who is not known, was well informed and, like Wilkes, attacked the ministers and the king.

**254. England is Forced to Recognize the Independence of the United States (1783).**—During Lord North's administration the difficulties between England and her North American Colonies led to the War for American Independence. The defeats of the English in the struggle reduced Lord North's majority in Parliament. When in November 1781, the news of the surrender of Yorktown reached him, he exclaimed: "O God, it is all over." The king insisted on his remaining in office, but was forced, a few months later, to accept the resignation of his prime minister (March, 1782). Rockingham, a member of the opposition, took charge of the government, but he died the same year and the short-lived ministry of Shelburne followed (1782–83). During its incumbency the Peace of Paris, which recognized the independence of the United States, was concluded (1783). A new and vigorous nation was thus born, destined to play a leading part in the history of the Old and particularly the New World.

**255. William Pitt, the Younger, Becomes Prime Minister (1783).**—The year 1783, which saw the conclusion of the Treaty of Paris, also witnessed the advent to power of a great English statesman, William Pitt, the Younger. He was the second son of the elder Pitt, and had entered Parliament in 1780 at the age of twenty-one. When some one remarked to Charles James Fox, "Pitt will be one of the

first men in the House of Commons," Fox replied, "He is so already." Edmund Burke said of the young Parliamentarian: "He is not a chip of the old block, he is the old block itself."

Burke's statement was only partly accurate, for the qualities of the younger Pitt differed from those of his father. He was not impetuous like the latter, but was a more capable leader of men and a more practical statesman. His merit consisted in his always judiciously discriminating between what was possible and obtainable and what lay beyond his reach. He became prime minister at the age of twenty-four and remained in office from 1783 to 1801.

His talents as a parliamentary debater stood him in good stead during the initial period of his premiership. For the Whigs were still in majority, and although he called himself a Whig and stood on common ground with some influential men of that party in certain questions, he appeared as a Tory as soon as he had accepted an appointment from George III, and practically declared himself the creator of a new Tory party. He was frequently defeated in Parliament during his first months in office and was insistently called upon to resign. But he declined to do so, weathered the storm like an old warrior, bided his time, became the popular hero of the country and, when opportunity offered, dissolved Parliament in 1784. The election returns registered an overwhelming defeat of his opponents.

**256. Edmund Burke (1729–1797) and Charles James Fox (1749–1806).**—William Pitt sought to introduce parliamentary reform, but, as will be seen shortly, did not succeed in his efforts. He was not the only progressive and liberal-minded political leader in England at that time; such parliamentarians as Edmund Burke and Charles James Fox also played a brilliant part in the political and literary history of their country. Burke (1729–1797) was a Protestant Irishman, the son of a Protestant father and a Catholic mother. He earned distinction as an orator and also de-

serves to be remembered as a friend of America since he advocated the granting of parliamentary representation to the colonies.

Fox (1749–1806) another brilliant orator, was born in London, the son of Henry Fox, the first Lord Holland. In his youth he was a gambler and a profligate. At a later date, he became the most effective debater in the British Parliament. Like Burke, he opposed the measures of the English Government against the American Colonies, supported parliamentary reform, attacked the misgovernment of India, and advocated the abolition of the slave trade.

## III. The Industrial Revolution; Attempts at Parliamentary Reform; Religious Conditions

**257. The Industrial Revolution; Sir Richard Arkwright and James Watt.**—The movement of the rural population towards the cities noticeable at the beginning of the eighteenth century became more and more pronounced as years went by. England, which, like all other countries, had so far been mainly agricultural, now became, at first slowly, then more speedily, an industrial state. This transformation was of the greatest importance in the history of the country and is generally known as the *Industrial Revolution*. It was due chiefly to new inventions, among the first of which, in point of time and importance, was the spinning jenny. It was invented in 1764, and, turned by hand, could spin a number of threads instead of only one like the old spinning wheel. Soon after, Arkwright invented a machine, which, propelled by artificial power, operated more rapidly and evenly than the jenny itself. Water wheels were generally used for this new invention, and it became known as the water frame.

The process of invention started in this field extended also to other lines of activity and has continued ever since. The application of artificial power to the newly invented

machinery was of course of the greatest importance. At first water was used, but about this time James Watt rendered the use of steam engines practical and useful, and in 1781, he began building such engines for manufacturing purposes. The new machinery was heavy and expensive, and naturally led to the establishment of large buildings or factories. The industries carried on by craftsmen in their own homes, like weaving and spinning, were, owing to the new inventions, considerably reduced or entirely suppressed. A new social class, the capitalists, came into prominence and ranked in importance with the great landowners. The *factory system of industry* so much in vogue today was introduced.

**258. Important Manufacturing Districts; Improved Means of Communication.**—The leading manufacturing districts developed in northwestern and northern England. A threefold reason explains this geographical location: (1) home spinning was very extensive there; so that experienced hands could be readily secured for the running of the factory; (2) streams rapid in their course easily afforded artificial power; (3) large deposits of coal found there were not only useful, but absolutely necessary if steam power was to be utilized.

The increase in production was logically followed by greater facilities of communication; new roads were constructed, the old ones improved and canals were built; the opening of the first extensive canal dates back to the year 1761.

**259. Need of Parliamentary Reform.**—The industrial revolution resulted, as a necessary consequence, in a rapid shifting of the centres of population. The migration of the people to the cities which it caused and some recent events like the Wilkes case plainly pointed to the need of a fairer representation of certain districts and towns in Parliament. The situation appeared the more intolerable, because no redistribution of parliamentary seats had taken place since the sixteenth century.

Some towns which had a right to two representatives were now reduced to the state of mere villages or had completely disappeared. Nevertheless they still enjoyed the privilege of sending two men to Parliament and this right was in certain cases exercised by the owner of the farm land on which the town once stood. On the other hand certain new boroughs had sprung up and become important, but were not represented in the House of Commons. Moreover only one of every ten grown men had a vote in England, Scotland and Wales; for in 1768, the population of these three countries was about 8,000,000 of whom about 1,600,000 were grown men, but only 160,000 were voters.

**260. Fruitless Attempts at Parliamentary Reform.**—William Pitt, the Elder, had placed parliamentary reform on his programme in his last ministry, but his resignation prevented him from bringing it about. His son, the younger Pitt, took up the idea of his father and introduced a similar measure in Parliament as soon as he became a member of the House of Commons. But the bill was defeated. He returned to the task as prime minister in 1784, and again proposed a more satisfactory system of representation. The bill was again thrown out by Parliament. Agitation in favor of reform continued in the following years, but Pitt opposed the later attempts at introducing it. The French Revolution had taken place in 1789, and its excesses made the extension of the franchise to the lower classes appear undesirable.

**261. Unfavorable Religious Conditions Among the Anglican Clergy.**—The eighteenth century was in England as on the European continent, a period of rationalistic tendencies and widespread religious indifference. This attitude toward religion was caused by the progress of free inquiry, the aversion toward religious strife after the civil wars, and the secular pursuits to which men devoted themselves. The Established Church was politically insignificant and religiously inactive. The bishops were hated by their clergy,

who were Jacobites, and stood aloof from political affairs. The Whig statesmen carefully maintained this political insignificance and scrupulously avoided arousing the slumbering forces of bigotry.

Among the prelates of the Anglican Church a large number had no aim in view but promotion. Some of them held simultaneously several benefices and took adequate care of none of these. The bulk of the clergy were poor, ignorant and indolent. It could be said with no little truth of the Anglican clergy, in comparison with the ministers of other denominations, that they were "the most remiss of their labors in private and the least severe in their lives."

**262. Religious Conditions Among the English People.**— The result was that, while the middle class could still be called religious, a spirit of revolt against religion and the churches was apparent in the upper and lower classes of English society. A French contemporary writer observed, after a visit to England, that in the higher circles everyone laughed if one talked of religion. Most of the prominent statesmen of the time were unbelievers and led immoral lives. It is significant that "drunkenness and foul talk were no discredit to Walpole." Purity and fidelity to marriage obligations were sneered out of fashion.

In the face of such lack of refinement in high places, it cannot be surprising that the poor were ignorant and brutal. The industrial revolution then in progress brought many of them from the country to the towns where no religious help was extended to them, no new parishes created and, with few exceptions, no new schools established. Even long after a religious revival had improved conditions, the famous Hannah More could still write that she had seen but one Bible "in the parish of Cheddar and that was used to prop a flower pot." In the towns conditions were generally worse than in the country. No effective police protected from theft or violence; mob outbreaks were frequent and incendiarism not uncommon.

This was due not to the absence of laws, but to their excessive severity and injudicious enforcement. The cutting down of a cherry tree was, to cite only one instance, punishable by death. The frequent infliction of capital punishment made even that extreme penalty lose much of its terror. Drunkenness was not only prevalent, owing partly to the introduction of gin, but was publicly encouraged, since in London gin-shops invited passers-by to get drunk for a penny and dead drunk for two pence.

**263. The Rise of Methodism.**—The only bright feature in this dark picture of eighteenth century conditions in England is the religious sentiment still animating the middle classes. Among them Anglican faith and Christian virtue were held in honor. It was from them that the reform of the Established Church was to proceed. A witness of the deplorable conditions just described, John Wesley, himself a minister of the Established Church, began to preach against the existing abuses and became the originator of Methodism. The situation which he tried to remedy and improve, no doubt, explains the fact that Methodism is essentially practical, not dogmatic. The general rules which he issued in 1743 in conjunction with his brother Charles Wesley required no doctrinal tests of the candidates seeking admission to the Methodist societies.

The new movement rapidly gained strength despite the disfavor with which it was received in the Established Church. The original plan of the Wesleys was to continue in the Anglican communion and to establish special societies in which, regardless of the religious belief or affiliation of the individual members, the necessity of leading, in practice, honest, Christian lives would be constantly inculcated. John and Charles Wesley wished to spread that regular "methodical" performance of religious duties which in their student days caused them to be nicknamed the *Methodists* at Oxford.

When, in 1740, Anglican clergymen excluded his followers

from the sacraments, John Wesley decided to administer these in his own meeting rooms. Gradually the devotees of the movement separated themselves from the Anglican Church and established the independent Methodist denomination. Owing to the intense zeal of its first members and the institution of lay preachers, Methodism spread rapidly especially in English-speaking countries. Its influence was not confined to its own adherents, but indirectly brought about the reform and regeneration of the Established Church.

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## CHAPTER XII

### FRANCE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY; WARS OF THE PERIOD

## I. French Internal Affairs Under the Regency (1715–1723) and Under Louis XV (1723–1774).[1]

**264. The Regent and Council of Regency.**—Louis XIV left as heir a great-grandson of five years of age. A regency was necessary, and it belonged, by right of birth, to Philip, Duke of Orleans. Louis XIV, who knew the latter to be "ostentatiously vicious," was averse to leaving any power in his hands. He could not, however, exclude him from the regency without arousing formidable opposition. To curtail his authority he instituted the Council of Regency to share the regent's power.

This institution, created to destroy or at least to reduce the independent control of the Duke of Orleans over the kingdom, failed to accomplish the purpose for which it was established by the Grand Monarch. After his death, it was shorn of all power by the Parliament. The latter, which had been reduced to a position of insignificance and strictly confined to its judicial functions by Louis XIV, now took its revenge by usurping political rights and placing the government in the hands of the Regent.

**265. The Regent's Character and Policy.**—Philip of Orleans was kind, generous, intelligent, and progressive; he had shown bravery and skill as a general; he had also evinced artistic and scientific tastes in painting, music and chemistry. On the other hand, he was indolent, frivolous, and gloried in his vices and immorality. Brilliant were his intellectual talents; but completely deficient were his

[1]For the sake of unity and for the better understanding of the causes of the French Revolution, the treatment of the internal government of Louis XVI (1774–1793) will be included in the Revolutionary Period.

moral qualities. With him began in France, that "carnival of immorality and blasphemy that wound up in the French Revolution."

In point of government, public opinion in France favored a complete reversal of policy and administrative system. The Regent placed himself at the head of this reaction against the absolute rule and love of conquest of Louis XIV. At home greater power was left to the Parliament and wider influence was exercised by the nobility. The ministers of state, with the exception of the minister of justice, were replaced by *councils*, of which there were six. These councils were subject to the *Council of Regency* or rather to the Regent. However, as early as 1718 the power of the Parliament was again curtailed because it opposed John Law's financial schemes. The administrative councils were likewise dissolved, and a single minister placed at the head of each governmental department.

In foreign relations the position of the Regent was a difficult one. England accused him of having connived at the rising of James Edward, the Old Pretender; Spain disliked him; and he was at odds with the court of Vienna. Another European war seemed to be impending. But England and France needed peace; the thrones of both countries were threatened by rival pretenders, one by the Stuarts, the other by the Bourbon King of Spain; war would allow these pretenders to raise their heads. As a consequence, the existing differences were sunk in a common effort toward self-preservation. Peace was not only maintained between England and France, but an alliance was concluded to which other nations soon acceded.

**266. Conditions of the French State Treasury; John Law's Extravagant Schemes.**—The finances of the French kingdom, as already indicated, were in a deplorable condition after the reign of Louis XIV. The financial distress which was to be the chief cause of the Revolution, was already acute in 1715. There was a debt of two billion francs.

payment of a third of which was immediately due; two years of revenue had been expended in advance and there was an annual deficit of seventy-eight million francs. As a means of wiping out the national debt, some advised bankruptcy, but this easy method of getting rid of financial obligations found little favor with the majority and was rejected. A policy of retrenchment was adopted. It included the suppression of certain offices and a reduction in the military establishment. The measures introduced could perhaps eventually have brought about equilibrium in the budget. But an apparently more rapid solution of the difficulty soon commended itself to the government.

The Scotchman John Law was entrusted with the reorganization of the finances. Law was a firm believer in the power of *confidence, credit* and the use of *paper money*. He attributed the wealth of England and Holland to their credit, and believed that France, with her great resources, could become similarly rich. In 1716, he obtained permission to establish a private bank which was very successful. He secured the government patronage, established the Mississippi Company and obtained the monopoly of commerce with Louisiana and of the trade in beaver skins with Canada. His object was to secure complete control of the French foreign trade. His bank became, in fact,the state bank, and it poured forth paper money. Law ventured into gigantic schemes, such as the funding of the national debt, the coining of all money and the collection of all taxes for the state.

A rage for speculation followed and gripped the French people. Unhappily, Law overlooked the elementary principle that paper money must be redeemable. A reaction soon set in, the public became distrustful and the collapse came in 1721. The people were so incensed at the senseless speculator that Law was fortunate in escaping with his life. Although his financial ventures seriously disturbed the business world, they were not so disastrous as might be

imagined: the state's loss was inconsiderable and private fortunes were displaced rather than lost. As a contemporary remarked, the "crisis transferred Smith's money to Jones' pocket."

**267. Training and Moral Life of King Louis XV (1723–1774).**—In 1723 Louis XV began to rule by himself. He was reputed at the time to be the most handsome youth in France, but was ill prepared for the task of governing a kingdom. For years his health had been so delicate and his constitution so weak that on several occasions little hope was entertained for his life. Owing to these circumstances, he was not subjected to the arduous task of study, which he detested. The training of his character was neglected for the same reason.

The new king was fond of physical exercise and especially liked to follow the hounds. All the rest, especially the science of government, in which he was so ill-instructed, wearied him. In 1725, he married Mary, the pious daughter of that Stanislaus Leczinski who was on two occasions a candidate for the crown of Poland. She was soon supplanted in his affections by other women, notably Madame de Pompadour, who, for a considerable period (1745–1764), ruled not only the king, but also the kingdom, guiding both to her own advantage. Frederic II cruelly but truly said of this period of the history of France: "It was the reign of Petticoat I."

**268. The Financial Situation remains Critical.**—Although Law's speculations entailed but little loss for the national treasury, the financial situation remained critical. A new tax, called the Fiftieth, was introduced in 1725. It was to be paid in kind on land produce and in money on income. The measure was received with indignation on all sides: the nobility pleaded its exemption; the clergy its immunity and its free gifts to the state; the middle and lower classes considered it a vexatious measure which was not intended for the extinction of the debt, but merely aggravated the

already existing misery. So great was the discontent that the measure had to be withdrawn.

Recourse was now had to retrenchment. The contracts entered into by the state were revised to the state's advantage, the pensions paid to wealthy persons were reduced, and a large number of high-salaried offices were suppressed. Equilibrium was thus restored in the budget. Unfortunately the purpose of this wise policy was defeated by the enormous expenditure of the subsequent wars and by the ruinous follies of the court. The personal expenses of the Marquise de Pompadour alone amounted to forty million francs (eight million dollars) during the period of her sway over the king.

A thoroughgoing reform imposing new taxes at least on some classes was evidently imperative, since even retrenchment was no longer sufficient to cope with a desperate situation. However, only ineffectual measures were adopted and the state continued in financial distress. Louis XVI was to inherit from Louis XV this long-standing and difficult situation just as Louis XV received it as a sad inheritance with his grandfather's beautiful dominions.

## II. The War of the Polish Succession (1733–1735) and the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748)

**269. Foreign Policies of the Time.**—All important states of the eighteenth century, the older ones, like England and Spain, as well as the rising powers of Russia and Prussia, seemed to have a settled, clearly defined foreign policy. France, under Louis XIV, had also pursued a definite aim in her international relations. The object for which she then strove was the attainment of what she considered her natural frontiers, namely the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Rhine.

Under Louis XV, on the contrary, her policy seemed to

be wavering and shifty. She took part during the reign in some important wars, but with no consistent aim in view. It is difficult, at times, to discover what advantage was gained by the military and naval successes in these conflicts. The great wars of the reign were: (1) the *War of the Polish Succession* (1733–1735); (2) the *War of the Austrian Succession* (1740–1748); (3) the *Seven Years' War* (1756–1763). The first two will be discussed in the present, and the Seven Years' War in the next, subdivision of this chapter.

**270. Causes and Origin of the War of the Polish Succession.**—The weak state of Poland in the eighteenth century almost invited foreign interference. The various countries intervened in Polish affairs particularly when a vacancy occurred on the throne of the kingdom. Such was the case in 1733 when King Augustus II, a Saxon prince and a convert to the Catholic faith, died after a reign of thirty-six years (1697–1733). Stanislaus Leczinski was elected by the majority of the Polish nobility to succeed him, but failed to secure the support of the whole nation. Some noblemen set up Augustus III, a son of the late king.

Foreign powers intervened to settle the disputed succession. France, as a matter of course, supported Leczinski, whose daughter was married to her King Louis XV. Spain and Sardinia favored the same candidate. Augustus III, on the other hand, could rely on Saxon troops, and was upheld by Russia and Austria. He acted quickly and secured the crown before his rival received the necessary help from distant France. War ensued between the two contenders for the throne and the countries which favored them. It was fought out in three different theatres, in northern Poland, in Italy and on the Rhine.

**271. The War of the Polish Succession (1733–1735).**—1. *In northern Poland.* Stanislaus Leczinski, opposed by forces superior in number, took refuge in the fortress of Danzig. Here he was besieged by the Russians for several months, but hoped to be relieved by troops dispatched to

his rescue by France. An expeditionary force arrived, and for the first time Frenchmen and Russians met in battle. However, an inadequate number of French troops had been sent and the relief of the city was not effected. When the situation became critical, Leczinski made his escape disguised as a sailor, and Danzig capitulated (1734). This victory and the continued military and political activity of Russia in Poland secured the definitive exclusion of the candidate of France from the Polish throne.

2. *In Italy.* The French, Sardinians, and Spaniards gained considerable ground at the emperor's expense in Italy. The country was not sufficiently garrisoned with Austrian troops, as these had been recalled for service in Poland. Milan fell, Sicily was conquered, and the Bourbon Don Carlos, son of Philip V of Spain, was proclaimed King of the Two Sicilies (1734), thus establishing a dynasty which lasted until the latter part of the nineteenth century. The successes would undoubtedly have been more considerable, had not dissensions, caused by the divergent interests of France and her allies, hampered the military operations. This lack of harmony is aptly illustrated by the fact that France and Sardinia independently entered into peace negotiations with the emperor.

3. *On the Rhine.* The French campaign on the Rhine was very successful during the early period of the war (1733–34). Lorraine and the Electorate of Treves were occupied, and some strategically important towns were captured. At a later date, however, the Austrians, reenforced by Russian contingents, energetically pushed the war. As the constant danger of the participation of England in the conflict had also to be reckoned with, France was not averse to negotiations.

**272. The Treaty of Vienna (1738).**—The preliminaries of peace were signed in 1735, but the definitive treaty was concluded only three years later at Vienna. It contained the following conditions:

1. Stanislaus Leczinski renounced his claim to Poland and Augustus III was maintained on the throne.

2. As a compensation, Leczinski received the Duchy of Lorraine, which, upon his death, was to devolve on his daughter, the Queen of France. In virtue of this arrangement, Lorraine became a part of France in 1766.

3. Francis, Duke of Lorraine, who had married Maria Teresa, the eldest daughter of the Emperor Charles VI, obtained, in return for his cession of Lorraine to Stanislaus Leczinski, the Duchy of Tuscany where the throne had become vacant by the death of the last Grand Duke.

4. Don Carlos of Bourbon was recognized King of the Two Sicilies, the Tuscan ports and the island of Elba, but had to cede the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza to the German emperor to whom the territory of Milan was also restored.

5. France recognized the Pragmatic Sanction, which, issued by Charles VI in favor of Maria Teresa, permitted the succession of a woman to the Austrian throne.

**273. Origin of the War of the Austrian Succession; the Pragmatic Sanction.**—The House of Hapsburg came to an end in Spain in 1700 with the death of Charles II; it became extinct in its male line in Austria in 1740 when the Emperor Charles VI followed his Spanish namesake to the grave. On both occasions the succession of the Hapsburgs caused a European war of several years duration. After striving to tear up the will of Charles II in the war of the Spanish Succession, Charles VI spent a considerable part of his life in endeavoring to secure the strict execution of his own will which stipulated the transmission of all his dominions to his eldest daughter, Maria Teresa. These dominions comprised: (1) Austria proper; (2) the Kingdom of Bohemia; (3) the Kingdom of Hungary; (4) territories in northern Italy; (5) the Austrian Netherlands.

As Charles VI had no male heir and nevertheless wished to secure the continuance of the Hapsburg dynasty on the

Austrian throne, he published, in 1724, his famous Pragmatic Sanction or last will and testament. Its main aim was to include women in the right of succession, from which they had so far been excluded. But, contrary to his father's formal dispositions, Charles VI designated for the throne his own daughter, Maria Teresa, preferring her to the daughter of his elder brother, Joseph I, his predecessor in the empire.

After the publication of the Pragmatic Sanction, the emperor seemed to subordinate his foreign policy completely to its acceptance and guarantee by the different European powers. In return for various concessions made to the latter, he obtained their sanction of the instrument. Bavaria alone refused to acknowledge its authority and claimed the Austrian inheritance in virtue of a family pact dating back to Emperor Ferdinand I (1556–1564).

**274. Maria Teresa, Austria and Europe at the Death of Charles VI (1740).**—When Charles VI died in 1740 the very question of the succession, which he had considered securely settled, enkindled a war in Europe. His daughter Maria Teresa, for whom he had so diligently prepared the way to power, was then twenty-three years old. She was married to Duke Francis of Lorraine who became coregent. Neither her husband nor her counsellors ever decisively influenced her policies. Two chief characteristics distinguished her: a profound sentiment of justice and an equally profound sentiment of her dignity and rights. To these qualities she added the charms of a woman and the virtues of a Christian. Her subjects loved and her enemies respected her.

The country over which she was called upon to rule was unfortunately ill-prepared to defend its rights against a foreign aggressor, for it had neither army nor treasury. This state of unpreparedness encouraged her enemies in their pretensions. The Elector of Bavaria and the Kings of Spain and Poland laid claim in whole or in part to the Austrian dominions as soon as Charles VI had breathed his

last. The least expected and most dangerous enemy of Maria Teresa was the unscrupulous King of Prussia, Frederic II the Great (1740–1786). Frederic offered the youthful sovereign for the cession of Silesia, which he coveted, a second Prussian guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, an indemnity, and his vote in favor of her husband in the forthcoming imperial election.

When Maria Teresa indignantly rejected the offer, the King of Prussia addressed to her an ultimatum little short of a declaration of war. Without even waiting for the arrival of his messenger at Vienna, he overran Silesia in the midst of winter and occupied the whole country with the sole exception of the fortified towns. This aggression caused a sensation in Europe. Unable to offer immediate resistance, Maria Teresa appealed for help to the powers who had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, notably to England and France.

**275. Attitude of England and France toward Austria.**— In England, both court and nation were favorably disposed towards Austria. King George II, ever mindful that he was Elector of Hanover as well as King of England, declared to Parliament his intention of defending, with Maria Teresa, "the balance of power and the liberties of Europe." As for the English people they still fondly remembered the brotherhood in arms of the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene. Despite these favorable sentiments, England at first furnished only financial help and diplomatic assistance to Austria.

In France a young king and an old minister (Fleury) were at the head of affairs. The pleasure-loving and indolent king had an instinctive aversion for the cares and worries of war, the economical and wary minister likewise dreaded the complications of an armed conflict. There existed at the same time in France a war party composed mainly of the young and idle nobility. This party was to triumph. Its aims were to exclude the Hapsburgs from the Austrian

throne, to procure the dismemberment of the Austrian dominions and to surround France with a group of small dependent states.

Obviously the military strength of the nation was to be used not in defense of the Pragmatic Sanction, but, in cooperation with the King of Prussia, against Maria Teresa. As a result the powers which took part in the war were aligned as follows: Prussia, France, Spain, Bavaria and Saxony on one side, Austria, England, Holland, and, for a time, Sardinia on the other.

**276. The War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748); Military Operations in Germany.**—Three centres of military operations have to be distinguished in the war: (1) *Germany*, where Maria Teresa with the tardy assistance of England fought against Bavaria and Prussia, who were supported by France. (2) *Italy*, where Austria and Sardinia opposed Spain and France. (3) *The Austrian Netherlands*, the principal theatre of the war, where the old rivals, France and England, continued their struggle for supremacy.

In 1741, the united forces of France and Bavaria invaded Austria and victoriously advanced within striking distance of Vienna. They did not attempt the siege of the city, however, and thus lost an opportunity of probably putting a speedy end to the war. The Franco-Bavarian army marched northward into Bohemia and captured Prague (November 25, 1741). Two months later (January 24, 1742) the Elector of Bavaria, Charles Albert, was chosen emperor and assumed the name of Charles VII.

In this desperate situation Maria Teresa fled to Hungary. To the dismay of her counsellors, she formed the daring resolution of throwing herself on the loyalty and generosity of her Hungarian subjects. These were the very inhabitants of her dominions who so far had been the most turbulent and uncontrollable. Maria Teresa, however, succeeded in arousing their enthusiasm for her cause. After she had consented to the concessions which they demanded, they

solemnly swore to defend their queen and are said to have exclaimed, "Let us die for our *King* Maria Teresa."

The Austro-Hungarians now took the offensive. They invaded Bavaria where they swept everything before them; they likewise appeared in force in Bohemia. Even Munich, the capital of the new Emperor Charles VII, fell into their hands, and the latter appeared to the world as another Lackland, an emperor without an empire. As the position of the French at Prague was very precarious, they abandoned the city to the Austrians in January, 1743, and retreated toward the Rhine.

Not only had the Austrians regained their lost positions, but they conquered Bavaria and began the invasion of France. So great was the danger to the country that Louis XV proceeded in person to Metz to organize the defense of the city. He had no sooner arrived than he fell dangerously ill. Although he recovered, France was saved not by his efforts, but by a blow struck in eastern Europe.

The King of Prussia, who had concluded peace in 1742, but had everything to fear from a final Austrian victory, suddenly attacked Bohemia. This irruption necessitated the recall of the armies operating against France. The French again crossed the Rhine and reconquered Bavaria for Charles VII. This prince died shortly after his return to Munich (1745). He was succeeded by his seventeen-year-old son, Maximilian Joseph, who immediately concluded peace with Maria Teresa. For the peaceful possession of his dominions he promised to give his electoral vote to Francis of Lorraine, who was soon after chosen emperor.

**277. Military Operations in Italy.**—Austria held possessions in Italy which were coveted by Spain and Sardinia alike. Spain had already acquired rights and territory in the peninsula but wished to extend its conquests. Sardinia aimed at supremacy in northern Italy. She fought to exclude Spain from it so as not to have two great powers, Austria and Spain, as her neighbors.

From 1742 onward Spaniards and Frenchmen fought with varying fortune bloody battles in north and central Italy against Sardinians and Austrians. Spain and France received support from some Italian States, while the English fleet, stationed in the Mediterranean, cooperated with Austria and Sardinia. Fortune favored now the one, now the other of the belligerents, and no decisive results were obtained by either side in this theatre of the war.

**278. Military Operations in the Austrian Netherlands.**— In the Netherlands the French armies were led by a soldier of great ability, Marshal Maurice, Count of Saxony, frequently referred to, in French fashion, as *de Saxe*. He was not a Frenchman, but a natural son of Augustus II, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland. As a military leader in the service of France, he opposed the combined armies of the English, Dutch and Austrians and fought against them on May 11, 1745, the famous battle of *Fontenoy*. Both sides displayed great valor on that memorable day. The celebrated Irish Brigade of France, composed of Jacobite immigrants, particularly distinguished itself. De Saxe issued victor from the struggle; but the defeat of the allies was not a rout. It would probably have been a victory for them had not the Dutch withdrawn from the field in the midst of the battle.

Charles Edward, the Stuart Pretender, saw in the defeat his opportunity to win the English throne and effected a landing in Scotland. This forced the Duke of Cumberland, commander of the British forces in the Netherlands, to dispatch some of his troops and later to take the bulk of his army back to England to combat this new danger. De Saxe now made a series of easy conquests and became the national hero of France. King Louis XV entered in triumph, and occupied various towns of the Austrian Netherlands.

Frederic II did not receive with unmixed pleasure the news of the victory of Fontenoy, as he considered this success, won in the distant west, of no advantage to himself.

City and Bay of Naples and Mount Vesuvius

He continued his military operations against the Austrians a few months longer and then concluded with England a secret convention which guaranteed to him important advantages and eventually forced Maria Teresa to consent to the Peace of Dresden (December 25, 1745). By this treaty she ceded Silesia to Frederic, who, on his side, recognized her husband as emperor.

Although de Saxe continued his conquests in the Netherlands, Louis XV desired the end of the war. He made overtures to England and an agreement was reached that a congress should assemble at Aix-la-Chapelle to draw up a treaty of peace.

**279. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748).**—The results of the War of the Austrian Succession were insignificant when compared with the bloody character of the struggle. Carlyle has aptly summed up in the following words, the conditions of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle: "To Frederic, Silesia; as to the rest, wholly as they were."

Prussia was the principal gainer of the war and was confirmed in the possession of Silesia. On the other hand, the stipulations of the Pragmatic Sanction were accepted by the powers as settling definitively the succession to the Austrian dominions and the husband of Maria Teresa was recognized as emperor under the name of Francis I.

As for France, Louis XV had declared, in her name, that he would conclude peace, not after the fashion of a calculating merchant, but with the magnanimous generosity of a king. He kept his word: France had lost 100,000 men in the war, she had sacrificed her navy and lost her commerce, she had spent 1200 million francs, but she derived no advantage from these sacrifices. Her generosity in the peace negotiations was extended even to her rival, England, since she formally recognized the Hanoverian succession and promised to expel the Stuart Pretender from France.

## III. The Seven Years' War (1756–1763) in Europe and in the Colonies

**280. Conditions leading up to the Seven Years' War.**—The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was no more than a truce. All the great powers of Europe had taken part in the war; but none was satisfied with the results achieved. No definite settlement of any rival interests was secured. The struggle for maritime and colonial supremacy remained undecided between France and England. The political conditions affecting the European continent were not only unsatisfactory, but contained the germs of future conflicts. Maria Teresa, "who could not see a Silesian without weeping," wished to retrieve her loss of Silesia; she rightly looked upon Frederic II as a neighbor who detained one of her richest provinces, and as a conqueror who at the earliest opportunity might wrest new territories from her. Even if she had renounced all her claims to Silesia, which she did not, ordinary prudence would have dictated caution and preparedness for war.

She began at once to put her house in order. Her task was considerably lightened by the now undoubted loyalty of Hungary, an advantage which was the direct result of the war. She reorganized her finances, her artillery, her army; above all, she concluded alliances. These could be the more readily obtained as France and England had fought each other in the previous war with indecisive results. They "had suspended hostilities, not because they had abandoned their ambitions, but because they had exhausted their resources." France, it is true, desired peace and her king particularly was ready to make generous concessions to preserve it, but the proximity of the French and English colonial possessions made a renewal of the conflict inevitable. So true is this that the two rival nations were fighting in America and India before the formal declaration of war in 1756.

**281. England and Prussia become Allies.**—An alliance of Austria with either England or France would be the most natural result of such a situation. As England and Austria had united their forces in the struggle just closed, and as the few years between 1748 and 1756 seemed hardly sufficient to produce profound changes, we would naturally expect the same two nations again to appear as allies in the Seven Years' War. Such, however, was not to be the case. Two facts must not be overlooked in the relations between Austria and England. In the first place, George II gloried in the title of Elector of Hanover, and secondly, the war of the Austrian Succession had taught him that for the defense of his German possessions, he could place but little reliance on an alliance with Maria Teresa. Austria was too distant from Hanover, her army had always proved inferior to the Prussian troops; in a new war she would plainly subordinate everything to the recovery of Silesia. Maria Teresa as an ally could be of little value to England.

Another nation more capable of defending the interests of the Elector of Hanover would have to be secured. Frederic the Great was a closer neighbor; he had an excellent army and only needed funds to become a valuable ally. English gold might supply this want, and Frederic would be an able commander in the service of George II. The latter's ministers entered into negotiations with the King of Prussia and signed with him the Treaty of Whitehall or Westminster (January 16, 1756). The contracting parties pledged themselves to maintain peace in Germany and to take up arms against any power violating German territory.

**282. France and Austria conclude an Alliance; Contenders of the Seven Years' War.**—When the Treaty of Whitehall was concluded, Austria was seeking an understanding with France. The news of the Anglo-Prussian alliance hastened the proceedings, and in May, 1756, Louis XV and Maria Teresa signed the first Treaty of Versailles in which they promised each other a subsidy of 24,000 men

against any aggressor. This treaty was soon followed by another, also concluded at Versailles, in which the French king promised Austria 105,000 men and financial help. Strangely enough he now displayed the same ardor to restore Silesia to Austria that he had exhibited a few years earlier in wresting it from her.

Maria Teresa concluded an alliance not only with France but also with Russia, Saxony, Poland, and Sweden. Thus Great Britain and Prussia had, in the Seven Years' War, to fight a grand alliance of powers. In 1741, almost all Europe had taken up arms against Maria Teresa in a coalition mainly provoked by Frederic II. In 1756, Frederic himself had to defend his states against continental Europe united against him through the efforts of Maria Teresa. It seemed as if the allies had only to place their armies in the field to wipe Prussia off the map of Europe.

**283. Frederic II and Prussia in the Seven Years' War.**— In this protracted struggle which, from its duration (1756–1763), has been called the Seven Years' War, Frederic II played a leading part. By natural endowment a most sagacious and crafty diplomatist, he had become, by dint of energy, a great general and an excellent manager. He knew, moreover, how to win public opinion to his side. For he excelled in calumniating his enemies, and thus diverted attention from his own most blameworthy deeds. Never disheartened by misfortune, he had a blind faith in the future and finally succeeded in chaining fortune to his cause.

His army was the best in Europe: daily drills and frequent inspections had raised it to a high degree of efficiency. English gold provided it with excellent equipment, and a well-trained body of officers led it with remarkable intelligence. These leaders belonged to the nobility, but to a nobility devoted to king and country, confident of success and accustomed to discipline. Over them Frederic's personality imparted unity of direction to this powerful machine. He communicated to all his ardor and energy, and per-

sonally exercised supreme control over all his resources. "He was his own commander-in-chief and his minister of foreign affairs; he knew how to conquer in war and how to succeed in negotiation."

**284. The French Government and Army in the Seven Years' War.**—Frederic's adversaries, on the contrary, were, owing to conflicting interests, never seriously united. Their resources were not put to profitable use because of an absolute lack of coordination. Their incapacity, more than the genius of Frederic II, assured the triumph of Prussia. In France the marquise de Pompadour dictated the choice of generals and ambassadors. The king's handsome appearance added ornament to the royal council; but his inactivity left all the decisions to the creatures of his favorite.

The French army was neither homogeneous, well-organized nor ably commanded. It was recruited by a system of so-called voluntary enlistment. But violence and craft were frequently used to enrol simpletons, vagrants and other worthless individuals. Recruiting stations were maintained not only in France, but also abroad, and German, Swiss, Scottish and Hungarian regiments formed part of the French army. Its soundest element was the militia, which was recruited by the drawing of lots among the citizens between sixteen and forty years of age.

As the treatment of the militiamen was, like that of the other soldiers, of the worst kind, every person of any consequence evaded the duty of serving in the militia. Poor fare, wretched quarters, filthy uniforms, and an inflexible discipline were imposed on both classes of soldiers. Sentences to the galleys and to death were inflicted for trivial offenses. After the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle no less than 30,000 soldiers were shot or sent to the galleys.

The more miserable the condition of the soldier, the more extravagant was the luxury of the officer. The latter belonged to the nobility. The grades of captain and colonel were always purchased and at times secured for mere

children. There is an instance on record where a colonel was carried, at the assault of a city, in the arms of one of his grenadiers. Favor infallibly secured rapid promotion. The officers vied with each other not only in bravery but also in expenses. During the Seven Years' War, several generals were followed by at least sixty horses attached to their personal service. France entrusted her fortunes to men who were indeed polished courtiers, but absolutely ignorant in military science. They had little knowledge of a camp, or maneuvers, and no knowledge of geography or tactics. As for the discipline which prevailed among them, it is well illustrated in the words of a subaltern who, pointing to the headquarters of his superior, remarked, "There is the enemy."

**285. The Austrian and Russian Armies.**—The Austrian army was far superior to the French. It had an excellent light cavalry. Its infantry was well organized, although heavy and slow. The greatest obstacle to its success was the Superior War Council at Vienna which prescribed a plan of campaign and passed in advance on the advisability of every battle. These restrictions imposed on the commanders in the field destroyed all initiative and paralyzed every opportune move. The burning ardor of Maria Teresa and the passionate loyalty of her subjects went for naught under such circumstances. Her generals were well instructed in military methods, but destitute of enthusiasm. They carefully observed all the rules of scientific warfare, but were usually defeated by the resourceful Frederic the Great.

The Russian army had the advantage of being a national and well-disciplined body. It was composed of peasants, who, as a matter of course, obeyed their officers drawn from the nobility. Its principal defect was the multitude of vehicles with which it was encumbered; it dragged with it 6,000 of these at one time. Moreover, its commanders were changed too frequently and had to carry out the plan of campaign imposed on them by the "Conference" or War

Council of St. Petersburg. Despite these disadvantages the Russian army inflicted the most cruel defeats on Frederic the Great.

**286. First Period (1756–1757) of the Seven Years' War.**— The war was fought on land and sea, in Europe and in the colonies. In Europe, Prussia was attacked on all sides. This phase may conveniently be studied in three periods extending, respectively, from 1756 to 1757, from 1758 to 1760, and from 1761 to 1763.

Frederic II was the first to take the field. As Austria had concentrated troops in Bohemia he demanded an explanation of such preparations for war. As the English minister had warned him of possible French intervention in a conflict, he replied: "That lady" (Maria Teresa) "wants war, she shall have it . . . My troops are ready, the coalition must be broken up before it is strong." On August 29, 1756, he fell on Saxony, Austria's ally, entered Dresden and Leipzig and summoned the king to unite with him and incorporate the Saxon troops in the Prussian army. "Great heavens!" exclaimed the Saxon envoy, who was to transmit these conditions to his sovereign, "such a demand is without precedent in history." "Do you believe so, Sir?" replied Frederic. "I think there are precedents, but if there were none, you must know that I glory in being original. Well, such are my conditions. Saxony must run the same risks as my states." Meanwhile, the Saxon army had taken up a strong position in which it awaited the arrival of Austrian subsidies. Frederic first hurried against the Austrians, defeated them and then forced the Saxons to capitulate. The Saxon soldiers had their uniforms torn from their bodies and were forced to don Prussian uniforms and to fight the battles of the Prussian king.

Frederic's successes and brutality terrified Austria and drew from the imperial diet a sentence of the ban against him. He continued, nevertheless, to act with the utmost promptitude and decision. He invaded Bohemia and

signally defeated the Austrians in a bloody battle fought outside the walls of Prague (May 6, 1757). His triumph was short-lived and was followed by a series of reverses. In Bohemia, he lost the important battle of Kollin; in west Germany, his English allies were defeated by the French; in the north, the Swedes threatened an invasion of his dominions; in the northeast, the Russians worsted one of his generals. A French army advanced eastward against him, and Austrian troops entered Berlin and levied a war contribution on his capital. He was now surrounded by five victorious armies, and, as he wrote himself, was ready "to die like a king," that is, to take poison.

Two great victories extricated him from this seemingly hopeless situation. He decisively defeated the French at *Rossbach*, with an army of 20,000 against 60,000 men (November 5, 1757). Immediately, swinging back eastward, he beat the Austrians at *Lissa* (Leuthen) in a battle so remarkable that, according to Napoleon, it would suffice by itself to place Frederic II among the great commanders of history.

**287. The Second Period of the War (1758–1760).**—In 1758, Prussia had again the advantage on all sides. The Swedes had not even dared to risk an attack, and the Russians had been driven back by one of Frederic's lieutenants. The Russians now began a largely successful offensive. They conquered Königsberg and attacked Brandenburg. Frederic, who had just driven back the Austrians in the south, turned northward and offered battle to them at *Zorndorf* (August 25, 1758). The two contending armies were each about 40,000 strong. They met with terrific impact, and the losses on both sides were very heavy. The Russians alone lost probably 15,000 men. The battle was indecisive, neither side gaining any appreciable advantage. It was followed by the union of the Russian and Austrian armies which fought shoulder to shoulder for a short time.

These combined forces inflicted on Frederic's army at

*Kunersdorf* the worst defeat it suffered during the whole war. In this battle 60,000 Austro-Russians opposed 48,000 Prussians. The allied army lost 13,000 men; the Prussians 19,000. Frederic's splendid cavalry was annihilated, and he again thought of taking his own life. It seemed that the capture of Berlin by the Russians was now inevitable. But the Austrians considered the protection of Silesia more important than the occupation of Berlin, and this opportunity of dictating peace to Prussia in its own capital was lost.

Frederic was enabled to continue the campaign and defeated the Austrians in 1760. He then marched against the Russians who retreated northward before him. As Brandenburg was devoid of troops they attacked and captured Berlin, but evacuated it after three days on Frederic's approach to defend the city. The Prussian king had run greater danger even than in the previous period, but ultimately things had again turned out to his advantage.

**288. The Family Compact (1761); Third Period of the War.**—The third period opens with a great diplomatic success achieved by France in the conclusion of the Family Compact. This was an alliance signed by all the reigning princes of the House of Bourbon. It was a union of France, Spain, and Italy, that is, a *Latin Union*, against *England*. As Austria was also a partner, it was, moreover, a *Catholic Alliance* against the two *Protestant powers:* England and Prussia. France now put forth new efforts on land and sea. An army of no less than 160,000 men was dispatched to Germany to destroy the power of Prussia. It operated against the Prussian General Ferdinand of Brunswick in western Germany, but met with defeat, although outnumbering the enemy. During the remainder of the war this last great army, put in the field by France, never gained any decisive advantage.

In the east as well as in the west military operations

dragged on, but were neither important in themselves nor in their results. Frederic II had exhausted his resources and could no longer repeat the prompt and vigorous attacks on the Austrians, whose attitude continued threatening, and on the Russians, who constantly reappeared in the field against him. Harmonious union and determined cooperation of France with these two eastern allies could now, in easy and prompt fashion, effect Frederic's destruction. But France feared the aggrandizement of Russia no less than the successes of Prussia, and in 1761 proposed the opening of peace negotiations. England refused to negotiate, and Frederic II replied that he would not abandon any part of Silesia. The war dragged on, but, with the exception of some Russian conquests, was marked by no important military successes. Frederic had but 60,000 soldiers left; his dominions were exhausted, and he openly confessed that ruin could not be averted much longer.

**289. Russia abandons the Struggle (1762).**—An unexpected event saved him. On January 5, 1762, the Czarina Elizabeth died and was succeeded by her nephew Peter III. He was a great admirer of the Prussian king and thoroughly German in sentiment. On the very day of his accession, he ordered the Russian armies to cease hostilities. He was resolved to support Frederic with far greater energy than Elizabeth had opposed him. On May 5, 1762, he concluded peace and, on June 19, signed an alliance with Prussia.

Frederic was now at the head of two armies, the Prussian and the Russian, but it was to be only for a short time. The reaction in favor of things German in Russia was too sudden and extreme to be lasting. Peter III was deposed, locked up by order of his wife, Catherine II, and later assassinated by her accomplices, July 9, 1762. This tragic event came to the King of Prussia like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. Catherine observed the treaty of peace, but disregarded the alliance and recalled the Russian troops from Frederic's command. The latter, however, easily mastered

the Austrians and the campaign of 1762 was the last of the war. The arms naturally fell from the hands of the contestants.

**290. Naval Operations of the Seven Years' War.**—Hostilities opened at sea with a brilliant French success. The island of Minorca, from which as a naval base the British threatened all the western Mediterranean, was attacked and captured after a short resistance (1756).

In point of strength, however, the French navy was, from the very outset, at a great disadvantage, having only sixty vessels to oppose to the one hundred and fifty-six of the enemy. The British naval forces not only controlled the seas, but terrorized the coasts of France by constantly threatening a landing. Under these circumstances the audacious French project of an invasion of England could have little more than speculative value. It miserably failed of execution. France was worsted at sea and British sailors even destroyed French vessels in French harbors.

After the conclusion of the Family Compact and the declaration of war by Spain against England, the British, no less successful against the Spaniards than against the French, captured Havana in Cuba and Manila in the Philippines and swept Spanish commerce from the sea.

**291. The English and French in America.**—The wars of the eighteenth century devastated not only Europe, but usually spread also to the colonies. About the middle of the century, the French possessed in America Louisiana at the mouth of the Mississippi and Canada at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. France claimed the whole region to the west of the Alleghany Mountains as her own. A line of scattered French forts had already been established between Canada and Louisiana.

On the other hand, there were now thirteen English colonies and the colonists were beginning to find their way westward over the mountains, especially at the head of the Ohio river. Between the English and the French colonists a contest soon

developed for the possession of the Ohio valley, for the control of the Mississippi, and for predominance in America In this contest, George Washington, then an English subject, became for the first time prominent in public affairs. So acute was the rivalry between the two nations in the colonies that their nationals and allies were at war in America two years before the formal opening of the Seven Years' War in Europe.

As early as 1755 General Braddock, a brave, but unintelligent British officer, who had been sent to capture Fort Duquesne (now Pittsburgh) from the French, was killed in action and his troops routed. Affairs soon took a different turn, however, for Pitt dispatched to America forces numerically superior to the French, while the French government but weakly defended its possessions. In 1758 Fort Duquesne and Louisburg were taken and in 1759 Quebec surrendered to General Wolfe after a spirited resistance by the French General Montcalm. In 1760, all Canada was in the hands of the British.

**292. The English and French in India; Conditions in this Colony Unlike those in America.**—In India, as well as in America, the English and French made important settlements in the course of the eighteenth century. But the conditions in these two colonies were not identical. India, unlike America, was thickly populated. The European settlements in India were commercial centres, whereas in America colonies peopled by English and French settlers were to be established. The contest in India was chiefly a rivalry between traders who derived less help from the mother country than the colonists of the new world. The natives in India had many religious and political complications among themselves. In the tangle of native races and governments, European traders came and made settlements, relying on permission given by the Great Mogul or a local ruler.

In the early eighteenth century the French held some

important centres in India, and the English were well established at *Bombay* on the west coast, *Madras* on the east coast and *Calcutta* in the northeast. These English possessions were separated by long distances, but were dangerously near some French settlements. They were neither governed by England, nor self-governing, but were ruled by officials of the *British East India Company* which enjoyed the monopoly of trade with India. Some time before the middle of the eighteenth century the English settlements came into conflict with their French neighbors.

**293. Joseph Francis Dupleix (1697–1764) and the French in India.**—In the struggle for predominance which was now fought out in India as in America, France was well served at the beginning by a far-sighted leader and efficient organizer, Joseph Francis Dupleix. Dupleix perceived that in the general disorganization of the country, a European power would sooner or later obtain political control as well as commercial rights. He resolved that France should be first to establish her rule in the country. To this end he formed and carried out a twofold plan.

In the first place, he concluded treaties and alliances with influential parties and native princes. In the second place, he took native troops into the service of the French Company, drilled them according to European and modern fashion and organized them into an efficient military unit known as the Sepoys. When during the War of the Austrian Succession the French and English clashed in India, the victory usually remained with the former who, however, did not retain their conquests in the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Despite these disappointing peace conditions, Dupleix continued his work, became extraordinarily powerful and ruled at one time over several millions of men.

**294. Robert Clive (1725–1774) Establishes British Supremacy in India.**—The constant increase in French power and prestige rendered the English position more and more precarious. The British East India Company now also

turned its attention to the training of Sepoys without, however, taking them in large numbers into its service. It still relied mainly on its own employees for the performance of military duty. To the lucky discovery among them of the military genius, Robert Clive, the Company owed the extension of its trading privileges, and England, her Indian Empire.

Clive concluded alliances with the native rulers and afforded timely support to the opponents of France. He was soon strong enough to defeat her allies in a series of engagements which he fought against them. However the question as to whether France or England would become predominant was still undecided; when in 1753 Clive had to return to England because of ill health and Dupleix was recalled in disgrace owing to his failures.

The issue was to be decided on Clive's return to India. In 1756, he resumed his former duties and, shortly after, two battles settled the question of supremacy in India. The first of these was fought at *Plassey* in 1757; it was a complete victory for the British and permanently established their rule in north India. A second battle which took place at *Wandewash* in the south was no less decisive. English influence thus became supreme. The original French settlements were indeed restored in the peace which concluded the Seven Years' War, but they never again became a serious danger to English occupation.

**295. The Treaty of Paris (1763).**—The peace which put an end to the Seven Years' War was concluded in two different places. It was signed at Paris between England, France and Spain; and at Hubertusburg, a shooting lodge of the Elector of Saxony, between Prussia, Austria and Saxony. As no war had been formally declared between France and Prussia hostilities ceased between the two countries without the conclusion of a treaty.

The conditions of the Treaty of Paris were of the greatest importance and may be summed up as follows:

1. In North America, France lost practically all her possessions. To England she ceded the whole of Canada including Cape Breton Island, and all the territory east of the Mississippi. To Spain, her ally, she gave all the territory west of the river including New Orleans.[1] Spain, on her part, ceded Florida to England for the restoration of Havana and Manila, both of which the English had conquered.[2] England ceded to France the islets of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

2. In India, France ceased to be a rival to English supremacy. She retained only the five towns which she still holds today,[3] and these were not to be fortified. Thus all dangerous opposition to Great Britain's activity was eliminated.

3. In Africa, France ceded the protectorate of Senegal to England, and retained possession only of the island of Gorée.

4. In the Mediterranean she restored the conquered island of Minorca to the British.

**296. The Treaty of Hubertusburg (1763); Significance of the Peace.**—While the conditions agreed upon at Paris effected enormous changes in colonial possessions, the stipulations of the Treaty of Hubertusburg referred particularly to continental Europe, and maintained the order of things in existence before the war. The Elector of Saxony recovered his dominions. Frederic II retained Silesia, and promised his vote for the imperial crown to Joseph, the eldest son of Maria Teresa.

The treaty of Paris was called in France "the disgraceful peace." France lost her military, naval and political prestige, and signed away her colonies. England became the mistress of the seas and the leading colonial power. Prussia acquired in the war the reputation of a great military state; the Seven Years' War marks the beginning of German unification under Prussian leadership.

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[1] Spain returned the colony to France in 1800.

[2] In 1783 England gave Florida back to Spain in exchange for the Bahama Islands.

[3] These towns are: Mahé, Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Karikal and Yanaon.

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## CHAPTER XIII

### THE ENLIGHTENED DESPOTS; THE PARTITION OF POLAND

**297. The Rulers Known as Enlightened Despots.**—There lived in the eighteenth century some very intelligent and progressive rulers, who studied the writings of political reformers and in conformity were disposed to better the conditions of their subjects. These rulers are frequently called "enlightened despots," a designation in which their knowledge is emphasized, or "benevolent despots," an expression in which their dispositions are insisted on. The name "despots" is applied to them because they governed as absolute rulers and held that the people were entitled to no share in the government. Among these rulers were: Frederic II of Prussia, Catherine II of Russia, Joseph II of Austria, and Charles III of Spain.

### I. Frederic the Great; and Catherine the Great

**298. Frederic II and His Administration.**—Frederic II looked upon himself as the sole and exclusive ruler of his kingdom; but he did not consider himself completely independent and entirely irresponsible. He was, in his opinion, the first servant of the state in duty bound to procure the welfare of his people. His actions were in accordance with his persuasion. From early morning until late in the evening, he busied himself with state affairs, attending to the management of finances and to the execution of justice, exercising supervision over his subordinates, and devoting his time to the study of the condition of the people.

Frederic introduced no fundamental change in the general organization of the state. Serfdom was still in existence. He did not abolish it, although the time for its suppression seemed to be at hand. Neither did he suppress the division of the inhabitants into the three classes of nobles, burghers

and peasants. On the other hand he improved agricultural methods, reclaimed swamps and settled foreigners on the lands thus newly acquired. His principal internal reform was perhaps that of the administration of justice. A new civil code was prepared under his direction and published by his successor; this remedied the confusion and suppressed the delays caused by cumbersome legislation.

**299. Frederic II and Religious Tolerance.**—Frederic II's religious policy was one of tolerance, but a tolerance born of indifference and skepticism. "In my kingdom," he said, "each one may go to heaven after his own fashion." In seizing Silesia, Prussia for the first time acquired a predominantly Catholic province. Frederic respected the religious liberty of these new subjects as well as that of the Catholics of the other provinces. To the Jesuits he offered a refuge in his dominions after their expulsion from Catholic lands and their suppression by the Pope. The civil liberty of the Catholics was curtailed, however, in the sense that they could rise only to minor offices in the Prussian state.

**300. Rule of Women in Russia.**—Peter the Great was succeeded on the throne by his second wife, Catherine I (1725–27) a former bondwoman, who continued his work of development and progress. With her opens that strange period in the history of Russia during which, in a country where women were formerly condemned to complete seclusion, the throne was occupied almost exclusively by women. During a period of seventy-one years, interrupted only twice and then only for three years and six months respectively, women sat on the throne of Russia (1725–1796). The eighteenth century is the *century of empresses* in Russia. This period of the rule of women opened with a Catherine (I) and closed with a Catherine (II).

**301. Russia's Foreign Policy under Catherine II (1762–1796).**—Catherine II has been ranked among the enlightened despots. Her reign fills the greater part of the second half of the eighteenth century (1762–1796), and was a period of

success and territorial aggrandizement for Russia. The empress maintained and increased Russian prestige abroad and sought to introduce reforms at home.

In her foreign policy, she was largely guided by the circumstances of the time and from this standpoint her reign falls into three periods which it will suffice here to indicate briefly.

During the first period (1762–1781), she adhered to what has been called the "System of the North," that is, she maintained friendly relations and even concluded alliances with the northern powers, Prussia and England. The first partition of Poland took place during this time and the dismemberment of declining Turkey was begun.

A second period opened in 1782, and lasted for six years. Catherine renounced the friendship of England and Prussia and concluded an alliance with Austria and France. This may, accordingly, be called the period of the Austro-French system.

The extraordinary events which suddenly burst upon France with the outbreak of the Revolution in 1789, led to another change in the empress' dealings with foreign states. From that time until the end of the reign her external policy bore chiefly an anti-revolutionary tendency. She strongly disliked the French Revolution, and either combated it or encouraged others to do so. The second and third partition of Poland took place at this time and further territorial acquisitions were made at Turkey's expense.

**302. The Internal Government of Catherine II.**—Catherine II, like Frederic II, did not suppress serfdom in her dominions. She renewed the prohibition against selling serfs in public places and scattering the members of a family; but she forbade also all complaints of the serfs against their masters and her reign was marked rather by an aggravation than by a mitigation of the evils of serfdom.

In the domain of justice she introduced wholesome reforms. The country was until then divided into but few administra-

tive districts, an arrangement which caused numerous and unavoidable delays in securing a decision in lawsuits. She largely increased the number of these divisions in order to obtain a speedier and more effective execution of justice. She also increased the salaries of the judges, thus rendering them more independent in the exercise of their functions.

Anxious to secure a more efficient management of ecclesiastical property, Catherine confiscated the possessions of the church and appointed for their administration an "economic commission." The income derived from the confiscated lands was devoted partly to the support of the clergy, secular and regular, and partly to the maintenance of schools and hospitals.

**303. French Influence and Literary Progress in Russia.**— One of the characteristics of the eighteenth century was the intellectual ascendency of France. The latter country, though politically mismanaged, swayed the minds of men, and her writers were admired and imitated in all Europe. Emperors and kings, princes and nobles spoke their language, copied and reproduced their liberal and irreligious ideas, gloried in their acquaintance and friendship. The French language became the favorite means of polite intercourse and international relations.

Russia particularly fell under the spell of literary France and French culture spread considerably in the Slav empire under Catherine II. The literature and art of France were greatly appreciated, and the empress established, in 1783, a Russian Academy modelled on the French institution of the same name. This new creation was intended to prepare a dictionary and grammar of the Russian language.

Like Frederic II, Catherine the Great was a friend and admirer of the so-called French philosophers. Like him she was an author as well as a friend of authors. At her invitation Diderot spent some time at St. Petersburg. When he was in financial embarrassment she bought his library but left him the use of his books for an indefinite period. Another

French writer, d'Alembert, was offered the position of tutor to her son Paul, but declined the office.

## II. The Emperor Joseph II (1765–1790) and King Charles III of Spain (1759–1788)

**304. Joseph II and His Aims.**—Joseph II was the son of Francis I and Maria Teresa. At the death of his father in 1765 he succeeded him in the imperial dignity and became coregent with his mother. As long as Maria Teresa lived, his influence over state affairs was insignificant. He took part in the government, but only in a subordinate position. So true is this that, dissatisfied with the inferior role assigned to him, he took to travel in Italy, France and the Austrian Crown lands. As soon as his mother's death left him a free hand (1780), he began to introduce and impose a series of sweeping reforms. The period from 1780 to 1790 was for his dominions a time of profound and sudden changes.

Joseph II, like many rulers, his contemporaries, adopted the current views of the day, the ideas spread mainly by the French philosophers. But while Frederic II and Catherine II admired the new theories without introducing any radical reforms in the political and social order, Joseph II not only accepted these alluring doctrines, but immediately endeavored to realize them in a thoroughgoing fashion and with feverish haste. His thoroughness consisted in an attention to the minutest details that made him ridiculous. His haste was characterized by Frederic II in his usual sarcastic way, "He takes the second step before the first."

Joseph II's ideal state was to be bounded by well-rounded frontiers, ruled by a uniform and centralized government; it was to speak one language and to be subject to one directing mind in both civil and ecclesiastical affairs. This ecclesiastico-civil ruler was to be the emperor.

**305. Civil Reforms Introduced by Joseph II.**—To rectify the frontiers of his states Joseph II thought of an exchange of the Austrian Netherlands for neighboring Bavaria. The

plan, however, could not be carried through and the fear of its later realization drove Prussia into determined opposition to Austria. The population of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy belonged to many races, being composed of Germans, Hungarians, Slavs and others. It spoke many languages and observed various customs. The introduction of uniformity amidst such diversity might easily appear necessary to an enlightened despot, but would just as easily prove a superhuman task.

Joseph unhesitatingly undertook the work. The existing territorial divisions were replaced by a distribution of the imperial dominions into thirteen provinces. With the suppression of the old divisions went the abolition of the local rights, privileges and assemblies of the towns and districts. The whole administration of the empire was united in the central council at Vienna of which the emperor was the head. The language used by the government was exclusively German irrespective of the tongue spoken by the different nationalities.

Other no less momentous reforms were likewise introduced. Serfdom was suppressed; the reform of the civil law, initiated during the previous reign, was furthered; nobility and clergy were subjected to taxation, the death penalty was abolished, the censorship suppressed and freedom of speech proclaimed. All these reforms were clearly of a far-reaching nature; some were not only impractical, but impossible of realization; others would have proved beneficial if introduced slowly, prudently and gradually.

**306. Joseph II's Ecclesiastical Reforms.**—The system of ecclesiastical reform peculiar to Joseph II has received from him the special name of *Josephism*. Its essential feature was the centralization of all ecclesiastical and civil authority, in the emperor's hands. So completely exclusive of all foreign authority was he, that no ecclesiastical or papal decree might be published in his states without imperial approval (*Placet*); no communication of the bishops with

Rome or of religious with their foreign superiors was permitted; the acceptance of papal titles and attendance at the German College in Rome were forbidden. The local seminaries were suppressed and twelve central institutions substituted.

To these restrictions imposed on the Catholic religion, the emperor added petty, vexatious measures. He issued instructions concerning the hymns to be sung, the prayers to be offered, the length of the sermon to be preached at divine service; he even prescribed the number of candles to be lit on a given occasion. Moreover no doctrinal, but only moral, subjects were to be treated in the pulpit, and all government proclamations were to be read in church. For reasons of political economy all costly vestments and other expensive articles were to be removed from the churches. For the same motive of economy the contemplative religious orders were suppressed, the use of gold and silver for candlesticks prohibited, and even the dead were not to be granted the luxury of coffins as the wood or other material needed might be put to other more profitable uses.

It cannot be wondered at that Frederic II facetiously referred to Joseph II as "Our Brother the Sacristan." To put a stop to this rage for innovations in church matters Pius VI undertook a journey to Vienna; but his expostulations with the emperor were fruitless. Joseph II was in no mood to listen to papal remonstrances; he sincerely considered his reforms a restoration of the pure Christian religion and the creation of a well-ordered civil government. He lived long enough to see the failure of his projects, and died a disappointed ruler, whose work partly perished with him.

**307. The Reign of Charles III of Spain (1759–1788).**— Charles III, originally known as Don Carlos, ruled the Two Sicilies before he was called to the Spanish throne in 1759. Like all benevolent despots, he considered himself absolute ruler and excluded the national assembly (Cortes) from all

share in the government. The administration was centralized in himself and was carried on by his ministers and officials.

Numerous innovations and reforms were introduced during the reign both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. Many of these changes were undoubtedly excellent in themselves and beneficial to the state; but they were not always introduced with sufficient prudence, preparation and method. They resulted in open seditions in 1766 and in secret opposition throughout the reign. The jesting, though little flattering, remark of Charles III, "My subjects behave like children who weep when you wash them," may perhaps depict accurately the condition and disposition of the Spaniards of his day; but it does not by any means prove that due regard was had to time and circumstances in the many innovations introduced. Reforms were necessary in Spain at the time, but their realization should have been secured on conservative lines, and thus they would have helped to avoid rather than to prepare that revolutionary era which shortly after opened for Spain and from which she has only recently emerged.

**308. The Civil Reforms of Charles III.**—Numerous and important were the civil reforms of the reign. The army was reorganized and military schools established for the training of suitable officers. The number of ships in the navy was actively increased and, at the end of the reign, Spain ranked third among the naval powers of the world. The success of the reorganization in military and naval affairs was largely due to the initiative of an enterprising Irishman, Count O'Reilly.

The system of taxation was readjusted, the finances placed on a sound basis and a National Bank established. Agriculture and industry were encouraged; the restrictions on the commercial relations between the mother country and the colonies were suppressed; roads and canals were constructed and made safer.

Trade schools were established, education encouraged and the teaching of the natural sciences and modern philosophy introduced at the universities. The last measure, however, met only with partial success as the University of Salamanca refused to yield on this point, declaring that in philosophy Aristotle was all-sufficient and in the sciences an old treatise written in concise and elegant Latin was preferable to any innovation.

**309. The Ecclesiastical Reforms of the Reign.**—Charles III, desirous of honoring the Blessed Virgin, consecrated his states to Mary Immaculate. Despite this expression of devotion to the Mother of God, he sought to subject the Spanish clergy to the authority of the state. As early as 1762, the publication of all papal documents was made contingent on the authorization of the king and his councillors. He went further and imposed throughout the realm the teaching of the principles on which this practise was based.

The royal government also sought to reduce the power of the national Church. The latter's right to acquire property was curtailed, its possessions subjected to taxation, the number of its confraternities reduced, and various other restrictive measures were enacted. The Inquisition was not suppressed, because it was considered a convenient instrument of government and an effective means of maintaining public peace. But the Jesuits, who had already been suppressed in Portugal (1759), and in France (1764), were also expelled from Spain in 1767.

The expulsion was an arbitrary act of royal power for which the king did not even deign to allege a specific reason. The Spanish Bourbons thus took up the anti-Jesuit policy adopted by members of the same House in France and continued by other representatives of the same family in Italy. This intense opposition of the Bourbon monarchs eventually led to the suppression of the Society of Jesus pronounced by Clement XIV (1773).

## III. The Partition of Poland

**310. Poland; the Land, the People and the Government.**—Poland (from *pole*, plain, because the whole country formed an immense plain) was in the eighteenth century, after Russia, the most extensive state in Europe. It had a population of some fourteen million inhabitants, but was, if we except the Carpathian mountains, nowhere protected by natural frontiers. It had no political unity, being composed of two parts: the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand-Duchy of Lithuania. It comprised at least five different races: Poles, Germans, Lithuanians, Russians and Jews. The Jews were very numerous and in some cities formed half the population. This mixture of races was aggravated by religious divisions. Generally speaking the Poles were Catholic, the Germans, Protestant, and the Russians, Orthodox.

Only a strong central power could form one people out of these various nationalities and rival religions. But while the central authority was steadily gaining strength in most of continental Europe, the king's rights were being more and more restricted in Poland. In western Europe, the nobility originally depended on the king; in Poland, on the contrary, the nobility held no land from him. The Polish nobility, subject to no control, pursued, almost without check, the twofold end of maintaining the people in its low condition and of weakening the power of the king.

Nor was the nobility the only rival of the royal authority; the king's ministers were likewise a danger rather than a support. In western Europe, they were royal officials who could be dismissed at will; in Poland, they held, since the sixteenth century, their positions for life. They were irremovable, independent, and capable of resisting the very lord from whom they held their appointment.

**311. The Pacta Conventa; The Liberum Veto (Free Veto); the "Confederation."**—Another source of weakness in the Polish kingship was its elective character. At every new

election the royal power was forced to surrender, by a special agreement known as the *Pacta Conventa*, some essential prerogative. It thus lost the right of concluding peace, of declaring war, and of framing laws without the Diet's or Parliament's consent.

In the diets themselves the "Liberum Veto" or Free Veto, impeded all useful legislation. In virtue of this privilege any member could, by interjecting his veto, frustrate the passage of any law. In other words unanimity was required in the diets, and its absence resulted in the powerlessness and breaking up of the assembly. Of fifty-five diets held between 1652 and 1704 forty-eight were thus dissolved, and under Augustus III (1733–1763) not a single one could be held successfully. Not only was all legislation made impossible, but an extraordinary facility was afforded foreign rulers to interfere in Polish affairs; for the Parliament was at the mercy of any venal, stupid or disloyal member.

Furthermore, the "Confederation," that is, a separate meeting of noblemen, might legally be organized in opposition to the diet. It might be either local or general, excluded the free veto, decided questions by majority and could meet in arms. Thus it may truly be said that opposition against the government was strong and organized while the government itself was weak and helpless. The national sovereignty was in reality vested in the nobility, not only in the nobility as a body, but in each individual member. The king was a mere figurehead and the people were serfs.

**312. The Polish Army.**—The preponderating position of the nobility reduced Poland to a state of helplessness and danger. Its geographical position between two great and covetous powers, Prussia in the west and Russia in the east, made a strong military organization imperative for the purpose of self-defense. In fact, however, the army was non-existent as a fighting force. Under Augustus III, it numbered about 10,000 soldiers; the cavalry was composed of more officers than enlisted men. Regiments and posi-

tions were purchased by the nobility not through patriotic sentiment, but through cupidity; for the colonel drew not only his own salary, but also part of the pay of his men. The artillery had a strength of one hundred men, and a boy of fifteen bore the title of grandmaster of artillery. A nation thus defended invited attack and was doomed to extinction.

**313. Russia, Prussia, Austria and Polish Affairs.**—Owing to the elective system every vacancy on the throne resulted in an internal crisis in the Polish state and an international crisis in European affairs. The European powers dreaded every such occurrence owing to the danger it presented of a Polish Succession War. They usually sought to place their own candidates on the throne. France and Sweden frequently, Russia, Austria and Prussia usually, played a part in the settlement of the question.

The three last-named powers were to divide the Polish dominions among themselves. Although the anarchical state of the kingdom explains, it cannot justify, the dismemberment. For the authors of the spoliation not only deliberately frustrated all schemes of reform but fostered internal disorder because it served their interests. The three powers, however, did not incur an equal share of the responsibility in the transaction. The blame rests in the first place with Russia, then with Prussia and in the last place with Austria.

In 1764, Catherine II and Frederic II concluded the treaty of St. Petersburg. In it they mutually bound themselves to maintain the existing, worthless Polish constitution, to protect the dissenters, viz., the Protestants and Schismatics in the kingdom, and to place Stanislaus Poniatowski on the vacant Polish throne. This treaty decided the fate of Poland. Poniatowski, one of the numerous lovers of Catherine II, was elected to succeed Augustus III, or rather was forced by Russia on the Polish people (1764). He was to be the last King of Poland.

**314. The Three Partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, 1795).**— Although Poniatowski owed his throne to foreign influences, he sought to procure the welfare of the nation over whom he ruled. He made sincere and determined attempts to introduce wholesome internal reforms and to organize the government on a more solid basis. All these efforts, however, were thwarted by the interested and unjust interference of two neighboring states. Russia and Prussia, faithful to their mutual treaty obligations, would consent to no constitutional change and demanded for the dissenters, despite popular opposition, equal rights with the Catholics. They stirred up disorder and then used its existence as a pretext to occupy the country.

The spoliation was consummated in three partitions of which the first took place in 1772, the second occurred in 1793, and the third wiped out the Polish state in 1795. The first partition was planned by Catherine the Great who had already annexed the Crimea at Turkey's expense, and by Frederic the Great whom the seizure of Silesia had prepared for such a performance. The Catholic Maria Teresa was a reluctant, tearful, but nevertheless inexcusable partner in the transaction. She resolutely opposed the iniquitous project of division, but concurred in it, and accepted her share when she realized her inability to prevent its execution. Catherine II alone of the three sovereigns took part in all three partitions; Austria alone of the three powers did not receive a share in all three divisions. Russia and Prussia made the second partition without any third partner.

It was of no avail that numerous Polish patriots rose in defense of their country; they were powerless against such a coalition of powers. Among them Casimir Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciusko deserve particularly to be remembered: they fought not only for Polish liberty, but also for American independence. Their statues adorn Washington, the capital of the United States.

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# THIRD EPOCH OF MODERN HISTORY

## The French Revolution and Napoleon
## 1789–1815

**315. General Statement.**—The French Revolution ranks with the Renaissance and the Protestant Revolt among the three movements, which, turning points as it were in history, have left their permanent mark, whether for good or for evil, on succeeding ages. The Renaissance, as has been seen previously, was mainly *intellectual* in character. As a revival of learning it left among its memorials such institutions as the Vatican Palace, Library and Museums; inasmuch, however, as it tended to undermine the existing code of religion and morals, it was a movement which wrought much harm. The Protestant Revolt while ostensibly religious in character was largely political in its methods. Its results chiefly and disastrously affected religion by the introduction of lasting divisions among the followers of Jesus Christ; to offset this evil, however, occurred the salutary Catholic Reform which so admirably set before the world the real character of the one true Church. As in the Renaissance and the Protestant Revolt we note a play of force and counter-forces, of action and reaction, so in the French Revolution, we may distinguish many contributing causes, chiefly prevalent abuses, which would lead us to expect some outward manifestation of extreme popular discontent; but we search in vain for any philosophical or religious truth which could justify the methods adopted, the excesses committed, the extremes arrived at.

The French Revolution bore more particularly a *political* and *social* aspect; it also exerted a far reaching influence, generally detrimental, on the religious and philosophical beliefs and practises of the nation as a whole. With the Revolution that government, still largely medieval in character, which is frequently referred to as the "ancient regime" or old system, disappeared in France and was re-

placed by a succession of varying types of democracy from the mob rule of the Revolution to the present French Republic. The effects of the Revolution were not confined to France; its influence extended in various ways to the whole world. The basic principles of truly democratic rule long enunciated by Catholic theologians had been seized upon by the irreligious French authors of the eighteenth century and it was upon this mixture of truth and error that the reorganization of society was founded; and naturally these ideas were first accepted in France and then carried by her victorious armies all over Europe.

The revolutionary period properly so called lasted for ten years (1789–1799) and afforded time and opportunity to the many disciples of its doctrines to spread and apply their principles. After this decade, the revolutionary ideas continued to make progress. Napoleon Bonaparte, despite his despotism, appeared, and what is more gave himself out, as the personification of the Revolution. He rose to power through the changes which it had wrought and the opportunities which it had created, shared its contempt for tradition, overthrew old dynasties, changed and rechanged boundaries, and thus partly established and partly prepared a new political and social order.

# CHAPTER XIV

## FRANCE ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION

## I. The Causes of the French Revolution

**316. Enumeration of the Causes of the Revolution.**—The Revolution which broke out in France in 1789, while it undoubtedly owed its inception primarily to the rebellion of the populace against the prevalent crying and inveterate abuses, became in fact, before order was finally restored, an outburst of fury against all existing institutions both secular and religious. The following causes are usually considered to have brought it about: (1) *extravagance of the court;* (2) the *class distinctions* existing in the country; (3) *excessive taxation;* (4) the *French writers of the eighteenth century;* (5) the *influence of the American Revolution.* Some details about these causes are contained in the following numbers; they will enable the student to interpret more correctly the events of this period of tumult, bloodshed and political experiment,

**317. The Extravagance and Expenditure of the Court.**—Louis XIV had spared neither labor nor expense to surround his court with magnificence and splendor in order to make it an imposing intellectual and artistic centre. He pursued in these efforts, a patriotic as well as a personal aim; he had in view the prestige of France and the dignity of the kingly office. Under his successor, Louis XV, an equally or more expensive royal establishment was maintained, not indeed out of national spirit and for the promotion of national interests, but solely and exclusively for the king's personal gratification. The royal household employed, if we include the persons in the service of the royal princes, some 15,000 people at an annual expense of about 50 million livres (10 million dollars). In this sum, enormous for the time, are not included the millions which were spent by the court in presents to relatives, pensions to courtiers, and donations to

rapacious families. Such conditions could be justly depicted in the terrible words of an illustrious Frenchman: "the king's court was the nation's grave."

**318. The Class Distinctions Existing in France: the Clergy.** —The French people, which now numbered between 25 and 28 million souls, was divided into three classes: the *clergy*, the *nobility* and the *third estate*. The two first-named were the privileged classes, and constituting as they did about two per cent of the population were the minority in the kingdom. All the inhabitants not members of these two orders belonged to the third estate or commons. A study of the conditions prevalent in these three classes, clergy, nobility, and third estate, is necessary to gain an idea of the social situation in France at the time.

The *clergy* formed an important and, on the whole, a respectable body in the French state. The Church was undoubtedly wealthy, but it performed important and expensive public services. The educational and charitable institutions of the kingdom were in its hands and maintained at its expense. Its property, which formed perhaps one-fifth of the land, was to a large extent exempt from taxation; the clergy contributed, however, from time to time, in the form of what was called the "free gift," to the support of the state. To form an accurate idea of the conditions existing in this order, a distinction must be made between the higher and the lower clergy.

The members of the former, though indeed not excellent, were nevertheless respectable churchmen. Appointed by the king and generally belonging to the nobility, they drew large salaries but performed little work. Their learning was ordinary and so was their holiness. The charge of immorality, however, so frequently brought against them is baseless. The clergy was good, it was not remarkable. It was able to cope with ordinary conditions; it was unequal to the exigencies of a critical situation.

Too great a difference separated the lower clergy from

their ecclesiastical superiors. The lower clergy were, in many instances, poor, ignorant, and underpaid. They performed their work well, were the friends of the people, labored and suffered with the people and possessed the people's respect. They received, however, but little remuneration for their services; while some of the bishops had an annual income of 20,000 dollars, many of the priests engaged in parish work lived on a mere pittance. It is not surprising that the lower clergy had little respect and less love for their ecclesiastical superiors, too many of whom led comfortable and courtly lives at Versailles. Nor is it surprising that when the Revolution broke out and the time of reckoning came, the lower clergy sided with the third estate from which they were drawn instead of supporting the rights and asserting the claims of their order. Their interests and sympathy lay with the people rather than with the higher clergy.

**319. Class Distinctions: The Nobility.**—The nobility, like the clergy, still enjoyed many privileges granted to it in previous centuries. These privileges were originally conferred on the order in return for heavy burdens which it generously assumed and important duties it faithfully performed in the community. The nobleman had the right to exact certain dues from his tenant, but was obliged to afford him at all times the needed military protection against an external aggressor. It is clear that, under the circumstances, such an arrangement was a rather fair distribution of rights and duties. The breaking up of the Feudal system, however, created an entirely new situation: the duties imposed on the nobleman ceased by the very force of circumstances, while most of the privileges continued to be enjoyed. It is true that even in the eighteenth century the French nobility was, to a large extent, a military order, but it was evidently better fitted for a life of pleasure and ceremony at court than for the stern and self-denying discipline of the camp.

The privileges of the order varied according to provinces. In many instances, however, the nobleman still had a right to a portion of his tenants' crops, could force his tenants to grind their corn at his mill, press their grapes at his wine-press, and bake their bread at his oven. Even the peasant who owned the land which he tilled was bound, at every sale, to pay one-fifth of the price received to the neighboring lord. Exorbitant as these dues were, they caused less exasperation among the people than the following restrictions. The privilege of hunting was reserved exclusively to the nobility. The peasants were not allowed to interfere with the hares and other game which destroyed their crops, nor might they protect their newly sown fields against the multitude of pigeons kept in the dovecotes of the nobility. A circumstance which rendered the situation still more odious was the fact that many noblemen had acquired their rights at a comparatively recent date by the purchase of important public offices.

**320. Class Distinctions: the Third Estate.**—The immense majority of the population of France belonged to the third estate or commons. In this order, as in the clergy, two classes should be distinguished, the higher and the lower. The members of the former class (the *bourgeoisie*) lived in the towns, were cultured and enlightened and were ready to undertake the necessary reform of the social order. They were to furnish the leaders of the Revolution.

The peasants formed the majority and lower element in this order. Little educated, and ground down by heavy taxes, they had, nevertheless, acquired personal freedom in many instances. From the fact that the Revolution broke out in France it has been erroneously inferred by some that at the time worse conditions could hardly be found anywhere than among the French peasantry. It must be observed, however, that discontent and irresistible yearning for improved circumstances are not so much the result of a hard lot as of the consciousness of the suffering which it causes.

In reality the peasant was better off in France than in any other country in continental Europe; but he was also more enlightened, and, in comparing his own wretchedness with the opulence of the nobility, he realized the need of reform.

**321. Taxation.**—The need of reform was more apparent in France as the taxes, imposed by the government, not only weighed heavily upon the people, but were also unequally distributed and frequently collected in a most arbitrary manner. It was bad enough that the third estate had to bear almost exclusively the burden of taxation; it was worse that some of the taxes, leased out to private companies, were collected with the greatest harshness, and it was the height of administrative and economic folly that the taxes were levied on some of the necessaries of life, as salt, for example. The salt tax, it is true, was insignificant in some provinces; but it was felt very keenly in others where it could not be evaded either by economy or any other expedient, for a specified amount had to be bought each year by every person over the age of seven, and even the obtaining of salt through the evaporation of sea water was prohibited under fine. The heavy financial burden borne by the French peasant will be easily realized if it be remembered that in some cases he had to pay about eighty per cent of his income in taxes. Such at least was the situation during the decade immediately preceding the revolution.

The disproportionate distribution of burdens not only spread discontent; it created discouragement and was injurious to the interests of the state. Improvements made by the farmer on his property usually entailed an increase in taxes and for that reason many small landowners either completely deserted or intentionally neglected their holdings. This helps to explain the numerous and severe famines which ravaged France during the eighteenth century. Conditions so deplorable were bound to result in general dissatisfaction at almost any period in history; the literature which sprang up in France in the eighteenth century considerably in-

creased the discontent and greatly stimulated the vague yearning for reform.

**322. The Writers of the Eighteenth Century.**—A host of writers who by their hostility to Church and state prepared the destructive work of the revolution, appeared in the eighteenth century. They are frequently known by the collective name of *Philosophers*, and many of them, contributors to the famous *Encyclopedia* edited by Diderot, are also called *Encyclopedists*. The Encyclopedia was, like all works of its kind, designed to spread general information. As it was, however, in a veiled and insidious manner, extremely hostile to the Catholic Church, it not only contributed to the diffusion of knowledge, but also prepared the destructive and anti-religious work of the revolution.

Among the individual writers to whose influence the revolution was largely due the names of *Montesquieu*, *Voltaire* and *Rousseau* stand out prominently.

**323. Montesquieu (1689–1755).**—As early as 1721 Montesquieu published his *Persian Letters*. The work, like many French books of the time which were likely to arouse the royal censor, was published anonymously at Amsterdam. It owed its name to the fact that it purported to contain the letters written by two fictitious Persian noblemen traveling in France. A bitter satire on French political, religious, and social institutions, the book met with enormous success.

Some of its thoughts were again developed in a later and more important work by the same writer: *The Spirit of the Laws*. Before he published this essay on nations and their governments, Montesquieu devoted many years to study, travel, and observation. The book appeared in 1748 and condemned all undivided sovereignty as inevitably leading to despotism and anarchy. The ruin of France, in the author's opinion, could only be averted by the undoing of the evil work of Louis XIV. The English constitution, he maintained, provided the best form of government by its separation of the legislative, judicial and executive powers.

**324. Voltaire (1694–1778).**—Not only Montesquieu, but Voltaire also was strongly impressed by English thought and institutions. With the publication of his *Letters on the English* (1734), Voltaire continued the campaign inaugurated by Montesquieu against Church and state in France. His attack upon the state was frequently indirect and at times perhaps unintentional. His assault on all dogmatic Christianity in general and Roman Catholicism in particular was uncompromising, violent, and unrelenting.

He was a most prolific writer and eminently successful in every kind of literary production. He clothed his thought in clever, witty and popular language, had supreme confidence in the inerrancy of his judgment, manifested supreme contempt for any opinion or writer in disagreement with him, very skilfully used ridicule and satire, and wielded so powerful an influence during his lifetime that, evil though his work was, he may rightly be styled the uncrowned king of the eighteenth century.

**325. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778).**—Greater even than the influence of Voltaire was that of Jean Jacques Rousseau, when we consider the revolution in its political aspect. Rousseau was a dreamer rather than a philosophic thinker; he was always ill-balanced, and at times insane. His works contain glaring inconsistencies and contradictions, but his ideas have nevertheless profoundly modified the history of France and of the world. Rousseau's political and social principles are contained in the *Social Contract*, a work which, published in 1760, became the gospel of the French Revolution. The book opens with the question as to why man who was born free is everywhere in chains. In his answer, Rousseau seems to imply that all existing governments are illegitimate. The state, according to him, ought to be nothing else than a collection of individuals who freely surrender their rights to a common authority and direct the exercise of this authority by popular majority. From this civil society all other societies claiming complete independence, such as the Christian Church, must be excluded.

Among the fundamental principles, on which Rousseau rears his state and government, are absolute individual freedom, absolute individual equality, and the sovereignty of the people. While these principles appear very plausible at first sight, they contain nevertheless grievous errors. In the first place, the enjoyment of absolute freedom by the individual is an impossibility, for man has not only rights which he may claim, as Rousseau taught and his disciples believed, but also duties which he must perform; he must, at least, respect certain rights of other men, and in so doing his individual freedom must of necessity be restricted. In the second place, absolute individual equality is an absurdity, for the father is, to cite but one instance, in most respects superior to his son. As for the sovereignty of the people, it is a most excellent thing if exercised under God, but in this sense it was proclaimed by Catholic theologians long before Rousseau chose to reserve it a place in his erratic Social Contract.

**326. The American Revolution.**—Owing to the Franco-American alliance during the Revolutionary War, many French officers witnessed the success with which the colonies fought a European nation and organized themselves into a free and independent republic. America, to these noblemen, seemed to have realized in fact the theories which they had so fervently admired in the literature of their own country. They returned home fired with enthusiasm for this newly created republic and yearning for the realization of a similar democratic ideal in France.

Their admiration for American institutions was undoubtedly justified and was soon shared by many of their countrymen. However, in their plans to establish a similar government in France, they left out of consideration the difference in historical circumstances, national characteristics, social and political traditions. In America a new, independent state was formed; in France an independent state had been in existence for centuries. The American combined sound

common sense with excellent practical judgment; the eighteenth-century writers and noblemen of France were more remarkable for their wild theories than for their constructive statesmanship. In America, religious freedom was guaranteed as a constitutional right to every citizen; in revolutionary France, religion was controlled exclusively by the state and treated as a political institution.

In an old monarchy like France with its time-honored customs and usages, a change must needs be effected gradually, while a new country, like America, could organize itself untrammeled by traditional rights and obsolete, but sacredly maintained customs. France could undoubtedly learn from the young American Republic; she learned but little because enthusiasm for an intangible ideal obscured the vision of her revolutionary leaders, and where constructive work was needed, disorders, confusion, and bloodshed only too frequently held sway.

## II. Louis XVI; Marie Antoinette; the Desire for Reform; the Financial Situation

**327. Louis XVI (1774–1792).**—When Louis XV died in 1774, he was succeeded on the throne by his grandson, Louis XVI, then in his twentieth year. The new king had married in 1770 Marie Antoinette, the fourteen-year-old daughter of Empress Maria Teresa of Austria. The marriage was intended to strengthen the Franco-Austrian alliance which was extremely unpopular in France.

Louis XVI had all the qualities of a man and a Christian, but few of those of a ruler. He was intelligent, proficient in mathematics, was well read in history and geography, and fond of spending his time amidst his books. At a court conspicuous by its corruption and extravagance, his morals were always above reproach. A sincere and practical Catholic, he fulfilled his religious duties with punctual regularity and was a devoted and generous benefactor of the poor. As he was originally not entitled to the succession

and as he was obviously not a born leader, his education was not designed to fit him for the government of a state. He was intentionally kept in ignorance of administrative affairs, for which his shy and self-diffident temperament at no time, not even during his reign, experienced any real attraction. To them he preferred study, the hunting field and the locksmith's art in which he was quite proficient. He thus came to the throne without political training and without administrative experience.

Under ordinary circumstances and in a constitutional government this lack of preparation might have been fatal neither to Louis, nor to the state. His government, however, was to be carried on personally, and was to be confronted with a crisis which would have threatened the stability of the strongest administration. Furthermore, his lack of experience was equalled by his lack of energy: he was swayed now by one party, now by another, and was absolutely incapable of daring resolution or decisive action. Although it was well-nigh impossible to prevent the introduction of radical changes in France, a forceful personality and strong leadership on the part of the sovereign might nevertheless have shaped the course of events in the coming upheaval.

**328. Marie Antoinette.**—Marie Antoinette, a princess of Austria, was strikingly beautiful, endowed with brilliant qualities, and distinguished by refinement and delicacy in manner and behavior. She became Queen of France at the age of eighteen, a circumstance which, along with the political situation, should be remembered in passing judgment on her. To many Frenchmen she unfortunately personified that hateful alliance with Austria which had involved their country in the disastrous Seven Years' War, and which was directly opposed to the traditional foreign policy of the French monarchy. Marie Antoinette became an ardent supporter of this alliance and was soon contemptuously nicknamed "l'Autrichienne" (the Austrian). Her un-

popularity increased when it became clear that she would not submit to all the petty restrictions of the minute French court ceremonial. She also laid herself open to calumnious insinuations by some escapades and recklessly expended the funds of an impoverished state.

The queen exerted at times considerable influence over her husband and has been bitterly criticized for meddling in political affairs. Such criticism, however, can easily pass the bounds of justice as the king's wavering character invited interference, and as her advice by no means always produced regrettable results. As for the charge of immorality which gossip has also levelled against her, there is no foundation in fact. Marie Antoinette was not saintly, but rather imprudent and frivolous in her younger days, a fault amply atoned by her noble conduct in adversity and undaunted courage in the face of death on the scaffold.

**329. The Popular Desire for Reform.**—The youthful sovereigns assumed the government of France at a most critical time. A heavier task never fell on more inexperenced shoulders. It seems beyond doubt that both of them realized their unfitness for the burden of sovereignty. It was rumored that upon hearing that they had succeeded to the throne, they cast themselves upon their knees exclaiming: "O God; guide and protect us, we are too young to govern." It was an affecting and necessary appeal to heaven where all human help was wanting.

The political situation, already most difficult in itself, was further complicated by a universal and intense desire for *reform: for immediate and thorough reform and for reform in every department.* In the eyes of the people, there seemed to exist no cause for delay, for the need of a change was evident to everyone, and each was convinced that he himself could easily introduce all the necessary improvements, if his fellow countrymen would only lay aside their prejudices. The desire for immediate results was kept alive and increased by innumerable pamphlets which now appeared. These

publications fell on an excited people, and advocated a reorganization of the whole French social, financial, military, religious, and administrative system. The situation, in this respect, differed from other crises. Usually but one important question presses for solution; in this case, all matters of importance, without a single exception, were to be settled anew so that the France of tomorrow should suggest no resemblance to the France of today.

The feverish yearning for reform was accompanied by an excessive regard for public opinion. "It had become the custom in eighteenth century France to worship public opinion. Louis XVI caught that fever." He always endeavored to accede to the expressed wishes of his people. Unfortunately he confused public opinion and public weal, which are two entirely different things, and mistook the will of the populace of Paris for the will of the French nation. He yielded readily to what he considered the will of the people, but at times it was nothing more than the will of the Parisian mob.

**330. The Financial Question; Turgot.**—Among the many questions forcing themselves on the king's attention, by far the most important was the financial problem. The public office which entailed the greatest responsibility was that of controller general or minister of finance. Before the revolution Louis XVI successively appointed three men to this position: Turgot (1774–1776), Necker (1776–1781) and Calonne (1783–1787).

Turgot had excellent qualifications for the task which he was called upon to accomplish. He was not only a scholar and an eminent economist, but also an experienced government official who had introduced sound financial reforms in southern France. The only possible policy which he could adopt, as controller general, was one of retrenchment and economy. The heavy and reckless expenditure of the royal establishment could be reduced without jeopardizing seriously either the dignity or comfort of the persons for whose

maintenance it was incurred. The numerous pensions so readily granted by the king to the courtiers could also be curtailed, little justified as they were by the services which their recipients rendered to the Crown.

Turgot at once attempted to reduce all these expenses. He also openly condemned the government's traditional policy of placing restrictions on the grain trade and declared himself emphatically in favor of greater commercial freedom. His policy of retrenchment aroused considerable opposition among the courtiers, who soon proved more powerful than the royal minister. They were with the king from morning till night, while Turgot saw him only during the business hours. The outcome of it all could hardly be doubtful: Turgot was dismissed and the courtiers continued to enjoy their privileges. With Turgot disappeared the last opportunity of a peaceful reform, the last chance of saving the monarchy.

**331. Necker, Controller General (1776–1781).**—After a brief interval, Necker, a native of Geneva and a Huguenot, was called to the direction of finances. He was vain and ambitious, but a clever and honest banker who had made a large private fortune. As a general program of reforms seemed impossible of realization, Necker had recourse to partial reforms and loans in order to prevent a crisis. He suppressed a large number of useless offices in the administration of Domain and Forests, and ruled that henceforth all royal pensions should be granted every year at one and the same time. The king would thus be more vividly impressed by the enormous expenses incurred in this manner.

Despite these efforts the practise of reckless spending continued. Necker soon became aware that all reform was impossible whenever it meant the suppression of a privilege. The opposition, which had swept away Turgot, was already active against him. In order to vindicate himself he appealed to public opinion. He published in 1781 a financial report which caused a sensation, as it contained a bold defense of

his administration, a frank statement of existing abuses, and an account of the useless expenses which depleted the royal treasury. Necker recounted his reforms and appealed to the king for support in his otherwise untenable position. Louis XVI remained deaf to his appeal and the minister resigned. His financial report furnished new arguments and documentary material to the agitators in their denunciations of crying abuses.

**332. Calonne and His Financial Policy.**—The office of controller general was not now an enviable one. It was bestowed after some time on Calonne, whom a contemporary has characterized in the following terms: "He spoke and wrote well, was ever clear and graceful, had the talent of embellishing what he knew and of avoiding what he knew not. The public gave him credit for his wit; but believed him devoid of morals." Calonne adopted an extremely shallow and bold financial policy. He believed that money could not be secured without credit; that credit could not be had without apparent wealth; and that an appearance of wealth was out of the question without lavish expenditure.

The court thought very highly of this new and delightful system; this uninterrupted shower of gold was most welcome and was appreciated accordingly. The king, the queen, and all the officials of the royal establishment gladly accepted the invitation to serve the state by spending freely its revenues. The revenues, it is true, continued insufficient; but Calonne's efforts were not to be thwarted by such trifles. He borrowed just as freely as others spent on his advice. Many millions were in a short time added to the state's indebtedness.

Protests soon poured in upon the minister; the parliament refused to register new loans; and insurrections were threatening on all sides. Despite the 487 millions of francs which he had borrowed in three years, new funds were absolutely necessary. Taxation, he thought, was now the only way of securing them; and as nothing further could be extorted

from the people, he proposed imposts to be levied on the privileged classes. Resistance to such a scheme was naturally expected from the two orders; but Calonne believed that this could be overcome by an appeal to public opinion, and he suggested to the king a meeting of the Notables.

**333. The Meeting of the Notables (1787).**—The Notables were representative men and high officials of the realm whom the king called together in extraordinary circumstances, less to seek their counsel than to derive additional strength from their approval of certain important measures. Such a meeting was now summoned to overcome the opposition to Calonne's proposed financial measures. It met in 1787; but the Notables, contrary to expectations, instead of endorsing without discussion the new tax proposals of the royal minister, insisted on examining the whole financial situation, the causes of the deficit no less than the means of providing new sources of revenue. They gave their approval to none of the minister's plans.

As a last resort Calonne appealed from the Notables to the nation by publishing his financial programme and frankly advocating the theory of equal taxation for all classes. The Notables retorted by a denunciation of the maladministration of the controller general. The upshot of it all was that Calonne was dismissed, and the Notables were disbanded without relieving the financial distress.

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## CHAPTER XV

### THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION; THE STATES GENERAL, THE NATIONAL OR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

### I. The States General (May 5–June 27, 1789)

**334. The Calling of the States General.**—After the failure of the meeting of the Notables, several expedients were tried, but proved inadequate to relieve the state's financial embarrassment. Bankruptcy was constantly brought nearer and, in this critical situation, the calling of the States General seemed to many an imperative necessity. The king first reappointed Necker controller general, and then issued a summons for such a meeting. The States General, which had not met since 1614, was formed by three distinct bodies: (1) the deputies of the clergy; (2) the representatives of the nobility; (3) the delegates of the third estate.

One thousand two hundred deputies were elected for the meeting held in 1789. Contrary to custom the third estate was granted double representation: it sent 600 members to the meeting, while the clergy and nobility were represented each by 300 delegates. Definite instructions were drawn up for each representative by his electors. These instructions, known as *cahiers*, contained a statement of the wishes and grievances of the constituents, an enumeration of existing abuses, and a list of the desired reforms.

**335. The Demands of the Nation.**—It is clear from the cahiers of all three orders that the nation desired neither a revolution, nor the establishment of a republic. The people were still strongly attached to the monarchy and also, though in a lesser degree, to the nobility. They desired a government carried on by the king in conjunction with the people, not a government which, as heretofore, was in the hands of the king alone. *They desired a limited instead of an absolute monarchy.* However, the general attachment to the king, as expressed in the instructions, is in marked contrast to

the universal detestation of the courtiers, a feeling which the people did not seek to conceal. In regard to taxation the three orders also agreed that the burden should be equally distributed; the clergy and nobility offered this equality as a gift, while the commons demanded it as a right. For their own order the members of the clergy asked for the admittance of the parochial clergy to the higher ecclesiastical offices, the suppression of pluralities, and the enforced residence of bishops in their dioceses. The commons desired the abolition of feudal rights and greater freedom from administrative regulations.

As appears from the above indications the reforms asked for were moderate and not unreasonable. Furthermore, the delegates were, generally speaking, well-intentioned. They were inexperienced, it is true, but such was to be expected in a country where all power was in the hands of the king and where the States General had not been summoned for well-nigh two centuries. More dangerous than their inexperience was the necessity in which they found themselves of acting promptly; for the country was in such a state of ferment that delays or half measures might easily mean revolution.

**336. Meeting Place and Opening Date of the States General.**—As soon as a meeting of the States General was resolved upon, great differences of opinion manifested themselves among the royal ministers concerning the place where it should be held. The question was of considerable importance, as the assembly was likely to be influenced, in a large city like Paris, by popular agitation, outside pressure, and even mob violence.

Apprehensive of these prospective dangers, several ministers favored some provincial town. Others less fearful advocated the selection of Paris, the capital of the nation, or at least Versailles, the neighboring royal residence. The king peremptorily decided that *Versailles* was the only possible choice, because of the available hunting grounds.

It was there that the States General opened its sessions on May 5, 1789.

**337. The Question of the Vote; the Oath of the Tennis Court.**—The usual system of voting in the States General was by order and not by individual: the representatives of each class, clergy, nobility and third estate, expressed their final opinion as a unit. The third estate, however, had now been granted as many representatives as the other two orders combined and obviously, if the customary manner of voting continued to prevail, this imposing increase in numbers meant little actual increase in voting power. The delegates of the commons perceived that, under the existing system, they could be outvoted at every turn, and hence demanded that individual voting be adopted. Nobility and clergy, however, were opposed to any change, and as both sides to the controversy refused to recede from their respective positions a deadlock ensued and lasted for five weeks.

It was broken only when the third estate resolved on independent action, and took matters into its own hands. It invited the two privileged orders to a general meeting, but advised them at the same time that, if they failed to attend, business would be done without them. It also assumed the name of *National Assembly*. The nobility and clergy protested against such proceedings, and the king sought to suspend the sittings of the self-styled national assembly. When the deputies of the commons appeared at the doors of the appointed meeting place, they found them guarded by soldiers. Nothing daunted, they assembled in the tennis-court, a large barn-like building, and declared that nothing could prevent the national assembly from continuing its deliberations. They also took a solemn *oath* not to separate until they had given France a written constitution.

**338. The States General Becomes the National Assembly.**—The next meeting of the representatives of the third estate was held in a church. They were joined there by two

members of the nobility and by many of the clergy. The three orders seemed to have coalesced; but the king, or the court party, was opposed to such fusion. In the subsequent royal sitting in which the king received and addressed the members of the three orders, Louis XVI assumed the tone of his imperious ancestor Louis XIV and concluded by ordering the three orders to retire to their separate halls. Clergy and nobility obeyed, but the members of the third estate kept their seats.

The royal master of ceremonies addressing the remaining delegates asked: "You heard the king's command?", to which Mirabeau retorted: "Go tell those who sent you that we are here by command of the people, and here we shall stay until driven out at the point of the bayonet." The frightened official withdrew backwards, as he was accustomed to do in the presence of royalty. It was an unconscious acknowledgment of the new sovereign, the people. The king, realizing the danger of further resistance to the third estate, ordered the nobility and clergy to join them. The three orders were thus brought together. After this union, the States General is usually referred to as the National Assembly or, because it gave a constitution to France, the Constituent Assembly.

## II. The National or Constituent Assembly (June 27, 1789–September 30, 1791)

**339. Prominent Men of the National Assembly.**—1. Among the men prominent in the National Assembly was *Lafayette* (1757–1834), the beloved hero of the American people. His character was highly esteemed and his opinions were respected because of his military and political experiences in America. He played an important, but not a leading, part in the revolution. He advocated the abolition of the old regime and the substitution of a more liberal

form of government; but was opposed to the extreme measures and wild excesses of the revolution. He was not only a member of the Constituent Assembly; but became also, at a later date, the commander of the National Guard of Paris.

2. The great leader in the assembly was *Mirabeau* (1749–1791) who, like Lafayette, belonged by birth to the nobility. He swayed the delegates by his eloquence, and possessed such practical talent and superior knowledge of public affairs that he has been called, with a good deal of truth, the only statesman of the assembly. However, he was positively repulsive in appearance, and hopelessly immoral in his private conduct. So great had been his excesses that, before the revolution, he had spent a great part of his life in prison and exile, and had even been condemned to death. The sentence to capital punishment, however, was not carried out, and Mirabeau, at liberty in 1789, threw himself whole-heartedly into the excitement of the electoral campaign. Ejected from their body by the nobility of his native province, he appealed to the commons and was sent by them to the States General. As their delegate, he was the mouthpiece of the revolution until an early death, caused by his life of dissipation, put an end to his political career.

3. The Abbé *Sieyès* (1748–1836) was one of the chief exponents of political theories and a leading advocate of constitutional experiments during the revolution. He became famous by a pamphlet on the third estate which contained the following striking passage: "What is the third estate? Everything. What has it been so far in political matters? Nothing. What does it wish? To be something."

4. *Robespierre* also belonged to this assembly, but played little part until later.

**340. The Revolutionary Commune in Paris and in Provincial Towns; The National Guard.**—At the very outset, Paris, although it profited largely by the heavy expenditures of the court and the existence of privilege, pronounced

itself clearly in favor of a revolution. When the king began to concentrate troops about Versailles, a measure dictated by ordinary prudence, the inhabitants of Paris became alarmed lest the National Assembly might thus be intimidated. Immediately they prepared to resist the royal power. As their municipal government appeared to them timid and unwilling to take any forcible measures, the *Revolutionary Commune* was organized. The lawful local authorities were ousted by the leading demagogues of the different wards of the city, who constituted themselves a provisional town council and assumed the reins of government. This was evidently a revolutionary step.

The Commune soon became more powerful than the National Assembly itself. The example of the capital was followed by many provincial cities, in which the legimitate municipal governments were also swept away and revolutionary bodies substituted. The strength of the new creations lay largely in the citizen army which was organized to defend them. These troops, known as *National Guards*, were local militia composed of citizens who armed themselves for the defense of the newly constituted governments.

**341. The Storming of the Bastile (July 14, 1789).**—While Paris was thus in a state of ferment and ready to take affairs into its own hands, the king dismissed Necker and the news of this dismissal became known in the capital. The minister was popular and Paris believed that the government was about to end all discussion and overcome all opposition by a sudden use of force. A young lawyer, Camille Desmoulins, called the people to arms, and on July 14, 1789, the storming of the Bastile took place.

The Bastile was a royal prison situated in Paris and symbolizing royal despotism. The story of its capture has been surrounded and considerably distorted by legend. There was in reality no general assault of the population of Paris on the fortress; 1000 persons at most took part in the attack. No multitude of unfortunate victims was

detained there by the arbitrary measures of a despotic king. Only seven prisoners were found in the terrible dungeon. Four of these were forgers, two were insane, and one young man, a monstrous criminal, was kept there to save him, out of consideration for his family, from capital punishment. Nevertheless, the capture of the Bastile has remained in the eyes of the French people the symbol of the destruction of the old regime and the inauguration of a new era of liberty, equality, and fraternity. The anniversary of the event is celebrated to this day as the national holiday of France, much as we celebrate the Fourth of July.

**342. The Night of the Fourth of August (1789) and the Abolition of Privileges.**—The revolutionary movement which had acquired strength in the cities also extended to the country. About the same time that the communes were organized in the towns, a great panic swept over the country. This strange commotion, known as "the great fear," was caused by the word which was passed from village to village that the "brigands" were coming. The peasants sought refuge in caves and woods to escape from this supposedly imminent danger. Hours and days elapsed, however, and no brigands appeared. The peasants now turned their wrath against the nobility, the alleged cause of their suffering in the past. They burned numerous castles, destroyed monasteries, and even massacred some noblemen. They were actuated in this work of destruction and murder chiefly by the desire to do away with the deeds, titles and documents of all kind, which contained proof of their feudal dues and personal obligations to the nobility.

France was now in a position of extreme danger. Not only were numerous cities in the hands of the revolutionaries, but many country districts also were in a state of insurrection. The news of these disorders caused a deep stir in the National Assembly. The abolition of the feudal system alone, it was held, could put a stop to the alarming excitement in the country. The members of the privileged

orders, led by a relative of Lafayette, now vied with one another in their spirit of generosity. Amidst the greatest enthusiasm, they surrendered their ancient privileges and abolished the feudal system. This renunciation took place on the memorable night of the Fourth of August, 1789. A severe blow was struck at the power of the nobility and the wealth of the Church. The titles of the former were suppressed; and the property of the latter was, at a later date, taken over by the nation. A salary was to be paid to the clergy in compensation for the confiscated ecclesiastical possessions.

**343. The Declaration of the Rights of Man (August 26, 1789).**—The National Assembly, in imitation of the American patriots and in accordance with the wishes of the electors, also drew up the famous *Declaration of the Rights of Man* (August 26, 1789). The document was one-sided in character, and, for this reason, dangerous. It spoke only of rights and said nothing about duties. It is obvious, however, that man has not only rights which others must respect, but also duties which he must perform. Some judicious members of the Assembly wished to include a declaration of the duties of man; but they were in the minority and the motion was lost.

**344. The Fifth and Sixth of October, 1789.**—Even after the night of the Fourth of August, the agitation against the old institutions of France continued among the inhabitants of Paris, who were in a very receptive mood just then as they were living in dread of famine. Aware of the ever existing difficulty of provisioning the city and rendered over sensitive by past suffering, they were very susceptible to exaggerated anxiety about the supply of food. It was while they were thus fearful of lacking the necessaries of life, that new troops arrived at Versailles and were tendered a banquet. The banquet was apparently followed by royalist, anti-revolutionary manifestations. The news of these demonstrations caused the wildest excitement in Paris

where it was spread with a report of an intended flight of the king to the frontier and a rumor of a contemplated counter-revolution. An infuriated mob assembled in the capital and determined to proceed to Versailles to obtain from the king relief and bread.

On October 5, this rabble, composed for the most part of women accompanied by armed men, poured out of Paris and invaded the royal suburb of Versailles. The commander of the National Guard, Lafayette, despite his opposition to such tumultuous demonstration, was forced by the men under his command to follow this multitude. The disorderly crowd, several thousand strong, camped during the night in the streets of Versailles. On the following morning it invaded the royal palace, massacred several guards, and threatened the life of the queen, who was rescued by Lafayette.

The king was forced to consent to the removal of his residence to Paris and to accompany, amidst disgraceful scenes and insults, the riotous mob back to the capital. The mob was now satisfied that it would not lack bread, since, according to its words, it was bringing with it "the baker, his wife and the baker's boy," as the royal family were ignominiously termed. The palace of Versailles was destined never again to see a King of France residing permanently within its walls. Louis XVI made his forced entry into Paris on October 6, and the event became known as the "Joyous Entry." His change of residence was followed by the removal of the *National Assembly to Paris*. The whole government was now at the mercy of the insurrectionists of the capital. This was the result of the October days.

## III. The Work of the National Assembly

**345. The Constitution of 1791 and its Provisions.**—While the events which have just been recorded were taking place, the National Assembly framed a series of laws which were

revised and collected in 1791, and are, for that reason, known as the Constitution of 1791. Thus France received the first of the many constitutions which have been written for her by her rulers or lawgivers. The instrument of 1791 introduced into the French government the principle of the separation of powers into the legislative, executive and judicial. It declared that sovereignty resides in the people, and not in the will of the king. The people is the source of all authority, but, as it cannot directly exercise its power, it does so by delegation, through parliament, king and courts of justice. The Constituent Assembly, with this recognition of principles, established the following system of government:

1. The *legislative authority* was to be exercised chiefly by a parliament formed by one assembly of popular representatives. The institution of two bodies of lawgivers, a lower and an upper house, was rejected on the ground that there is but one people to be represented, and that a senate would form the nucleus of a new aristocracy. The parliament was to have the power to decide on war or peace, confirm treaties and control the public finances. Its members were to be elected for two years by indirect vote and were to enjoy the privilege of immunity from arrest. Without their consent the king could station no regular troops in or near the city where they met for their deliberations. It was in accordance with the stipulations of this constitution that the Legislative Assembly was elected in 1791.

2. The supreme *executive authority* was vested in the king whose person was declared sacred and inviolable and who was allowed a royal guard. The crown was declared hereditary in the male Bourbon line, and women were positively excluded from the succession. The king was to enforce all laws framed by the Assembly, command the military and naval forces of the kingdom, and safeguard the state from domestic and foreign danger. As regards legislation, he had a suspensive veto which applied to

three consecutive legislatures. A bill passed in three legislatures over his veto became law without his signature. At the beginning of his reign a definite sum of money was to be allotted to him by the parliament for his maintenance. Twenty-five million francs were voted to Louis XVI. Thus the king's purse was separated from the national treasury.

3. As the king was to enforce the laws, so the *judiciary* were to interpret them. The Constituent Assembly abolished the judicial institutions existing in France and created new ones. Justice, it decreed, was to be dispensed, in the name of the king, by judges elected by the people. In this department, as in almost every branch of the government, the officials were to be chosen by the people among whom they were to exercise their functions. A graded system of law-courts was established in which each court exercised definite jurisdiction over a specified district. Appeal from a lower to a higher tribunal was allowed, and might, in certain cases, be repeated until it reached, as a last resort, the supreme court of France.

**346. The Division of France into Departments.**—The *cahiers* had clearly expressed the dissatisfaction of the people with the existing political divisions, their excessive number, the confusion which they caused, and the unfair distribution of privileges which they entailed. The Constituent Assembly resolved on the suppression of the ancient provinces and the substitution of a uniform division of the country into smaller units. On November 11 and 12, 1789, it decreed that France should be divided into departments and the departments into districts, an arrangement which has survived to our day. The number of departments to be created was definitely settled at a later date, and still later their names were determined upon. The latter were largely taken from rivers and mountains. A department was usually formed from a part of one and the same province. In some cases, however, sections of different provinces were united into one department. Thus disappeared the old

provinces with their historic traditions, special rights and distinctive customs.

The public officials of the department, and those of its local subdivisions, were not appointed by superiors, but elected by the people. This general rule was intended to apply even to the Catholic bishops and parish priests who were simply considered as agents of the state. The people thus made all appointments; the king had no control over them. He was the chief executive in name only; in fact, his powers were sorely limited.

**347. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy (July 12, 1790).**— The Constituent Assembly, far from restricting itself to a general reorganization of the French state, attempted to set aside, in ecclesiastical affairs, the divine constitution of the Catholic Church and to impose on the country what is known as *the civil constitution of the clergy*. It thus arrogated to itself an authority vested in no human individual or assembly. The principal aim of this usurpation of spiritual power was to withdraw the Church in France from papal jurisdiction and to lower it to the rank of a political institution.

The Assembly, without consulting any spiritual authority, suppressed the dioceses and parishes existing in France and introduced a new ecclesiastical division. It created dioceses which were coextensive with the civil departments and established parishes wherever, in its own estimation, the number and needs of the population demanded them. The bishops and parish priests were to be chosen by popular vote in the territory to which they were to be attached. In these elections all local voters, whether they were Catholics, Protestants or Jews, were allowed to take part. The bishops were forbidden to apply to the Pope for the confirmation of their election. They might advise him, however, of their desire to live in communion with the Holy See. Difficulties in which they might become involved with their parish priests were to be settled by the secular courts.

The civil constitution of the clergy was evidently schis-

matic in character, since it recognized neither the authority of the Pope, nor that of the bishops. Four only of the 134 bishops of France pledged themselves to its observance, but of the lower clergy one-third promised obedience. After long hesitation and perplexing uncertainty, the king reluctantly signed it. Pope Pius VI, on the contrary, condemned it shortly after as opposed to the inalienable rights and divine character of the Catholic Church.

The civil constitution was not only an unwarrantable interference in ecclesiastical affairs, it was also a political blunder. Thenceforward France was divided into two hostile factions: those who accepted the constitution and were known as constitutionalists or *jurors* (from the Latin *jurare*, to pledge) and those who rejected it and were known as *non-jurors* or loyal Catholics.

**348. Flight and Arrest of the King.**—Since the day when the royal family had been forcibly brought from Versailles to Paris, the king enjoyed little freedom and could exercise no real power. He was placed in an impossible situation, since he was supposed to govern the nation and was at the same time the nation's prisoner. As, day after day, the revolutionary elements gained in strength, the danger which he and his family were running was increasingly brought home to him. To his mental anguish was added, after he signed the civil constitution of the clergy, remorse of conscience which left him no rest on this score. A last unpleasant incident was to bring matters to a head: the rumor spread that he was proceeding to a suburb to communicate at the hands of a Catholic, non-constitutionalist priest, his carriage was stopped in the street and he was forced by the mob to give up the journey. After this high-handed interference with his personal liberty, Louis XVI's patience was at an end, and he decided to seek safety in flight from France.

During the night of June 20, 1791, he secretly left Paris with his family. In a manifesto published after his departure he explained his flight, formulated complaints, and

ably criticized the new administrative system. His explanations and complaints produced an unfavorable impression and the attempt at flight from the country ended in failure. This failure was due less to the imprudence of the fugitives than to disaffection among the troops which were to protect the royal family. The party had almost reached the frontier when they were arrested at Varennes in the presence of a detachment of dragoons who failed to carry out their orders to protect the king. Louis XVI and his family were brought back to Paris, June 25, 1791, amidst a silently hostile population.

**349. The Constituent Assembly Comes to an End (September 30, 1791).**—The king's flight furnished the occasion for new agitation against the monarchy in Paris. It was carried on mainly by the "clubs," political organizations which became very influential in France about this time and were decidedly hostile to the king. The principal among them was the club of the "Jacobins," who were so called from their meeting place in the former Dominican convent of St. James. The agitation did not bear immediate fruit, but at a later date ended disastrously, both for Louis XVI and the monarchy.

Meanwhile the National Assembly finished its work. The constitution, which it considered its principal task, was completed and submitted to the king for his signature. He signed and swore to observe it. The assembly then voted a general amnesty and disbanded, September 30, 1791. Before concluding its sessions, it had passed, on the motion of Robespierre, what may be termed a self-denying ordinance decreeing that none of its members be eligible to the next legislature. All the valuable experience which the delegates of the National Assembly had acquired thus went for naught, and new men were to take charge of the ship of state.

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## CHAPTER XVI

### FRANCE: THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY
(October 1, 1791–September 20, 1792)

## I. The Legislative Assembly and Its Work

**350. Name and Parties of the Legislative Assembly.**— As the *Constituent* Assembly derived its name from the fact that it gave a *constitution* to France, so its successor the *Legislative* Assembly was thus designated because it was to frame the *legislation* called for by the new constitution. The Legislative Assembly was composed of 745 members forming three great parties: the *Right*, the *Centre* and the *Left*, these designations being applied to them from the position which they occupied in the assembly hall. The *Right* was formed by the constitutional royalists. They supported the new constitution but advocated the retention of a monarchical form of government. Neither among the deputies of the Right, nor among the members of any other party were there any adherents of the old regime. The constitutional royalists were 106 strong but frequently they were supported by many deputies of the Centre.

The *Centre* numbered about 250 members. These delighted in styling themselves "the Independents" because, as they thought, they owed obedience neither to party nor to any determined programme. They held the balance of power in the assembly. Their sympathies lay with the Right; but soon they were swayed, and voted with the Left.

The most numerous party was formed by the deputies of the *Left* who were 330 strong and belonged in most cases to the club of the Jacobins. The party, generally speaking, was hostile to the monarchy and manifested republican tendencies. It contained two sections, the moderates and the radicals. The former were known under the special

name of *Girondists*, because their leaders hailed from the Department of Gironde in southern France. The latter were designated as the *Mountain* from the raised benches which they occupied in the meeting hall. Although some of the Girondists were republicans at heart, they realized that France was monarchical and they did not wish to impose on the nation a government which it disliked. The Mountain composed of avowed enemies of the monarchical form of government, favored radical measures and triumphed temporarily during the revolution.

**351. The First Sessions of the Legislative Assembly.**— An atmosphere of uncertainty at first characterized the sessions of the Assembly. Its members had no decided opinions, and lacking parliamentary experience they might easily, according to circumstances, follow a conservative policy or drift into radicalism. Some trivial matters of etiquette revealed the spirit of these lawmakers.

The question as to how the king should be addressed was taken up. So far they had looked upon him as a sovereign, but this new assembly, according to the constitution, represented the sovereign nation. What should be the relations between king and assembly in this new order of things? How could they cooperate and safeguard at the same time the dignity of the king and of the nation? Some delegates favored the use of the titles of "Sire" and "Majesty" in addressing the monarch. Others protested that the law and the nation were the only majesty. An agreement was finally reached that Louis XVI should simply be called "King of the French."

The gilded throne which the king usually occupied when he appeared among the delegates also became the subject of important consideration. It was decided that this throne should be removed, a plain chair substituted and placed in exact line with the chair occupied by the presiding officer. In this manner king and nation would meet on terms of equality.

Finally objections were raised to the practise of the members rising and standing uncovered in the king's presence. The difficulty was solved by the decision that the deputies might sit with covered heads in the presence of royalty.

As Louis XVI refused to submit to the new ceremonial, it was in turn abolished. At his appearance in the Assembly he was greeted so warmly that the members seemed to be, one and all, ardent supporters of the monarchy. When he spoke of the harmonious union that ought to exist between king and delegates, shouts of "Long live the king" were heard on all sides. Louis XVI could in all probability have formed a government majority but, as usual, he let the opportunity slip by and sought too late to make use of his strength.

**352. Disagreement Between Louis XVI and the Legislative Assembly.**—The religious question formed the principal cause of division between king and lawmakers. As time went on the dissensions sown among the people by the civil constitution of the clergy became more alarming and foreboded civil war. The Legislative Assembly took stringent measures, and demanded of all ecclesiastics who had rejected the civil constitution of the clergy an oath of submission. Louis XVI steadfastly and courageously refused to approve this measure. When later the legislative Assembly decreed deportation against the same class of persons the king similarly vetoed the bill.

These measures were designed to meet the internal danger which threatened the country. On the other hand the Legislative Assembly feared no less the danger threatening from abroad. Many French emigrants had assembled on the Rhine and seemed to be preparing an invasion of France. The Legislative Assembly ordered their return to their native land and otherwise sought to render them harmless. These acts Louis XVI also refused to confirm.

## II. Europe and the Revolution; France at War with the Old Monarchies

**353. The People of Europe and the Revolution.**—The news of a revolution in France was received with unbounded enthusiasm by all the nations of Europe. This is particularly true of the cultured classes which everywhere had learned to admire the writings of the French philosophers and considered the early events of the Revolution merely as the practical realization of cherished ideals. When the news of the fall of the Bastile reached St. Petersburg, "Frenchmen, Russians, Danes, Germans, Englishmen, and Hollanders congratulated one another in the streets and embraced as if they had suddenly been relieved of oppressive chains." In fact not only for France, but for all Europe, the fall of the royal prison symbolized the destruction of the old regime. The English ambassador to Paris wrote to his government in reference to the event: "Thus was accomplished the greatest revolution recorded in history and, relatively speaking, if the importance of the results be considered, it cost but little blood. From now on, we may look upon France as a free country, on the king as a monarch with limited power, and on the nobility as reduced to the same level as the people."

However the manifestations of sympathy and the outburst of enthusiasm soon gave way to more sober views and to entirely different sentiments. The revolution did not inaugurate a new era of liberty, enlightenment, and progress as its too credulous admirers had confidently expected. Disappointed in their hopes many people turned away in disgust from this "outburst of human madness." In England, particularly, thinking men soon perceived the chasm separating their historic constitution from the fantastic theories of the French revolutionaries. Instead of adopting more liberal ideas, some Englishmen became more conservative in their views. Such was the case with the younger Pitt, who abandoned his democratic policy of electoral reform.

**354. The Governments of Europe and the Revolution.**—The European governments in shaping their attitude toward the French Revolution considered mainly its bearing upon their own interests. At first they did not regret to see France embarrassed by internal troubles and thus paralyzed in her activity abroad. The kings heeded but little the emigrants' entreaties that they put an end by armed intervention to a revolution from which they seemed to have nothing to fear. When Louis XVI secretly called for an armed congress to overawe the factions in his kingdom, he received but vague assurances.

The arrest of the king at Varennes, however, made a vivid impression on the rulers of the time, and brought home to them the fact that the example set by the French levellers might prove contagious. Moreover, the natural antagonism between revolutionary France and feudal Europe became apparent. The belief soon gained ground that a conflict was inevitable between them and once this conviction became general war could not long be averted. Furthermore the revolution gave rise to special difficulties between France and the Empire. France complained that the German princes allowed the French emigrants to form armed bands on her eastern frontier. The Empire felt that its rights had been violated by the suppression of the feudal privileges enjoyed by the German princes in Alsace. These privileges were guaranteed by the Treaty of Westphalia and France seemed to have no right to suppress them. A change on the imperial throne also brought war nearer. In 1792 Leopold II died and was succeeded by Francis II a young man of twenty-four, more warlike than his predecessor.

**355. France Declares War Against Austria (April 20, 1792).**—Despite her critical internal situation France desired war in 1792. The king saw in an armed conflict a means of recovering his freedom and authority. His supporters looked upon it as a means of strengthening his power. The patriots, as the revolutionaries vauntingly

styled themselves, considered it helpful in completing and firmly establishing their own system of government. A soldier, Dumouriez, was minister of foreign affairs and, guided by the tastes of his profession, he too favored war. He declared before the Legislative Assembly that his policy, free from all compromises, would either lead to a "solid peace or a decisive war."

He soon followed up this definite declaration with an ultimatum to Austria in which he demanded a reduction of her armaments in the Netherlands and the abandonment of her alliance with Prussia. Austria refused to comply with these demands, contending that the Jacobin propaganda was a menace to the Low Countries and a sufficient explanation for her military measures in those provinces. She added that the alliance with Prussia would be abandoned, when France compensated the German princes for their losses in Alsace and the Pope for the seizure of Avignon. France published this correspondence between the two countries, thus making the maintenance of peace impossible, and formally declared war, April 20, 1792. Prussia made common cause with Austria, and at once entered the conflict on the side of her ally.

With this declaration of war opened that period of the struggle of France with the European powers which *lasted for twenty-three years* (1792–1815). Although issuing the declaration of war, France was not ready for an armed struggle. Her army was disorganized by the emigration of 6,000 officers, and demoralized by the lack of discipline among the soldiers. Recent efforts had indeed been made to prepare the country for war, but they came too late and the conflict opened with a series of reverses for France. However, the Austrians who inflicted them could secure no permanent advantage owing to the insufficient number of troops at their disposal.

**356. The Manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick; the Marseillaise.**—Meanwhile the position of the king was

becoming more and more perilous and was suddenly rendered critical in July, 1792, by the famous manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick. This threatening appeal to the French people was prepared in France by the king's supporters, signed reluctantly by the Duke of Brunswick, commander of the Austro-Prussian forces, and scattered broadcast over France. It declared that the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia had united to restore order in France and to reestablish the power of Louis XVI. It further stated that any attempt to interfere with the liberty or to endanger the safety of the royal family would entail military reprisals on Paris and the total destruction of the city. The publication of this terrible declaration was followed by an outburst of rage against the king among the French people.

As the manifesto contained threats against the opponents of royalty it invited the conclusion that the king was in connivance with the enemy. The mob of the capital now looked upon the royal palace as a centre of danger which should be destroyed for the safety of the country. An armed attack upon the building was soon planned, but before it was carried out, bands of picked men reached the capital from the provinces. Among these were six hundred patriots from Marseilles, who brought with them a newly composed hymn which was destined as the "Marseillaise" to become famous in the history of France. It became the martial song of the revolution, and remains the national anthem of France.

**357. The Attack upon the Royal Palace; the Suspension of Louis XVI from the Exercise of His Power.**—The exasperation of the people vented itself in an attack on the royal palace on August 10, 1792. The Swiss guards with traditional loyalty and undaunted courage defended their master in the battle which took place in the corridors and on the staircase of the royal residence. Most of them lost their lives in the bloody struggle in which the combined losses on both sides were at least five thousand persons killed. The

guards were overpowered by numbers, and when Louis XVI, who had sought refuge with his family in the hall of the Legislative Assembly, heard that the entrance to the palace had been forced, he gave the order to cease firing.

The Legislative Assembly sanctioned the victory of the mob by issuing a decree which suspended Louis XVI from the exercise of his functions. The Luxemburg palace was assigned to him as his residence; but shortly after, a transfer was made to the Tower of the Temple whence Louis XVI was to emerge only to go to the guillotine.

**358. The September Massacre (1792).**—After long hesitation the Austrian and Prussian armies invaded France. Even this tardy invasion, however, was made with an insufficient number of troops. The two countries yielded somewhat reluctantly to the emigrants who urged them on and who used as their chief argument the supposedly disorganized state of the French army. The latter was depicted as incapable of resistance weakened as it was by the emigration of so many officers. The Austro-Prussians scored some minor initial successes. They advanced as far as Verdun, which they besieged and captured.

This invasion became the pretext for the terrible massacres of September. The principal author of these was a popular and sanguinary journalist named *Marat*. The only means of saving the country, he declared, was to kill the persons detained in the prisons. His murderous proposal was only too readily accepted and carried into execution. The massacres lasted in Paris from the second to the sixth of September; the victims were chiefly priests and noblemen, "aristocrats," as they were called. Their number has been variously given, but can be conservatively placed at 1,000 in Paris alone. Among them was a devoted friend of the queen, the princess of Lamballe, whose head was placed on a pike and paraded under the eyes of the royal family. The attempt to extend these massacres to the provinces was not generally successful.

**359. Decisive Victory of the Revolution at Valmy; End of the Legislative Assembly (September 20, 1792).**—While these massacres were taking place at Paris, the Prussian army marched upon the capital. A French force, superior in numbers, was now ready for resistance. It numbered 52,000, while the Prussians counted no more than 34,000 men. The two armies met at Valmy in northern France. The battle was neither hard fought, nor bloody, but ended in defeat for the invaders. The French had only 300 men killed, and the losses of the Prussians did not even reach 200. However the moral effect of the battle was enormous

The French army which, it was alleged, was composed of disorganized revolutionary bands had courageously offered resistance to the armies of the European monarchies. Austria and Prussia realized that the road to Paris would have to be conquered, before it could be used; it was brought home to them that the Revolution could not only proclaim principles and doctrines, but was also capable of levying valiant armies for the field. As their invasion was only a half-hearted one and as other affairs, particularly the Polish situation, claimed attention, they began their retreat, and abandoned the plan of restoring the old regime and of reestablishing the power of Louis XVI.

On the very day on which the battle of Valmy was fought (September 20, 1792), the Legislative Assembly concluded its work and finished its sessions. According to its own provision, it was to be succeeded by the National Convention which was to prepare a new constitution made necessary by the suspension of the king's authority.

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## CHAPTER XVII

### FRANCE: THE NATIONAL CONVENTION,
(September 20, 1792–October 26, 1795)

## I. The Proclamation of the Republic; Trial and Execution of the King

**360. Temper of the National Convention; The Proclamation of the Republic.**—The new legislature, generally called the National Convention, was composed of 749 members, and was considerably more radical in temper than its predecessor. It included, among its representatives, most of the radical patriots of the Legislative Assembly, some members of the Constituent Assembly, and some new men. Among the deputies who were to play a leading part in the subsequent events were *Robespierre*, *Danton* and *Marat*.

This assembly was confronted by the fact that the king had been suspended from the exercise of his office, while on the other hand France seemed to be averse to the establishment of a republic. That the republican form of government had been denounced as fantastic by the most democratic politicians of the time, and that the country apparently feared to venture such an experiment, seemed to augur favorably either for the reinstatement of Louis XVI or the appointment of a successor to the kingly crown. Nevertheless France was, strange to say, on the eve of declaring herself a republic.

The National Convention held its first session on September 20, 1792, the very day on which the Legislative Assembly disbanded. Only 371 representatives were present, but they organized themselves for parliamentary work, electing a president and secretaries. They met again on the following day, passed several measures of a general character, and were about to adjourn when a deputy suddenly proposed the abolition of the monarchy. The deputies were not

prepared for such a motion, and some objections were raised. When it came to the test of a ballot, however, the Convention voted unanimously for the abolition of the monarchy, but refrained from proclaiming a republic. The news of the suppression of the monarchy, published at once in Paris, was received with wild manifestations of joy and shouts of "Long live the republic." The National Convention on the following day put an end to its own uncertainty by creating a republican form of government. At the same time it decreed that official acts should be dated from the year I of the republic (September 22, 1792).

**361. The Attitude of the National Convention Toward Louis XVI.**—Although the National Convention voted unanimously for the abolition of the monarchy and the proclamation of a republic, harmony was not long to reign among its members. The unanimous votes were followed by division on the important question as to what treatment should be accorded to Louis XVI. He was obviously no longer ruler of France; but should he be left free and permitted to enjoy the rights of an ordinary citizen, or was he to be tried for certain acts of his?

A trial seemed, it is true, out of the question as the constitution of 1791 declared his person sacred and inviolable. For the Convention, however, the whole question was not so much a matter of justice as an affair of policy. "Louis must die, because the country must live," Robespierre exclaimed, and he went so far in his fanatical hatred of the former king as to declare that Louis XVI should not be tried either as ruler or as citizen, but should be dealt with as an enemy, that is, he should be executed without even the formality of a trial. Although the Convention did not adopt this monstrous proposal, it decreed on December 3, 1792, the trial of Louis XVI. He was to be judged by the Convention itself, and a commission was forthwith appointed to draw up "a list of the crimes of Louis Capet," as he was now derisively called.

**362. The Trial of Louis XVI.**—Louis XVI did not reject the competency of the National Convention to try him, but sought to disprove the accusations of enmity to the state with which he was charged. He was permitted to choose counsel, and was allowed ten days to prepare his defense. Such proceedings gave the appearance of legality and justice to the trial; but they improved his position so little that one of his defenders could address to the deputies the terrible indictment: "I look for judges among you and I see only accusers." It is true, however, that the Girondists sought to save the king by proposing an appeal to the nation; but they lacked the political courage and daring to triumph.

The final verdict was arrived at gradually by the submission of three definite questions to the vote of the National Convention. The first question read: "Is Louis XVI guilty of conspiracy against public liberty, and of attack upon the general security of the state?" An affirmative answer was unanimously returned. The second question was: "Shall the sentence of the National Convention against Louis Capet be submitted to the approval of the people?" According to the official figures, there were 424 negative votes against 283 affirmative ones. To the third question: "What penalty shall be inflicted upon Louis?" The answer was "unconditional and immediate death," voted by 361 out of 721 deputies present, that is, there was a majority of one in favor of immediate death. The question of the postponement of the execution was discussed a second time separately; but 380 votes against 310 rejected all delay.

**363. The Execution of Louis XVI (January 21, 1793).**—The former king's execution was fixed for the morning of January 21, 1793. He was granted a confessor and was assisted during his last hours by the Abbé Edgeworth, a native of Ireland. As his wife and children were by his death to be deprived of their head and support, the Convention voted that "the French nation would take the royal family into its care," a vote which was not very reassuring

either for Louis XVI or the dear ones he left behind. After a heartrending farewell from his family, Louis spent the remainder of his time with his confessor. His conduct was marked throughout by calm composure and genuine Christian piety. His execution took place on the Square of the Revolution (now Place de la Concorde) in Paris. Before the knife fell, Louis started an address to the people, but he was cut short by a roll of drums. At 10.20 in the morning the executioner held the ill-fated monarch's head up to the crowd.

**364. Results of the King's Execution.**—The Convention hoped that in sending Louis XVI to the scaffold it would render a monarchical restoration forever impossible in France; it also fancied that it would strike terror into the European sovereigns by thus "flinging down to the kings the head of a king as a gage of battle." But the immediate result of the execution was to increase enormously the dangers in which France was already involved. A coalition of great powers was formed which united against France in a few weeks, Austria, Prussia, Russia, England, Spain, Holland, and the Italian States. France was thus threatened on every frontier from without; an insurrection in her western departments menaced her existence likewise from within. As the insurrection soon spread to other parts of the country, it happened that in June, 1793, sixty departments, comprising three-fourths of the nation, were in arms against the revolution. The solution of this apparently desperate internal situation was sought in a new constitution.

**365. The Constitution of 1793.**—In order to allay the almost general discontent and to pacify the country, the National Convention drew up the constitution of 1793. This granted universal manhood suffrage, restricted the authority of the executive almost to the vanishing point, suppressed the power of the capital over the government, and submitted the decisions of parliament to the ratification of the people.

The new constitution was received with genuine satisfac-

tion in the departments whose rights it respected and stated; but *it was never used in practise* as an instrument of government. Its application, in face of the war against Europe in which France was then involved, would have meant nothing less than the ruin of the country. Clearly a powerless executive, as was here instituted, and the frequent appeals to the people, as provided for, meant at best long and unfortunate delays in the settlement of vital questions and all important business. The emergency demanded a stronger administrative system which the Convention tried to create by establishing a provisional government.

## II. The Revolutionary Government; the Reign of Terror; Robespierre

**366. Establishment of the Revolutionary Government; the Committee of Public Safety; the Revolutionary Tribunal.** —When the new constitution was completed, the foreign armies had invaded French territory on all sides. The Convention, under these circumstances, decreed that "the provisional government of France should be revolutionary until the conclusion of peace." It further declared that the assembly itself was the sole source of authority in the state. A government more absolute and arbitrary than anything France had yet seen was now imposed on the country.

It included among its principal departments: *the Committee of Public Safety* and the *Revolutionary Tribunal.* These two institutions were, it is true, already in existence in June, 1793, when the new constitution was adopted, but they displayed their greatest activity after this date. The power of the *Committee of Public Safety* was originally confined to foreign affairs and the conduct of the war; but its members soon extended their jurisdiction to all civil and military matters. The committee usurped dictatorial powers, and no decision could be carried into effect without its

consent. Danton was its first head, and he was succeeded in power by Robespierre.

The *Revolutionary Tribunal* took cognizance of all the supposed or alleged crimes against the republic. Although its sessions were held in the Palace of Justice in Paris, its members were neither impartial nor independent judges, but the instruments of the Convention and the tools of the Committee of Public Safety. Its decisions were final and without appeal. "The charges," writes a contemporary, "were known to the accused at ten o'clock in the morning, he appeared in the court at eleven o'clock or noon; the trial was over at two, and the sentence was carried out before four o'clock of the same day." This was, as will be plain to everybody, a most expeditious process to destroy all enemies real or fancied.

**367. General Call to Arms (August 23); The Law Against Suspects (September 17, 1793).**—The summer of 1793 was a period of feverish excitement in Paris, owing to the critical external and internal situation. Extreme measures were adopted to destroy foreign and domestic enemies. To conquer the former, two important decrees were published, one calling to arms all male citizens between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five, and the other imposing a heavy war contribution on the rich. The first decree gave France an army of 800,000 men, the second raised the sum of one billion francs to equip and maintain them.

To destroy resistance at home, terror was resorted to as the principal means of government. The assassination of Marat, by Charlotte Corday, a young woman from Normandy, in July, 1793, furnished an excellent pretext for such a step. For, despite his sanguinary character, Marat appeared to the populace of Paris as the personification of patriotism. Measures of savage violence were now used by the government against its adversaries. Among the measures was the barbarous *Law against Suspects*, which levelled the suspicion of high treason against "all persons

who having done nothing against liberty, had, however, done nothing for it" (September 17, 1793).

During the same month the "Maximum Law" was passed. It fixed the highest price at which articles of primary necessity might be sold, and was designed to prevent riots due to the exorbitant prices prevailing in the capital.

**368. The Trial and Execution of Marie Antoinette.**—The first illustrious victim of the Reign of Terror was Queen Marie Antoinette. On August 2, 1793, she was separated from her children, taken from the Tower of the Temple and transferred to the Palace of Justice, where she was for more than two months enclosed in a narrow cell. Her trial degenerated into a disgraceful persecution of a defenseless victim, in which her accusers, seeking to dishonor her by their insults, succeeded only in dishonoring themselves.

On Wednesday, October 16, at 4.30 in the morning the "Widow Capet," as she was called in derision, was condemned to death after a session which lasted for more than twenty hours. The execution took place at noon of the same day. Marie Antoinette, of whom it could formerly be said without exaggeration that she was "glittering like the morning star, full of life and splendor and joy," seemed, in this her hour of trial, to be forsaken by every one. Despite such overwhelming misfortune, the royal victim, greater in adversity than in the period of her most resplendent prosperity, went to her death with undaunted courage and unexcelled womanly dignity.

**369. The Victims of the Reign of Terror.**—The execution of the queen was followed by those of a former mayor of Paris, of some Girondist deputies, and of the Duke of Orleans, who had voted for the death of his cousin, Louis XVI. From April 6, 1793 to July 27, 1794, 2,596 persons were executed in Paris, and no less than 10,000 in all France. In these are included only the victims who were granted the semblance of a trial.

There were, moreover, in many places wholesale executions,

and the total number of victims of the Terror it is impossible to determine. At Lyons, wholesale shootings of prisoners, sometimes as many as 200 at a time, were carried out. At Nantes the infamous Carrier, assisted by a band of thieves and assassins, drowned in the Loire River nearly 5,000 persons in seven months. For him there was so little question of guilt or innocence that with the adults he savagely threw hundreds of children and infants into the river.

**370. The Republican Calendar.**—The Reign of Terror is infamous not only for its executions, but also for two fundamental innovations, namely, the introduction of the *Republican Calendar* and the celebration of the *Feast of the Goddess of Reason.* The new system of reckoning time and the blasphemous festival in honor of a new idol were both established with the purpose of effecting the destruction of the Catholic Religion.

Two decrees, dated respectively October 5 and November 24, 1793, abolished for France the Gregorian calendar and substituted a new era opening with the founding of the republic September 22, 1792. In this system of chronology the year was divided into twelve equal parts of thirty days each. After the twelve months followed five additional days (called "sans-culottides" or "complémentaires") which belonged to no month and completed the ordinary year. A sixth day, known as the *Day of the Revolution*, was added every fourth year and served the purpose of our leap year addition. Each month was divided into three equal parts of ten days known as *decades*.

In order to wipe out the royalist and Catholic prejudices which "stained every page of the calendar," the Convention abolished the Christian Sunday, and decreed in its stead the observance, every tenth day (decadi), of a civic festival. By this departure from the usual order it was hoped that the very memory of Christian observances would be eradicated. This Republican calendar was in use for more than twelve years and was officially suppressed only on January 1, 1806.

**371. The Feast of the Goddess of Reason.**—The authors of the Republican calendar demanded the imprisonment of those who observed Sunday and the Christian festivals as days of rest. They clamored for the demolition of the church steeples "which by their elevation over surrounding buildings, seemed to run counter to the principles of equality." They declared themselves atheists and wished to establish the *worship of human Reason.*

On November 10, 1793, they celebrated in the church of Notre Dame at Paris a festival in honor of *Reason*, placing on the high altar a dancing girl from the opera to impersonate this new deity. One of the organizers of the feast taking a censor in his hands, fell on his knees before the "goddess" and offered incense to her, and the service concluded with dancing and song. Similar scenes were enacted in the provinces; the churches were transformed into temples of Reason or used as barns. The Convention proudly announced that it "witnessed with keenest appreciation the triumph of Reason over superstition and fanaticism."

**372. Robespierre Destroys his Opponents.**—These extreme measures and atheistic professions did not meet with the approval of Robespierre who, in religion, believed in the existence of a supreme being and in politics had personal ambitions and aimed at exclusive control of the government. He conceived a plan which, very comprehensive in its scope, involved the destruction of all those—radicals and liberals—who did not agree with him. He decided to destroy, with the help of the moderates such as Danton, the fanatical enemies of all religion, who were under the leadership of Hébert; his plan being thereafter to compass the destruction of the moderates themselves, and thus prepare the accomplishment of his personal ends. In a very short time he achieved his purpose.

The conditions bordering on famine which prevailed in Paris in the early part of 1794, served as a pretext to destroy the Hébertists. They were accused of being responsible

for the existing distress and were believed guilty by the populace. Their arrest took place on March 14, their condemnation to death on March 24, and their execution on the same day. The death sentence was imposed, it was stated at the trial, because they had planned the massacre of the Convention and the destruction of the republic.

A few days later, the moderates, that is Danton and his supporters, were arrested on the absurd charge of aiming at the restoration of the monarchy. They were sixteen in number; in less than a week (April 2-5, 1794) they were tried, sentenced and executed. As Danton's capable and impressive answers during the trial bade fair to win over the people to his side, the defense was cut short and the sentence of death was pronounced against him and his followers in their absence. It was immediately carried out.

**373. Robespierre's Character.**—The execution of the moderates left Robespierre in sole and supreme control of the government. A royalist until August 10, 1792, he affected thereafter a republicanism of the uncompromising attitude of a fanatical convert. Although unsympathetic and sententious, he had acquired, owing to his apparent honesty and simple life, great popularity, and had earned the sobriquet of the "Incorruptible." Extraordinary hypocrisy and superhuman pride were allied in him with the conviction that he was the repository of all truth. His ideas, all borrowed from Rousseau, had, in his eyes, the value of sacred dogmas. Not to share them was equivalent to being an undesirable and dangerous citizen; to combat them was a sacrilege for which only death could atone. The Reign of Terror was not merely maintained, it reached its culmination under Robespierre. It presented to him the twofold advantage of being an effectual means of getting rid of enemies and of becoming an undoubted means of popularity when he should decree its abrogation at some future date.

**374. Worship of the Supreme Being; the Terror at its**

**Height.**—As a substitute for the worship of Reason, the new dictator of France inaugurated, and organized the cult of the Supreme Being. On May 8, 1794, the Convention, at the dictation of Robespierre, decreed that the French people recognized the existence of a "Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul." About a month later the first grand festival of this new official religion was celebrated. Robespierre played the part of high-priest, and delivered two "sermons" on this "solemn occasion."

His attitude furnished the occasion for caustic comment indulged in at his expense. He retaliated by more sanguinary repression. A new law was wrung from the Convention in which defense and witnesses were suppressed in trials, material and tangible evidence declared unnecessary, and death specified as the only penalty to be imposed. The worst horrors of the period now followed. The Revolutionary Tribunal far surpassed even its own unenviable record for summary dispatch to the guillotine. It no longer took the time to identify the accused and sent indiscriminately to execution those who were brought before it. In one case, it sent to the scaffold a boy of seventeen instead of his father, and on another occasion, it had an old man of sixty executed instead of a youth of twenty-two. Neither innocence, talent nor service gave any title to acquittal or clemency; the Tribunal obviously existed not to judge, but to convict and slaughter the accused.

**375. Fall of Robespierre (July 28, 1794).**—The country soon tired of these senseless massacres. The reaction became the stronger as victory crowned French arms on the battlefield, and the country's danger could no longer be alleged as an excuse for the executions. The people ascribed the continuation of the Terror to the vindictive spirit and personal hatred of Robespierre, and some members of the Convention formed a conspiracy against him. Stormy scenes followed in the assembly in which Robespierre, "the slave of liberty" and "the living martyr of the republic," as he modestly styled himself, almost succeeded in gaining

the upper hand and destroying his enemies. After a protracted struggle between him and his adversaries, his arrest was decreed amid shouts of, "Down with the tyrant." He had, however, numerous supporters in the Revolutionary government and notably in the Commune of Paris.

The Commune at once took sides with him, declaring itself in insurrection against the Convention. A determined stand would even at this late hour have saved the tyrant, but he hesitated and delayed whereas the Convention acted speedily and declared him an outlaw. After this declaration all trial could be dispensed with and the execution carried out at once after his arrest. Robespierre was seized by the soldiers of the Convention on July 28, 1794, and executed the evening of the same day amidst popular applause and rejoicing. More than twenty of his supporters were beheaded with him, while others were executed on the immediately following days.

**376. The Reign of Terror Comes to an End.**—The fall of Robespierre had been prepared by men who were Terrorists themselves, and the Reign of Terror was not immediately brought to an end with his death. It was doomed, however, and was destined to disappear gradually owing to the revulsion of public feeling and to the victories gained by the French armies. The cruel measures decreed by the Convention were modified or repealed one after another. The Committee of Public Safety was restricted in its attributions; the Revolutionary Tribunal was first reorganized for the greater safety of the accused and later suppressed; the law against suspects was repealed; some of the persons arrested before Robespierre's downfall were again set free, while some of the Terrorists were arrested, condemned and made to mount the scaffold, to which they had sent so many innocent victims.

**377. Bonaparte Defeats the Royalists; End of the Convention.**—So strong was the reaction against Terrorism that the republicans were demanding a more democratic government, while on the other hand the royalists started a very

active propaganda in favor of the restoration of the monarchy. The Convention, under these circumstances, resolved on steering a middle course and framed the Constitution of 1795. The new instrument, less liberal than the Constitution of 1793, suppressed universal suffrage and made the right to vote contingent on an important property qualification. To prevent a royalist majority in the new parliament a special decree stipulated that two-thirds of the new legislature must be chosen from the members of the National Convention.

The royalists seeing all their hopes dashed to the ground met this high-handed proceeding with armed opposition and rose against the government. They had at their disposal an army of 20,000 followers to whom the Convention could oppose only 5,000 men. The government's position seemed hopeless, but a military genius, Napoleon Bonaparte, saved it from destruction. Cleverly disposing his forces, he was enabled to rout the royalists, restore order and maintain the authority of the Convention.

The latter shortly afterward declared its work concluded and disbanded. With it an odious, tyrannical and sanguinary government went out of existence. It must be acknowledged, however, that despite its cruelty it had resisted successfully a European coalition, had overcome widespread internal insurrection, and had partly accomplished the reorganization of a new France.

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# CHAPTER XVIII

## FRANCE: THE DIRECTORY
(October 27, 1795–November 9, 1799)

## I. The Directory from Its Institution to the Peace of Campo Formio (October 27, 1795–October 17, 1797)

**378. Organization of the Government Under the Directory.**—The second constitution framed by the National Convention is known from the year of its adoption as the Constitution of 1795 or of the year III of the Republic. It vested the *executive power* in a commission called the *Directory*, and this institution has left its name to this period of French history. The commission was to be composed of five members or Directors who were to be at least forty years old. One seat was to be open for election each year, and the members were to succeed one another in presiding, each for three months, at their own meetings.

The law-making power was vested in two councils or legislative bodies: the *Council of Five Hundred* and the *Council of the Ancients*. The members of the former were to be at least thirty years of age; the deputies of the latter had to be married men or widowers who had reached the age of forty. One-third of the membership of both bodies was elected each year, the election being by indirect and limited suffrage.

**379. The Position of France in 1795.**—When the Directory succeeded the National Convention in the government of France, the country had very considerably improved its position abroad, and established more stable conditions at home. The war with the first European coalition was, it is true, not yet concluded; but the Convention had resisted its foreign enemies with extraordinary success. Among the

powers leagued against France, several—Prussia, Spain and Holland—had been forced to conclude peace and had signed the treaty of Basel in 1795. France had, moreover, advanced far beyond her frontiers, had conquered Belgium and occupied all the territory on the left bank of the Rhine. She had concluded an alliance with Holland, her former enemy, and was about to enter into a similar agreement with Spain.

These successes in her foreign wars appeared the more lasting, as greater unity had been established at home. Judicious concessions made by the Convention in religious matters had placated the people of the western departments and put an end to the insurrection in that part of the country.

**380. The Directory Continues the War Against Austria and England.**—Austria and England were the only two formidable powers which now remained in the field against France. The French attack was first directed against the former as such a move necessitated land operations only, while the sea formed a comparatively secure protection for England. Three French armies were organized with the object of advancing upon Vienna. Two of these were to cross southern Germany by separate roads, whereas the third was to fight its way through northern Italy, where some small states were still at war with France and then proceed northward against the Austrian capital. The operations in Germany failed (1796). One army commanded by Jourdan was defeated by the Archduke *Charles* on the borders of Bohemia, and forced to fall back upon the Rhine. This defeat entailed as a consequence the retreat of the second French army operating in Germany under Moreau. It had advanced as far as Munich, but was now threatened by strong Austrian forces and withdrew to positions in Alsace.

**381. Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821).**—The decisive battles were fought against the Austrians by Napoleon Bonaparte in Italy. This great general was born at Ajaccio in Corsica in 1769, shortly after the island had been ceded by Genoa to France. After brilliant studies he received an

officer's commission in the French artillery. He had advanced to the rank of captain, when in 1793 he played a decisive part in the siege of Toulon. Owing principally to his tactical skill, this French fortress was wrested from the English, who had captured it, and Bonaparte was named general at the youthful age of twenty-four for this conspicuous service. After his able defense of the Convention in 1795, he rose rapidly, receiving the command in 1796 of the French army in Italy.

Two days after his marriage to Josephine, widow of General de Beauharnais, he left Paris to place himself at the head of his troops. He was then twenty-seven years old, a man of small stature, sickly appearance, but piercing eye. At the first meeting with his generals, he arrived late, disdained to uncover his head in their presence and spoke in an imperious tone, but with such knowledge and authority that he disarmed all opposition. This same ascendency he also acquired in a few days over the whole army.

His first Italian campaign is perhaps the most remarkable of his whole career. An officer, serving under him, has left the following account of the troops of which Bonaparte took command in Italy: "He had but few soldiers and these were almost without arms, without shoes, without food, without money and without organization. He could count on help from no one and was not of prepossessing appearance. He had the unenviable reputation of being a mathematician and a dreamer. He could boast of no record of brilliant achievements, had no friends and was considered a boor, because he was always alone, solely occupied with his thoughts. Everything had to be created; but he created everything." It was under such auspices that he undertook the Italian campaign.

**382. Bonaparte's First Italian Campaign (April, 1796, to April, 1797).**—After devoting a short time to essential details of equipment and organization, Bonaparte set his army in motion. By a bold and sudden stroke, he drove a wedge

between the combined forces of the Austrians and Sardinians opposed to him. He completed this important operation, almost before the enemy had an inkling of it, by crossing the mountains at the juncture of the Alps and the Appennines. So proud was he of this feat, which he deemed superior to the passage of the Alps by Hannibal, that he exclaimed: "Hannibal crossed the Alps; as for us, we have turned them."

Directing his attention first toward the Sardinians, he was so successful against them that in less than three weeks they were utterly defeated and sued for peace. Thus enabled to use all his troops against the Austrians, he drove them from Italy in a series of brilliant engagements and began his march on Vienna in the spring of 1797. His advance was irresistible and his troops were in dangerous proximity to that famous capital, when Austria decided to end the conflict and sued for peace.

**383. The Peace of Campo Formio (October 17, 1797).**— The preliminaries were signed at *Leoben* in Austria and the definitive treaty concluded at *Campo Formio,* a village in northeastern Italy.

In the treaty, Austria acknowledged the Rhine as the eastern frontier of France, ceded her Belgian provinces to the French Republic, and recognized in northern Italy the *Ligurian* and the *Cisalpine* Republics. These two states had been organized by Bonaparte, the former taking the place of the republic of Genoa, the latter of other north Italian states.

In compensation for her losses, Austria received Venice and the Venetian possessions in Italy and Dalmatia. Thus was wiped out the Republic of Venice with its glorious history of over a thousand years. The Ionian Islands, which had also formed part of the once powerful maritime state of Venice, were annexed to France.

Street Scene in Venice

## II. The Directory from the Peace of Campo Formio to Its Overthrow by Bonaparte (October 17, 1797–November 9, 1799)

**384. France and England. Bonaparte's Plan of Destroying English Power in the East.**—Of the powers of the first coalition, England alone remained at war with France after the peace of Campo Formio. Taking up a plan which had already tempted Louis XV and Louis XVI, the Directory contemplated in its prosecution of the war, an invasion of the island kingdom. The execution of this plan, however, required considerable forces and careful preparation, for England as mistress of the seas could easily interfere with, and entirely prevent, the transportation of any expeditionary forces under ordinary circumstances. The attempt to throw an inconsiderable number of French troops into Ireland had in fact met with miserable failure in December, 1796.

When Bonaparte returned from his Italian campaign, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the *army held in readiness for the invasion of England.* His plan, however, was to attack the English elsewhere than in their island. As India was the principal source of English wealth and as Egypt commanded one of the principal routes to India, he laid before the Directory a plan of campaign hinging upon the conquest of Egypt. This rich country, once in the hands of the French, would, on the one hand, constitute a magnificent colony, and on the other, furnish an excellent base of operations against India. In this grandiose scheme, the English were to be driven out of India and the whole east, the isthmus of Suez was to be pierced by a canal, and France was to secure complete control of the Red Sea.

The project of conquering Egypt and India was uppermost in Napoleon's mind during the greater part of his career. In 1808, when at the height of his power, he was still preparing its execution. Again he contemplated its

realization for 1812, the fatal year in which fortune deserted him on the plains of Russia.

**385. Bonaparte Lands in Egypt (July 1, 1798); His Victory at the Pyramids (July 21, 1798).**—The French government approved Bonaparte's proposal the more readily as his plan had the twofold advantage of offering an effective means of waging war on England and of removing from France a man —Bonaparte—whose ascendency the Directory dreaded. Swift and secret preparations were made for the Egyptian expedition. In 1798, seven months after the Peace of Campo Formio, nearly 3,000 vessels manned by 10,000 sailors and carrying 35,000 soldiers, sailed from the Mediterranean port of Toulon. On its way the expeditionary force occupied Malta, and on July 1, 1798 landed at the mouth of the Nile and seized Alexandria.

Egypt was then a province of the Turkish empire. The authority of the sultan, however, was merely nominal, the country being in the hands of the Mamelukes, a sort of military aristocracy. These offered resistance to the French army in the famous *battle of the Pyramids* near Cairo. Bonaparte animated the courage of his weary troops by pointing to the Pyramids and exclaiming: "Soldiers, forty centuries are looking upon you." The French defeated the splendid Mameluke cavalry, Bonaparte occupied Cairo, and became master of all Lower Egypt.

**386. The French Fleet is Destroyed by Admiral Nelson (August 1, 1798); The Siege of Acre (1799).**—The successful general was organizing his new colony when the disconcerting news of a grievous disaster reached him. The French fleet had been surprised and destroyed by the English admiral Nelson in the Bay of Aboukir (August 1, 1798); Bonaparte and his troops were thus cut off from the mother country. His position became still more precarious when in the month of September of the same year Turkey declared war against France.

Informed that a Turkish army was concentrating in Syria.

the indomitable Bonaparte resolved upon attacking and destroying it there. He captured the ports of Gaza and Jaffa, defeated the Turkish army at *Mount Thabor* and laid siege to *Acre* (1799). At Acre, assault after assault was beaten back by the defenders, and Bonaparte, who was without siege artillery, was forced to abandon his heroic but fruitless efforts to capture the fortress. He later spoke of Acre as "that miserable hole which came between me and my destiny." The reference was to his undoubted, but now unrealizable, desire of creating an Oriental empire for himself.

**387. Bonaparte Retreats to Egypt; He Returns to France; Results of his Egyptian Expedition.**—After this check before Acre, Bonaparte with the remainder of his troops retreated to Egypt where an English fleet was now landing a Turkish army. He promptly drove the latter into the sea and remained master of Egypt (July 25, 1799). A month later the news of the perilous position in which a second coalition placed the French Republic reached him. Leaving the capable Kleber in command of the expeditionary force, he secretly sailed for France on August 22, 1799, disclosing his designs regarding the French government in the significant words: "The reign of the lawyers is over." The French army occupied Egypt until September, 1801, when, after signing a capitulation, it evacuated the country.

The military results of the expedition were rather ephemeral, but along with them history must record a considerable increase in French prestige in the east and what is still more important, a revival of interest in ancient Egyptian life and history. A commission of scientists had accompanied Bonaparte, and their studies and initiative led to a series of discoveries which have enabled us to master the ancient Egyptian language and become better acquainted with Egyptian civilization.

**388. Affairs in Europe; the Roman and the Helvetic Republics; the Second Coalition.**—The French revolutionists had proclaimed at an early date their intention of spreading

and imposing the principles of liberty, justice and equality not only in France, but also in other countries which should come under their control. The liberation of France from the old ideas and the old system was to be followed by the deliverance of other nations from the tyranny and oppression of kings. The revolution declared itself the defender and protector of the rights of the people. Unfortunately in the treaties which it concluded, it did not live up to this solemn profession of high ideals. It annexed territory and exacted indemnities as monarchical governments had done in the past. As is usual in case of victory, might and not right was the decisive factor in dealing with foreign nations.

Even after the treaties of Basel and Campo Formio had secured for France her natural boundaries, the French government continued its revolutionary propaganda abroad and its aggressive foreign policy. After inciting an insurrection in Rome, in which a French general was killed, it ordered the occupation of that city. Pope Pius VI was arrested and was, despite his eighty years, carried off to France to die in exile. The States of the Church were transformed into the *Roman* or *Tiberine Republic*. About the same time, the Directory intervened in Switzerland, destroyed the existing Confederation and substituted the *Helvetic Republic*. The new state was given a form of government modelled on the French administrative system.

This uniform policy of the French government—the creation of new states, the annexation of important territories and constant interference in the affairs of other nations—finally led to the formation of the second coalition against revolutionary France. In this, as in all other coalitions, England was the soul and moving power. Along with England, which meanwhile had not concluded peace after the breaking up of the first coalition, this new alliance included Austria, Russia, Turkey, and the Kingdom of Naples. It lasted from the end of 1798 until 1801.

**389. Bonaparte Overthrows the Directory; He is Named**

**Consul.**—On October 9, 1799, Bonaparte, who had left Egypt without being recalled by his home government, landed in the south of France. His return was hailed by the plaudits of an idolizing people, and his journey through the country was a veritable triumphal procession. When he reached Paris the popular enthusiasm knew no bounds. The capital gave itself up to an orgy of hero worship in welcoming this conqueror, who was in its eyes not only a victorious general abroad but the logical ruler at home.

The aspiring Bonaparte accepted avidly these tokens of his approaching rise to power. The Directory had been losing favor in public opinion almost since its institution. The elections went consistently against it, and it had more than once resorted to violence to maintain its power. The people were prepared for its overthrow when Bonaparte thus suddenly returned from Egypt. A movement was then already on foot to oust the Directors and substitute a new government. Bonaparte placed himself at the head of the malcontents, and on November 9, 1799, overthrew the Directory by prevailing on three of its members to resign and by forcibly deposing the other two.

In destroying the power of the existing government, he enjoyed the support of the majority of the Council of Ancients. As for the Council of Five Hundred, which offered opposition, he overcame its resistance with the help of his brother Lucian, then its president, and with the cooperation of the army. On November 10, 1799, a Rump Legislature, composed exclusively of Bonaparte's supporters, sanctioned the abolition of the Directory and decreed in its place the provisional substitution of the Consulate. In this new government the power was placed in the hands of three consuls, one of whom was Bonaparte.

With the establishment of the Consulate the Revolutionary Period properly so-called comes to an end. In Bonaparte, the Revolution had found a leader, France a ruler, and Europe a master.

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# CHAPTER XIX

## FRANCE: THE CONSULATE
(November 10, 1799–May 18, 1804)

## I. External Affairs

**390. France offers Peace in Vain.**—When Bonaparte suppressed the Directory and seized the government, the powers forming the second coalition were still at war with France. Fortune had, at the beginning, smiled on them on the battlefield and a new invasion of France seemed imminent. In September 1799, however, French troops decisively defeated the Russians at Zurich in Switzerland, and other French contingents cleared Holland of enemy armies.

Under these circumstances, France seemed to be in a favorable position to conclude the peace her people so ardently desired. Bonaparte, aware of this general longing for a cessation of hostilities, addressed, shortly after he was named Consul, personal letters to the King of England and the Emperor of Austria, signifying to both rulers his willingness to enter into peace negotiations. His offer was rejected and the war continued.

**391. The Battle of Marengo (June 14, 1800).**—Austria was France's most formidable enemy on land and against her Bonaparte directed his main efforts. Of the two strong Austrian armies which were then in the field, the one which was stationed in Germany he opposed by a French contingent under the command of Moreau. To cope with the other, which was advancing through northern Italy, he assigned a second army under the leadership of Masséna. By these dispositions the two Austrian armies were to be kept separated until a third French army, still to be created, could penetrate between them, and cut them off from their base of supplies in their own mother country. Bonaparte assumed personal command of this new army, which was

ready to take the field and advanced in May 1800 into Italy against the Austrians.

In five days the French crossed the Alps at the Great St. Bernard Pass amidst almost insurmountable difficulties, and, to the enemy's amazement, suddenly appeared in northern Italy. Advancing eastward as far as Milan, Bonaparte entered that city in triumph and cut off the Austrians' retreat. Wheeling around he now proceeded westward to meet them as if he were coming himself from Austria. The two armies met at *Marengo*, a village in northern Italy, and fought there a decisive battle on June 14, 1800. Bonaparte, who had detached troops under separate commanders to guard the roads by which the enemy might make his escape, had only 20,000 men to oppose to 40,000 Austrians. After fighting bravely for several hours, he was retreating before an apparently victorious enemy when one of his lieutenants, *Desaix*, joined him with a new division. The battle was resumed, and the honor of the day ultimately lay with the French. The merit of the victory must be attributed less to Bonaparte, however, than to Desaix, who lost his life in the combat.

**392. The Battle of Hohenlinden (December 3, 1800); France and Austria Conclude Peace at Lunéville (February 9 1801).**—While the battle of Marengo decided the fate of Italy, peace was really won in Germany. There the French, instead of awaiting the Austrians on the left bank of the Rhine, invaded southern Germany, gained the victory of *Hohenlinden* in Bavaria (December 3, 1800) and seemed, after this success, to have an open road to Vienna. The Emperor of Austria, perceiving his capital in danger, asked for an armistice, and thus brought about a cessation of hostilities.

The definitive peace was signed by the two nations at *Lunéville* in France on February 9, 1801. It repeated some of the conditions of the Peace of Campo Formio and imposed, in addition, on Austria the recognition of the Helvetic

Alpine Climbing

(Swiss) and Batavian (Dutch) Republics, two new states created by France. As for the Roman Republic, France did not insist on its recognition; on the contrary, the territory which it included was again placed under the temporal authority of the Pope.

**393. France and England; the Peace of Amiens (March 25, 1802).**—Peace was now restored on the continent, and, just as after the Treaty of Campo Formio, England alone remained at war with France. She soon imitated her allies and opened peace negotiations, not because she was conquered; but because she realized the impossibility of conquering France. During the seven years of war, England had occupied all the French colonies and, in part, also the colonies of Spain and Holland, which had been for a time allied with France. She had just seized Malta, and forced the French to evacuate Egypt.

These great successes had been bought, however, at an enormous price. The heavy national debt and the suffering caused by the war led to riots in several English cities. On the other hand there seemed to be no prospect of securing help from any European power. On the contrary, the League of Neutrals, organized in 1800 under the leadership of the Czar of Russia, was likely to prove most embarrassing to England. Furthermore, the concentration of troops and transports by Bonaparte in the French channel ports could not be completely ignored even by a nation which was mistress of the seas.

Under these circumstances England showed willingness to discuss peace terms. They were agreed upon and signed at *Amiens* in France (March 25, 1802). England recognized the French Republic; she agreed to restore all the colonies she had conquered from France and her allies, with the exception of the island of Ceylon in Asia and that of Trinidad in America. Capetown was to become a free port. England promised also to evacuate Egypt and Malta, which were to revert to their original owners, the former to the Sublime

Porte, the latter to the Knights of St. John. The news of the conclusion of peace was received with demonstrations of the greatest joy in France. The peace was to be, however, of very short duration.

## II. Internal Affairs

**394. State of France in 1799.**—In order to appreciate to its full value the work of the Consulate, a glance at the condition of France during the last years of the Directory is absolutely necessary. According to reliable records, both official and otherwise, the country, owing to war and disorganization, at the period under discussion presented everywhere a spectacle of decline and ruin. The roads, no longer systematically repaired and maintained, were in many instances impassable. They were cut here and there by streams, the bridges having been demolished in whole or in part. They were, moreover, infested by bands of robbers who easily recruited their numbers from the innumerable deserters of the time. These bands robbed travelers, kidnapped peasants and held up public conveyances. An example may be cited of a diligence which was held up no less than five times on a journey covering some twenty-five miles.

Industry and commerce lay prostrate and compared most unfavorably with conditions before the revolution. The workshops of Paris employed less than one-eighth of the number of men they needed before 1789. At the port of Marseilles the exchanges did not equal in one year the amount of business transacted in six weeks under the monarchy.

Even the power of the state no longer made itself felt. Taxes remained either entirely or partly unpaid, and soldiers, no longer receiving either provisions or pay, deserted by the thousands. France was in a state of disorder and anarchy. A stolid indifference to events foreign or domestic had taken hold of the masses. After ten years replete with sudden

dangers and stirring events, politics proved hateful to them and they experienced an irresistible yearning for order, security, and rest. Such a state of public feeling was to make easier the enormous task of Bonaparte, the extraordinary organizer who had now come into power.

**395. The Constitution of 1799 or of the Year VIII of the Republic.**—It was Bonaparte's great merit that he brought order out of chaos. The work on the new constitution, made necessary by the Directory's overthrow, was soon completed and the instrument put in force. Known as the Constitution of 1799 or the Year VIII of the republic, it gave a permanent character to some of the features of the provisional government. The three Consuls were retained as the executive power and were to hold office for ten years. The government of the country thus seemed to be carried on by three men; but all the authority was, in fact, concentrated in the hands of the First Consul, Bonaparte. His two colleagues were counsellors rather than executives.

Although the constitution maintained the republic in appearance, it restored, in reality, the monarchy. This monarchy was not even of a limited character; since the First Consul combined in his person the executive and the legislative power in the state. No law could become operative without either originating with him or being promulgated by him. The so-called legislative bodies which were established by the constitution were intended more to screen than to limit his power.

**396. Establishment of a New French Administrative System.**—The new constitution was submitted to the vote of the people, and approved by an overwhelming majority of the electors. As soon as he had thus been confirmed in power, Bonaparte undertook the reorganization of the French administrative system. In this work, as in everything else, his guiding principle was centralization of all power in himself.

He maintained the territorial division into departments,

districts and communes as introduced by the revolution; but reserved to the First Consul the appointment and the removal of the heads of these various territorial divisions (the prefect for the department, subprefect for the district and mayor for the commune). He went further and attributed to the First Consul the selection of the respective councillors of these officials. This administrative system has partly survived the many changes of government in France. The appointment of the prefect and subprefect is still one of the attributions of the central authority, but the mayor and the different classes of councillors are now elected by universal manhood suffrage.

**397. The Napoleonic Code.**—In order to unify, systematize, and coordinate the administration and government in France, Bonaparte resolved on preparing a collection of the laws, old and new, to be observed in the country. A special commission was appointed in 1800 to carry this work of legislation and codification to a successful conclusion. All its meetings, some of which lasted no less than twenty hours, were presided over by the First Consul in person.

The laws thus codified were based on custom, Roman Law, royal ordinances and revolutionary enactments. This collection, the first part of which was published in 1804, was completed under the empire and has become known as the *Napoleonic Code*. It has ever since been in force in France and has been adopted at least in modified form in other countries.

**398. The Legion of Honor; the Bank of France; General Character of the Napoleonic System.**—These important political, administrative and legal institutions formed only part of the work accomplished by the First Consul. No period of French history is marked by so many permanent and useful creations as the four years of the Consulate. Desirous of training competent government officials, Bonaparte also reorganized the French *educational system*. He instituted, as a decoration, the medal of the celebrated

*Legion of Honor* to reward conspicuous services, created a national banking system by establishing the *Bank of France*, and built an elaborate system of highways and canals to encourage industry and commerce.

Obviously this general reorganization, though eminently practical, useful and necessary, was in many respects a return to the old monarchical and absolute system. Bonaparte, although he pointed to himself as a son of the Revolution, assumed all the power of the former Bourbon kings. He used it, however, to restore law and order in a tottering state; he destroyed the rule of the people, such as it was, but saved, thereby, both country and nation.

**399. Bonaparte and the Religious Question.**—Anxious to restore internal peace in France, Bonaparte could not neglect the settlement of the religious dissensions provoked by the civil constitution of the clergy and intensified by subsequent measures of religious persecution. Shortly after becoming First Consul, he repealed the decrees banishing the priests from the country and allowed freedom of worship.

At the same time, he fully understood that, despite these relief measures, a prompt settlement and enduring peace could, in a Catholic country like France, be secured only through negotiations with the Holy See. He was also convinced that religion was one of the most firm and lasting supports of the state, and, if not through religious conviction, at least through practical statesmanship, he strove, on the one hand, to procure relief of conscience for his subjects and, on the other hand, to enlist the cooperation of the clergy in his government of the country.

**400. The Concordat of 1801.**—In order to attain this twofold object, he concluded with the Holy See the most celebrated and most important concordat in history, the Concordat of 1801, which regulated the ecclesiastical relations between France and Rome until 1905. In this treaty, "the government of the Republic recognized the Catholic religion as the faith of the majority of Frenchmen," and guaranteed

the free and public exercise of its worship. The papacy, on its part, agreed to a new division of dioceses and "in the interest of peace" abandoned to the nation the ecclesiastical property confiscated during the revolution. In compensation for these possessions, now formally ceded by the Church to the civil government, the state promised a suitable annual income to bishops and parish priests. As for the appointment to vacant bishoprics, it was stipulated that the candidates were to be nominated by the French government and confirmed by the Pope. The new appointees were to take an oath of allegiance to the ruler in power.

The right of nomination, vested in the government, the salary paid from the public treasury and the oath of allegiance exacted by the executive, unfortunately placed the higher clergy in too great dependence on the state. The terms of the Concordat, however, were the best that could be obtained after lengthy and most difficult negotiations.

**401. The Organic Articles.**—Even after consenting to these conditions, Bonaparte, in his desire to control all things in the state, added, of his own accord, the so-called *Organic Articles* to the signed Concordat. He hoped to take back, in this manner, some of the concessions which he had so reluctantly made in the treaty and to subordinate state and church to himself. For in his eyes the logical coordination in France was to be: first, *Bonaparte;* second, the *State;* third, the *Church.* In these Organic Articles, the publication of papal documents, the holding of national or provincial councils, the internal organization and the courses of study of ecclesiastical seminaries were subjected to state control. The Pope protested against this arbitrary addition made by one party to a treaty signed by two powers, and the Church never accepted the Organic Articles.

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## CHAPTER XX

### FRANCE: THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE (1804–1815)

### I. Internal Affairs

**402. Bonaparte becomes Emperor Napoleon I (1804).**— When Bonaparte suppressed the Directory and became master of France, some royalists hopefully looked forward to the restoration of the Bourbon kings. The Count of Provence, who later became King Louis XVIII, went so far as to address two communications to the First Consul respecting this subject. Bonaparte, however, ignored all the suggestions made in favor of the Bourbons and spurned the most tempting offers of eventual reward. He was working for himself, not for others, and had already formed the design of retaining power permanently and of creating a new dynasty.

In a very short time he realized this ambitious plan. In 1802 he had himself named *Consul for life.* Two years later, May 18, 1804, the Senate proclaimed him *Emperor of the French* and declared the dignity hereditary in his family. The French people ratified this innovation by 3,500,000 votes as against 3,000 opposed. A solemn ceremony of coronation, for which Pope Pius VII came to Paris, further enhanced the prestige of the new emperor. Napoleon was solemnly anointed by the Pope in the cathedral of Notre Dame. In his inordinate desire to owe his power to himself alone, he snatched the imperial crown before the Pope could lay hands on it, crowned himself and then also crowned the empress.

On the day prior to the imperial coronation, a religious ceremony had united Napoleon and Josephine in marriage; until then only a civil ceremony had taken place.

**403. Magnificence of the Imperial Court; Simplicity of**

**the Emperor.**—A court resplendent with magnificence and ostentation increased the new emperor's prestige and enhanced his dignity. It rivaled in gorgeous display the royal court of pre-revolutionary times. This new sovereign, who had risen from the ranks of the people, created a nobility of his own whose twofold duty it was to honor and to serve him. He conferred the title of prince on his brothers and that of princess on his sisters; titles of nobility were bestowed also on other persons for distinguished service in civil or military affairs. Napoleon, like Louis XVI, received the sum of twenty-five million francs to cover the expenses of the imperial establishment.

In striking contrast with the luxury which surrounded him, the emperor was very simple in his external appearance and exceedingly moderate in his personal expenses. He always lived like a general in active command to whom the many duties of his position do not leave any leisure for time-robbing social functions. His habitual dress was the uniform of one of his guard regiments, in which he appeared to such disadvantage that the soldiers considered him the worst dressed man of the army.

**404. Napoleon's Personal Government.**—In the government of the state, Napoleon's personality overshadowed all. The officials, whom he appointed and used, were mere instruments who followed his instructions and carried out his commands. The indefatigable emperor, who had an enormous capacity for work, personally controlled everything: army, diplomacy, finances, internal and external administration; and his control extended frequently to the minutest details.

He thus assumed, through a spirit of domination, gigantic tasks to which he could do justice only by working almost daily an unusual number of hours. He spent generally, almost without respite, eighteen hours of the day at work. He worked everywhere, at the theatre, at the chase, on his walks, and at table during the eight minutes of his breakfast and the fifteen minutes of his dinner. He frequently dictated

several letters simultaneously to different secretaries, and while so doing had the habit of pacing up and down in his office.

**405. Suppression of Political and Individual Liberty.**—The existence of political liberty was, of course, incompatible with Napoleonic rule. The emperor could bear no restraint on his activity, nor limitations to his power, and ruled, in the fullest sense of the word, as an autocrat. He respected neither the rights of the people nor the opinions of the individual. Every citizen was bound to yield prompt and unquestioning obedience to his commands.

In order to destroy all opposition he created an immense police force, and placed it under the direction of a special ministry. Its secret agents denounced or arrested all citizens suspected of hostility to the empire. Napoleon could arbitrarily imprison any obnoxious person as the Bourbon kings had done before the revolution. Citizens were now, as under the old regime, sent to the state prisons by a mere decree of the monarch and were ordered detained there as a measure of safety until the restoration of general peace.

**406. Suppression of the Freedom of the Press.**—It is obvious that a press giving free expression to public and private opinion did not fit into Napoleon's despotic system. Even before the establishment of the empire, he took drastic measures to prevent the free discussion of public events. At the very beginning of the Consulate, he suppressed sixty of the seventy-three political journals then published in Paris. In 1811, he had forced nine more to suspend publication, so that four only continued to appear. Nor did these four journals enjoy even the semblance of freedom; their editors-in-chief were appointed by the emperor and every article had to be submitted to the censor before publication. Such was the situation in Paris; in the provinces not a single newspaper of a genuinely political character was permitted.

Printers of books fared no better than newspaper pub-

lishers. Their number was limited, and an imperial authorization was necessary to engage in this trade. The censorship of books was again put in force in 1810, and an idea of its character may be obtained from the fact that a translation of the *Psalms of David* was forbidden because, so the censor declared, "although not dangerous in themselves, they contain certain passages which might be interpreted as prophetical allusions to the conflict between Napoleon and the Pope."

**407. Napoleon and Education.**—Under the old monarchy the state had taken a detached attitude towards education, abandoning it to private initiative and particularly to the care of the Church. The men of the revolution were first to undertake the creation of a public or state educational system to which Napoleon attached the greatest importance. As First Consul, he had organized the *state colleges*, as emperor he created, in 1808, the *Imperial University*. According to the official decree of institution, his aim in establishing it was, "to insure uniformity of instruction, to train for the state citizens attached to their religion, their prince, their country and their family," and particularly to teach "loyalty to the emperor and to the imperial monarchy, the source of the people's happiness."

This creation to which Napoleon attached the name of University was not merely an institution of higher education, but comprised and still comprises today the whole French public educational system. It included three degrees of instruction: *primary*, *secondary* and *higher*. Primary education was placed in the hands of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. As for secondary and higher education, instruction was imparted in both grades by professors appointed by the government and was in both instances almost exclusively of a practical character. Not only were the professors and students in colleges subjected to a strict military discipline, but the educational institutions themselves resembled in many ways military institutes.

**408. Napoleon and the French Church.**—Napoleon seized upon education, organized it, and used it to fashion after his pattern the minds of the youth of France. He strove in a similar manner to force the Church into his service. The clergy in their religious instruction, were compelled to stress the duties and obligations of the citizen towards the emperor and civil power. Napoleon himself revised with care the lesson of the catechism dealing with this subject.

The clergy were ordered to impress on the minds of their pupils the doctrine that, "to honor and serve the emperor was to honor and serve God Himself." They were likewise to inculcate love, respect, obedience, and the necessity of performing the prescribed military service, and of paying the ordained taxes to the emperor. It was to be brought home to every Frenchman that the conscript who failed to join the colors and the business man who neglected to pay his taxes exposed themselves directly to the everlasting torments of hell.

**409. Napoleon and the Pope; Pius VII is taken Prisoner (July 6, 1809).**—Not only the French clergy, but the Pope himself was to be pressed into service for the advancement of the emperor's political designs. This preposterous attempt to use the highest spiritual authority on earth for the promotion of worldly and selfish aims caused a sharp and protracted conflict between Napoleon and the Pope. It began in 1806 and lasted to the downfall of the empire in 1814. The struggle disclosed in all their fierceness the emperor's despotic instincts and brutal character.

Actuated by his dominant desire to destroy English power, Napoleon, in 1806, first summoned Pius VII to expel all Englishmen from the States of the Church, and then ordered him to close all papal ports to English ships. He justified such unheard-of demands made of an independent sovereign by referring to the power of Charlemagne "his august predecessor," whom, as the founder of the temporal power of the Popes, he considered supreme master of Rome. "Your

holiness is Pope of Rome," he wrote to Pius VII, "I am its emperor."

Pius VII rejected Napoleon's demands, contending that the wars of France were not necessarily the wars of the Papal States. He added that, as minister of the God of Peace, he was bound to remain neutral among all the faithful. Napoleon, far from declaring himself satisfied with this fair and firm attitude, ordered the occupation of the Papal States by French troops in 1807 and, two years later, their annexation to his empire. Immediately after the annexation the Pope pronounced Napoleon's excommunication. The latter's rage, when he heard of this sentence, knew no bounds. He ordered the Pope's arrest; one of his generals invaded the papal palace during the night, gave Pius VII two hours to make ready for departure, and, at four o'clock in the morning, carried him off to France (July 6, 1809).

**410. Captivity of Pius VII (July 6, 1809–March 10, 1814).**— During his captivity, which lasted nearly five years, the meek, conciliatory, but firm pontiff never ceased to protest against the violence used against his person. To break his indomitable will and bring him to terms a more rigid captivity was enforced in 1811: all papal correspondence was subjected to a severe censorship and visitors were allowed to see Pius only in presence of witnesses. Napoleon went further: he threatened to rule the Church in his own states without any reference to the Pope, demanded the latter's abdication, and asked for the surrender of the tiara. The Pontiff opposed a categorical refusal to these demands.

In 1812, Napoleon, fearing a British attack on Savona and the release of Pius VII then detained there, had his illustrious prisoner removed to Fontainebleau near Paris. At Fontainebleau he had some stormy interviews with his worn-out victim, and succeeded in extorting excessive concessions. These, however, were immediately recalled as soon as Pius VII was permitted to see his counsellors.

Victory was now deserting Napoleon's standards on the

battlefield, and with the emperor's gradually waning fortunes, the freedom of the Pope was ever brought nearer. He was set at liberty in March, 1814. After Napoleon's downfall the Pope generously offered hospitality in Rome to the exiled members of the Bonaparte family and even pleaded with the allied sovereigns for leniency towards the imperial prisoner at St. Helena.

**411. Napoleon's Separation from Josephine de Beauharnais.**—It was in the midst of these bitter conflicts with the Church that Napoleon decided to divorce Josephine. The reason for this decision was political, not domestic: the couple had lived peacefully together, but no children had been born to the union. Napoleon desiring an heir to his vast dominions determined to get rid of Josephine and to marry a princess of one of the reigning houses of Europe.

In order to obtain the annulment of his first marriage, the emperor had, of course, to find reasons for its dissolution and a competent judge to declare it invalid. He adduced *two causes of invalidity:* (1) the *lack of consent* on his part to the marriage with Josephine, a strange and bold contention, since he was not a person to yield easily to intimidation and had lived several years with Josephine as his empress; (2) *defects of form*, a hardly more acceptable reason, since all the necessary dispensations had been granted for the union.

As for the judge in the matter, he could be no one else but the Pope to whom are reserved by right the marriage cases of sovereigns. But how could Pius VII be asked for a decision in the case? He himself had granted the dispensations for the marriage and would be likely to raise objections to its dissolution. Moreover, he was then Napoleon's prisoner and the emperor was under sentence of excommunication, circumstances which further complicated the situation.

In consequence the case was submitted to the diocesan court of Paris. The Paris officials rendered the decision the emperor desired. They pronounced his marriage with

Josephine null and void, and on April 2, 1810, he married the Archduchess Marie Louise of Austria. Pius VII was completely ignored in the whole question, never rendered any decision and the Church cannot be held responsible for what took place.

As a protest against Napoleon's high-handed proceedings thirteen of the twenty-six cardinals present in Paris refused to attend the religious ceremonies of the new marriage. Napoleon in an outburst of rage at their opposition declared that he no longer looked upon them as cardinals, forbade them to wear the insignia of their dignity (hence they became known as "black cardinals"), and banished them from Paris to various provincial towns where they were detained for over three years.

## II. Foreign Affairs in the Napoleonic Empire

**412. Violation of the Peace of Amiens; New War between England and France (1803).**—A death struggle between England and France forms the principal topic in the history of the foreign relations of the Napoleonic empire. As Napoleon considered England his chief enemy, so England looked upon him as the greatest danger to the British empire. She became the instigator of wars and organizer of coalitions against him and did not relent until his power was broken and his person banished from the continent of Europe. As she had been last to conclude peace with France at Amiens (see no. 393), so she was first to resume the war against her after but a short cessation of hostilities.

The conflict was reopened without previous declaration of war. It began with the seizure by England in her ports or at sea of hundreds of French merchant vessels (May, 1803). Napoleon retaliated by arresting all English subjects in his dominions and occupying the electorate of Hanover, a hereditary dominion of the English kings. He also began at once and continued for over two years extensive preparations for an invasion of England. As the

funds necessary for these war expenses were lacking, he sold the territory of Louisiana for fifteen million dollars to the United States in 1803.

**413. Napoleon trains an Army in the French Channel Ports; The Naval Battle off Trafalgar (October 21, 1805).**—Napoleon concentrated a formidable army ready for use against England in some of the French Channel ports, notably at Boulogne. But, for all this, it cannot be stated positively whether he really intended an invasion of the island or merely used these preparations as a threat to bring England to terms. In point of fact, no attempt was ever made to cross the Channel with these troops. The undertaking was almost hopeless, as long as the English fleet controlled the seas.

In consequence Napoleon sought, in the first place, to destroy English maritime supremacy. The opportunities for accomplishing this seemed to be favorable since Spain had joined France in the war as an ally, and the combined fleets of the two countries could hope to obtain a favorable decision in a battle with the enemy. But in this as in the Hundred Years' War, fortune favored England at sea. The English Admiral Nelson met the united French and Spanish fleets off Cape *Trafalgar* and disastrously defeated them. Nelson's historic appeal, "England expects every man to do his duty," had met among his sailors with heroic response and produced remarkable results. The great admiral, however, lost his life in the battle. The victory off Trafalgar was so decisive that the British fleet has ever since remained mistress of the sea.

**414. The Third Coalition; Battle of Austerlitz (December 2, 1805).**—While Napoleon was busy with his preparations against England, a new, the third, coalition was in progress of formation. It united against him England, Austria, Russia, Sweden and the Kingdom of Naples. Among these states his two most powerful opponents on land were, of course, Austria and Russia. The emperor used against

these two powers the splendidly organized troops, called the *Grand Army*, which he had equipped and drilled on the coast of the English Channel. Acting with lightning-like rapidity he forced in a few months Austria and Russia to accept peace. The war was fought out in two theaters: (1) in southern Germany against the Austrians; (2) in Moravia against the Austro-Russians.

An Austrian army having advanced into southern Germany, Napoleon decided to attack and destroy it. In accordance with his carefully prepared plan of campaign, he cut it off from Vienna, encircled it on all sides, and, after several successful engagements, forced it into the fortress of Ulm. There the whole Austrian army surrendered on October 17, 1805.

From Ulm the emperor rushed onward to Vienna "in order to save the Russians half the distance." His hurried advance was partly due to his fear that Prussia would join the coalition against him. As Vienna offered no resistance, he occupied the city and proceeded at once northward into Moravia where the Austrian and Russian armies had effected a junction. On a spot near *Austerlitz*, selected in advance by him, he offered battle to his adversaries and inflicted a crushing defeat on them. Napoleon always recalled with the greatest pride this brilliant victory of Austerlitz, and delighted in speaking of the glorious sun which shone on the battlefield on that memorable December 2, 1805, the first anniversary of his imperial coronation.

**415. Peace signed at Presburg between Austria and France (December 26, 1805).**—During the very night following the battle of Austerlitz, the Austrian Emperor Francis II requested Napoleon to grant him an interview. Two days later the two rulers met and concluded an armistice. Its stipulations affected the Russians and the Austrians. The former were allowed to retreat in stages regulated by Napoleon.

With the Austrians the armistice led to peace negotiations

and the conclusion of the *Peace of Presburg* (December 26, 1805). The conditions imposed on Austria were of a most onerous character. *Istria*, *Dalmatia*, *Venice*, *Suabia* and the *Tyrol* were ceded to Napoleon. Austria was thus cut off from Italy and the valley of the Rhine, and lost about three million subjects.

**416. Napoleon establishes the Confederation of the Rhine; the Holy Roman Empire comes to an End (1806).**—The French emperor immediately distributed the territory conquered in the war among his relatives, allies and companions-at-arms. They were to rule over the provinces or kingdoms assigned to them under his suzerainty. On the pretense of reorganizing Germany, he founded the *Confederation of the Rhine*, of which he assumed the presidency and over which he exercised control. Sixteen princes were admitted to it, among them the dukes of Bavaria and of Wurtemberg, upon whom he conferred the royal title.

In Italy, where the emperor had also triumphed over his enemies, the Bourbon dynasty was deprived of the Kingdom of Naples, and his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, placed on the throne in its stead. To the north of France the Batavian Republic was suppressed; and the Kingdom of Holland was established with Louis, another of the emperor's brothers, as its king.

After the establishment of the Confederation of the Rhine and in consequence of the important losses sustained by Austria in the peace of Presburg, the Emperor, Francis II, renounced in 1806 the title of Holy Roman Emperor of the German nation and was known from then on exclusively as Francis I, hereditary Emperor of Austria, a title which he had assumed in 1804 when Napoleon was declared Emperor of the French.

**417. The Fourth Coalition; Military Operations against Prussia and Russia (1806–1807).**—After the battle of Austerlitz peace negotiations were carried on not only with Austria, but also with Russia and England. While with

Austria they led to the conclusion of a treaty, they were broken off between France and the other two powers. The latter were soon to be joined by Prussia in their struggle against Napoleon.

While the war of the third coalition was being fought out, Prussia was about to cast her lot with Austria and Russia when Napoleon's decisive victory at Austerlitz gave an entirely changed aspect to the situation. Prussia now concluded an agreement with him in which he promised her Hanover in exchange for certain territorial concessions. His promise was, however, not sincerely made, since he was quite ready to cede the same territory to England for compensation. He likewise encouraged the King of Prussia to form the North German Confederation, while forbidding the German princes to enter it. These insincere dealings and the activities of a strong anti-French military party determined the King of Prussia to throw in his lot with the enemies of France. The fourth coalition was thus formed including England, Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Saxony.

The war against it bears great resemblance to the military operations of the year 1805. Two campaigns, one in Saxony against Prussia, the other in Poland against Russia, disposed of the armies placed in the field by these two countries. The campaign in Saxony was decided by the French victories of *Jena* and *Auerstädt* and ended in six days with the total defeat of Prussia (October 8–14, 1806). Although Russia offered stiffer resistance, she was overcome in six months (December, 1806–June, 1807) and was ready to treat with France after losing the battles of *Eylau* and *Friedland.*

**418. The Peace of Tilsit (July 8, 1807).**—The Treaty of Tilsit signed on July 8, 1807, terminated the war between France and Russia and Prussia. Although it did not restore general peace, it put an end to the fourth coalition. The peace negotiations were carried on in personal interviews between the two emperors, Napoleon of France and Alex-

ander I of Russia. As for Prussia no negotiations were necessary with her, as she had to accept Napoleon's terms unconditionally.

The utmost cordiality marked the meetings of the two rulers of France and Russia. The czar was fascinated by the personality of Napoleon, whom he considered a superman, and the two monarchs divided Europe between themselves. Alexander recognized the new kingdoms which Napoleon had created; and Napoleon gave his approval to the territorial acquisitions which Russia might make in the north at Sweden's, and in the south at Turkey's, expense. In a secret article, Alexander I also promised to close the ports of Russia to British ships.

This last condition was also imposed on Prussia so far as her harbors were concerned. But more humiliating were the territorial losses which she sustained. She was despoiled in the west of all her possessions west of the Elbe and in the east of the territory which had been acquired in the partition of Poland. Even the tears of the beautiful Queen of Prussia could not mollify the stern conquerer nor obtain easier terms.

The western provinces taken from Prussia were reorganized as the Kingdom of Westphalia, which Napoleon conferred on his brother Jerome; the eastern territories became the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw which was allotted, with the royal title, to the Elector of Saxony.

**419. Alliance between France and Russia.**—At Tilsit, France and Russia did more than sign a treaty of peace; they concluded an alliance. The Emperor, Alexander I, turned against England because during the fourth coalition she had neglected to furnish the military help he had a right to expect from her. He was, moreover, completely under the spell of Napoleon's personality and had been won over to the latter's gigantic political projects, which included a prospective partition of Turkey.

As for Napoleon, he had been for some time in quest of an ally so as to prevent future coalitions against France and

frustrate English intrigues on the European continent. He had not succeeded in enlisting the cooperation of Prussia, he distrusted Austria, and was consequently forced to fall back on Russian friendship. An alliance was the more necessary to him in 1807, because he had just resorted to a new method of warfare against England, an economic war, by his declaration of the *continental blockade*. The success of the blockade was contingent upon complete domination of the continent, which was possible only if exercised jointly with another power.

**420. The Continental Blockade.**—In consequence of the destruction of the French fleet at Trafalgar, Napoleon was placed in the impossibility of attempting a direct attack upon England. England, however, soon furnished him with the opportunity of using another weapon against her. She seized French merchants and merchandise on neutral ships, and, on May 16, 1806, proclaimed a blockade of all the French ports, thus forbidding, even on the part of neutral nations, all commerce with France.

To this "paper blockade" as it was called because it was ineffective, Napoleon replied by his Berlin Decree (November 21, 1806). He proclaimed a blockade of the British Isles. All commerce and intercourse with England was forbidden to all Frenchmen and their allies; all English goods were excluded from French markets; and all French ports were closed to all ships arriving from England. The aim of this measure was to exclude the English not only from France, but from the whole European continent: hence the name *continental blockade*.

As England had, even before the publication of the Berlin Decree, gone further in her restrictions, and exacted that every ship plying the seas call at a British port and pay on her cargo the tax imposed by the British government, Napoleon retaliated by issuing the *Milan Decree*, in which he forbade all ships either to submit to the English restrictions or to enter a British port (December 17, 1806). The

Berlin Decree was issued to shut out England from the European continent: the Milan Decree was used to cut her off from the world; both were named after the cities in which they were first published.

**421. Napoleon at War with Spain.**—Some of the results of the blockade decreed by Napoleon were incessant wars and additional annexations of territory to France. If the advantages hoped for were to be secured, it was essential that all Europe should submit to the emperor's stringent decrees. He experienced resistance, however, in many quarters. Portugal, notably, one of the chief markets for English products, refused to yield complete submission. Napoleon, in accord with the King of Spain, dismembered the kingdom and the royal family of Portugal fled to Brazil.

His desire to secure the full observance of the blockade also induced the emperor to engage in a disastrous war with Spain. Encouraged in his plans of conquest by dissensions in the Spanish royal family and by the facility with which he had introduced French troops into Spain during his war with Portugal, he decided to take complete possession of the kingdom. The members of the royal family were either forced or persuaded to abandon their rights to the throne, and Napoleon's brother Joseph was transferred from the Kingdom of Naples to the more important throne of Spain. Murat, the emperor's brother-in-law, succeeded Joseph Bonaparte in Naples (1808).

While the royal family of Spain was easily disposed of, Napoleon met with unexpected and most stubborn resistance from the *Spanish people*. All Spain flew to arms against the invader and a war followed, which lasted for over five years (May, 1808–December, 1813) and ended only with Napoleon's defeat. This protracted guerilla warfare, devoid of interest and striking events, forms nevertheless one of the leading events in the history of the Napoleonic empire. Some of France's best troops found a grave in the mountain fastnesses of Spain.

The war bore an entirely new character: it was the first *national war* in which Napoleon had become involved. So far he had had to do with sovereigns and their armies. The armies once destroyed, the sovereigns yielded submission. From now on, he had to fight the nations: Spain in 1808, Austria in 1809, Russia in 1812, and Germany in 1813. The emperor's genius continued to win victories, but it was powerless to subdue peoples.

**422. The Fifth Coalition; Military Operations against Austria (April–July, 1809).**—At the Peace of Presburg, Napoleon had mutilated Austria, without annihilating her, and had thus inspired her with an ardent desire for revenge. Her resentment was bound to increase when, without consulting with her, he brought the south German States under his control, despoiled Prussia, annexed Italian territory, and suppressed the dynasties of Portugal and of Spain. Austria and her rulers could not but dread the fate which had overtaken other countries and other reigning houses.

As a result, Austria actively prepared for war and united with England and Spain in a fifth coalition. In 1809, while Napoleon seemed to be absorbed in pacifying Spain, her army suddenly took the field against France. It attacked in various places at the same time, hoping to take Napoleon by surprise. The latter, however, was ready for all emergencies. He fought the Austrians first in Bavaria and then near Vienna. In both campaigns Napoleon was successful.

In Bavaria the French won the battle of *Eckmühl* and forced the enemy to retreat, but did not effect the destruction of the Austrian troops. This victory opened to Napoleon the road to Vienna. Archduke Charles, the commander of the Austrian forces, retreated just beyond this city and awaited the French army on the north bank of the Danube. When Napoleon in pursuit effected a crossing of the river, he was attacked by the Archduke and after a two days' battle at Aspern thrown back from the north to the south bank of the Danube (May 21 and 22, 1809). It was the first time

that the great military genius suffered defeat in a battle with one single state, and the event produced a deep impression on all Europe.

The two hostile armies now remained facing each other until July 5, 1809. During the night of the fourth of July Napoleon effected a successful crossing of the Danube and immediately fought a two days' battle at *Wagram*. Archduke Charles was defeated and forced to retreat northward. Five days after their defeat, the Austrians asked for an armistice which was soon followed by the definitive peace of Vienna.

**423. Peace of Vienna (October 14, 1809); Character of Napoleon's War with Austria in 1809.**—In the peace signed with France at Vienna, Austria made the following important cessions of territory: (1) she lost the city of Salzburg and some of her western districts of Bavaria; (2) she turned over Galicia in part to Russia and in part to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; (3) she ceded Carniola and Upper Carinthia to Napoleon. She was deprived by this peace of access to the Adriatic Sea and lost four million subjects, about one-sixth of her population.

The campaign of Napoleon against Austria in 1809 was his last victorious campaign. It differed from the wars which he had previously waged in central Europe in important respects, particularly in the fact that the great emperor triumphed only with difficulty over the enemy's tenacious resistance. The national sentiment of Austria had been aroused and inspired her soldiers with a hitherto unknown ardor. A contemporary writing from Vienna summed up the whole situation thus: "In 1805, the war was in the government, not in the army, nor in the people; in 1809 it was wanted by the government, by the army, and by the people." That this was the case was evident especially in Tyrol where a national leader, *Andreas Hofer*, arose and successfully fought the French for a time only to be later captured and shot.

**424. Napoleon at War with Russia (1812).**—The Peace of Vienna was the high-water mark of the power of Napoleon, who for two years remained master of continental Europe. However, the empire which he had created in a remarkably short time collapsed even more rapidly than it had been established. The decline began with the rupture of the alliance between Napoleon and Alexander I.

Among the causes which brought about the breach were: (1) the lukewarmness, amounting almost to indifference, with which Russia supported France in 1809 against Austria; (2) the harmful consequences of the continental blockade; (3) the constant territorial expansion of the Napoleonic empire; (4) the fear of the restoration of Poland aroused in Russia by the growing power of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw.

The negotiations between the two emperors to adjust their differences lasted for a considerable time, but produced no satisfactory results, and war ensued between Russia and France. In the conflict the czar had as allies England and Sweden, whereas Austria and Prussia were Napoleon's reluctant partners.

**425. Napoleon's Advance into Russia.**—For his Russian campaign which lasted about six months (June 24–December 15, 1812), Napoleon could rely on 680,000 men stationed in Germany and Poland. These troops were not exclusively, nor even in majority, composed of Frenchmen, but belonged to the various nationalities of western and central Europe, and were appropriately designated by the Russians as the "army of twenty nations."

In the early summer of 1812, Napoleon crossed the Russian frontier with 400,000 men and 1,000 guns. The measures he had taken for the provisioning and maintenance in the field of this enormous force were altogether insufficient. Even on the march to Moscow, this deficient organization resulted in the spread of sickness and the disregard of discipline among the troops. Despite such ominous warnings of possible disaster, the emperor advanced with imprudent

and intemperate precipitancy into the heart of Russia, defeated the enemy at *Smolensk* and *Borodino* and on September 14, 1812, entered *Moscow*.

He had hoped that the occupation of their ancient capital would determine the Russians to enter into peace negotiations. Should they continue the war, his army was to take up winter quarters in the city and enjoy rest and plenty, while he was preparing the plans for a decisive spring campaign.

**426. Napoleon's Retreat from Moscow.**—Russian patriotism, however, ruined all Napoleon's hopes and defeated all his plans, for the Russians, choosing the lesser of two evils, set fire to Moscow to force him to retreat. It was only with the greatest reluctance and after spending a month amidst the ruins of the Russian capital, that the emperor, yielding to the inevitable, issued the order for a general retirement. To his misfortune his army again passed through the countries which, in its advance, it had stripped of all supplies. The rigors of the northern winter also soon made themselves felt, so that after a short time all discipline broke down among the troops.

The last great exploit of the Grand Army was the conquest of a passage over the Beresina River. Despite the attacks of numerous Russian troops, the French effected a successful crossing owing mainly to the irresistible dash of Marshal Ney. This success was almost immediately followed by indescribable disorder among the soldiers of the proudest army the world had yet seen; only small detachments, ragged, emaciated and frost-bitten, continued to retreat westward.

After the crossing of the Beresina, Napoleon left the army and hurried to France to levy new troops. When the disastrous retreat was complete, nothing remained of the magnificent army which he had led into Russia. Even those who returned to their homes arrived there, in most instances, only with seriously impaired health. The disaster was overwhelming and irretrievable. Austria and Prussia, whose

troops had covered the flanks of Napoleon's advancing army, hastened to conclude an armistice with Russia.

**427. Napoleon raises a new Army.**—Napoleon, in a brief space of time, raised a new army of 500,000 men. It was composed mostly of inexperienced youths below the age of twenty who fought with the bravery of heroes, but lacked the efficiency of seasoned troops. The emperor, despite his genius, no longer succeeded in organizing the irresistible armies of earlier years. Even the veterans of former campaigns ceased to be the disciplined, reliable soldiers of old, and weariness of war manifested itself among the officers in the highest commands.

The emperor himself no longer possessed the same capacity for work. He was at times overpowered by sleep, notably during the battle of Leipzig, and was already suffering from that disease of the stomach which was eventually to prove fatal. Even after the disastrous Russian campaign, he won numerous victories; but none of these produced lasting results, because, insufficiently supplied as he was with cavalry, he could not pursue and destroy the defeated enemy. Despite his reverses and losses he did not moderate his insatiable ambition and repeatedly refused to accept favorable terms offered by the allies.

**428. The Sixth Coalition; the War of Liberation; the Battle of Leipzig, or Battle of the Nations (October 16–18, 1813).**—While Napoleon was raising new armies, the sixth coalition, embracing England, Russia, Prussia, Sweden and later Austria, was formed against him. The war of 1813 followed, in which Prussia played a particularly active part. She had undergone a general reorganization, was ready for a war for the liberation of her territory, and rose to a man at the enthusiastic appeal of her patriots, which forced even her indolent and irresolute king to action.

However, the initial successes even of this war were won by Napoleon. They were followed by fruitless peace negotiations in which he still showed his ambition for universal

domination. The decisive battle between him and the allies was fought at Leipzig. The soldiers who took part in it represented so many races that the battle has been called the "Battle of the Nations." The fighting began on the sixteenth and was decided against Napoleon on the eighteenth of October, 1813. His army, although not destroyed, was short of ammunition and was ordered to retreat on the night of the eighteenth of October. The French now recrossed the Rhine and were soon followed by the pursuing troops of the allies.

**429. The Allies invade France; Napoleon abdicates and is banished to Elba (1814).**—The war waged in Germany in 1813 was followed by a campaign in France in 1814. Napoleon with a small number of young and unseasoned troops performed prodigies of valor, won numerous engagements, but could not prevent the enemy from reaching and entering Paris (March 31, 1814). A provisional government was now organized, and the emperor's deposition proclaimed. Napoleon shortly afterward abdicated unconditionally.

The allies allowed him to retain the title of emperor, assigned to him the island of Elba, situated between Corsica and Italy, as an independent principality, and imposed on France the obligation of paying him an annual pension of two million francs. They restored the Bourbon dynasty in France and concluded with Louis XVIII, a brother of Louis XVI, the First Treaty of Paris. According to its provisions, France was to revert to her boundaries of 1792 and a congress was to meet in Vienna for the reconstruction of Europe.

**430. Napoleon returns from Elba (March 1, 1815).**—At Elba Napoleon followed attentively the course of political events in Europe. He was aware, on the one hand, of the divisions which crept up among the allies in the negotiations at Vienna and, on the other, of Louis XVIII's intrigues to secure his deportation as a prisoner to some unknown island in the Atlantic Ocean.

Under these circumstances the restless Corsican decided

"The Last Days of Napoleon I"
From the Original Marble Statue by Vincenzo Vela
*Courtesy of the Corcoran Gallery of Art.*

to leave Elba, succeeded in effecting his escape unnoticed and landed in southern France with more than a thousand followers on March 1, 1815. As almost all the French troops which were sent against him passed over to his side, he was able to reach Paris without firing a shot and Louis XVIII sought safety in flight.

Napoleon, in order firmly to establish his power, gave the French people a share in the government and endeavored to win the good will of Russia and Austria. But some districts in France took up arms against him, and the allied powers assembled in Vienna formed the seventh coalition and proclaimed him "the foe and disturber of the peace of the world." A last war followed between him and Europe.

**431. Napoleon is defeated at Waterloo (June 18, 1815) and deported to St. Helena.**—Napoleon at once took the offensive against his enemies and marched into Belgium where the English under Wellington and the Prussians under Blücher formed the advance troops of the allied armies. His aim was to throw himself between the Prussians and the English and to defeat them separately, driving Blücher back toward the Rhine and pushing Wellington westward toward the sea. This Belgian campaign lasted only from the fifteenth to the eighteenth of June. On June 16, Napoleon attacked Blücher at *Ligny* and defeated, but did not, as he had hoped, crush the Prussian army. Two days later he attacked Wellington at *Waterloo*. The battle was hard fought and still undecided when toward evening Blücher appeared with his troops and fell on the French right flank. The struggle ended with the rout and destruction of the French army.

Napoleon hurried to Paris and was forced to sign a second abdication. In order to avoid capture, he intended to leave for the United States, but unable to escape the English blockading vessels, he threw himself on the generosity of the only adversary whom he had never been able to conquer and boarded the English warship Bellerophon. Declared a

prisoner of war by the allied powers, he was deported to St. Helena, where he was held until the end of his life in mild but strictly guarded captivity. He occupied his time with the dictation of his memoirs, reading, chess and other pastimes. On May 5, 1821, the most active and extraordinary life recorded in modern history came to an end.

Louis XVIII was brought back to Paris by the allied powers and signed a new treaty of peace. In this Second Treaty of Paris, concluded on November 20, 1815, France was reduced to her boundaries of 1790. After all the Napoleonic victories, France was thus smaller in territorial extent than before the revolution.

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# FOURTH EPOCH OF MODERN HISTORY

## FROM THE DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON I TO THE WORLD WAR (1815–1914)

**432. General Statement.**—The principal characteristics of the period extending from the fall of Napoleon to the outbreak of the World War may be summed up in a few words. It was a time (1) of social and political progress toward democracy; (2) of widespread educational endeavors; (3) of numberless scientific and industrial inventions; (4) of excessive nationalism; (5) of unprecedented commercial and industrial progress; (6) of enormous national armaments.

The doctrines of equality, liberty, and nationality popularized by the French Revolution, were after some years of unreasonable and unsuccessful opposition, applied gradually in public life. In the name of these principles, social and class distinctions were obliterated little by little and increasing rights were granted to women in many countries. The civil government fell gradually under the control of the people and became, through universal suffrage, more and more democratic. As through the Renaissance individual thought was given prominence and as through the Protestant Revolt individual conscience was, wrongly indeed, proclaimed supreme, so, through the French Revolution, individual political right was asserted. The ballot, placed in every person's hand, made him a factor to be reckoned with in civil and political life. Rulers were forced to share their power with their people and monarchies from being absolute became constitutional. To the individual's domestic and religious responsibilities were added new civic duties and new political rights.

Such a fetish did individualism become that certain politicians would consider the majority of individual votes or wills as absolutely supreme and settle all questions in accordance with it. It is plain, however, that individual

and majority remain subject to the law of God and must take their decisions in conformity with it. No more in politics than in religion can either individual or majority reach and enforce its decisions without reference to higher law or authority. Excessive individualism leads in religion through Protestantism to disintegration; in politics to Bolshevism and tyranny; in both to anarchy and confusion.

The increased popular responsibilities made acquaintance with current questions and problems imperative. This need partly accounts for the enormous increase in educational facilities and the wide diffusion of knowledge since 1815. The practical tendencies and numerous inventions of the age turned this education into eminently practical and scientific channels.

The vivid interest of the individual in persons of his own inclinations, customs, tendencies and language produced the excessive nationalism of this epoch. People were no longer satisfied with the governments which historical or fortuitous circumstances had given them. They voiced their national aspirations in demands for autonomy or independence. As a consequence, the wars of this time were to a great extent national wars. They were brought about by racial hatred and national rivalry together with industrial competition and commercial expansion. Nations now sought colonies, no longer because they wished to spread the Gospel of Christ, but because they were intent on selling their wares wherever there was a market for them.

As, amidst the prevalent national rivalries and the unrelenting commercial competition, little regard was had for justice in public life, force, based on military and naval strength, became too often the deciding factor in the settlement of international questions. A new evil, militarism, made its appearance and not only imposed almost unbearable burdens on nations, but was also a constant menace to the peace of the world.

## CHAPTER XXI

### EUROPE IMMEDIATELY AFTER NAPOLEON'S DOWNFALL

**433. The Congress of Vienna (November 1, 1814, to June 9, 1815).**—To reconstruct the map of Europe after Napoleon's defeat, a Congress of the Powers convened at Vienna in 1814. An imposing array of royalty and diplomats was present, but the Congress was never formally opened and no plenary session was ever held. As a consequence, while people speak of the Congress of Vienna, it is truer to say that no such congress ever met. All the work was done by commissions and not by the Congress as a body. In 1815, the deliberations were interrupted by Napoleon's sudden escape from Elba, but the settlements already arrived at were then signed and the Congress brought to a close.

The aim of the diplomats who met in Vienna was to undo the work of Napoleon and to destroy the influence of the Revolution which had preceded him. They disregarded the principles of individual equality, popular liberty, and national rights and sought, as far as possible, to restore pre-revolutionary conditions by basing themselves on the principle of legitimacy. In effecting a settlement of the many perplexing problems which came under consideration, they took into account the services rendered by the different countries to Napoleon or to his enemies. The fallen emperor's allies were to be penalised, his adversaries, each and all, were to be rewarded. As for France, she was to be excluded from among the great powers at the Congress. However, owing to the shrewdness of her representative, she wielded considerable influence over its decisions.

**434. Representation at the Congress.**—Emperor Francis I of Austria acted as host to the following illustrious guests: Emperor Alexander I of Russia, the Kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Denmark, and many other minor

rulers. The chief cause of the Congress, Napoleon, was not present, but in exile, while the fate of so many lands once in his possession was being decided.

Among the plenipotentiaries, Count Nesselrode represented Russia; Lord Castlereagh, England; Prince Von Hardenberg, Prussia; Cardinal Consalvi, the Pope; and Talleyrand, France. Prince Metternich, the celebrated statesman whose spirit controlled the Congress and, to a considerable extent, the first half of the nineteenth century, was the Austrian representative. Another Austrian, Von Gentz, was secretary to the Congress.

**435. The Territorial Settlement made by the Congress of Vienna.**—The Congress agreed on territorial changes which affected the different countries as follows: (1) France, roughly speaking, was reduced to her pre-Revolutionary boundaries. In order to prevent further aggressions, she was hedged in by a buffer-barrier of strong secondary states: (*a*) on the northeast by the Kingdom of the Netherlands, comprising the present Holland and Belgium; (*b*) on the east by the Swiss Confederation whose neutrality was guaranteed by the European powers; (*c*) on the south by the Kingdom of Sardinia.

2. England made no territorial acquisitions in Europe, but retained some important colonies, which she had wrested from France and her allies, the Netherlands and Spain, during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. Among these acquisitions was the important Cape Colony in South Africa.

3. Prussia acquired territory in eastern Germany (part of Saxony) and particularly in western Germany (Westphalia, Rhenish Prussia).

4. Austria abandoned her rights to the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium), and acquired in exchange Dalmatia, Lombardy and Venetia. The latter two provinces became known as the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom.

5. Russia added to her possessions Finland, taken from Sweden, Bessarabia, taken from Turkey, and the Grand

Duchy of Warsaw, which became the short-lived Kingdom of Poland under Russian suzerainty.

6. All the German states were organized on the basis on which Napoleon had organized them in the Confederation of the Rhine. They were united in a loose federation known as the German Confederation. The Kingdoms of Bavaria, Saxony and Wurtemberg kept the royal titles conferred on them by Napoleon, and Hanover was raised to the same dignity in favor of the British royal family.

7. In Italy the Papal States were restored, and the peninsula was again divided into numerous petty states such as were in existence before the Revolution.

8. In the north, Norway was taken from Denmark and annexed to Sweden in reward for Sweden's resistance to Napoleon.

9. The Kingdoms of Portugal and Spain reverted to their lawful sovereigns.

**436. The Near-Eastern Question and the Congress.**—The Emperor Alexander of Russia wished to include in the acts of the Congress certain stipulations concerning the Turkish Empire. As the Congress had decreed the suppression of the slave trade, he contended that it should perform a similar task in southeastern Europe by putting an end to the excesses committed by the Turks against the Christians. The Christian nations, he urged, were bound to protect the Christians in Turkey, and Russia was the logical protector of the Greek Christians as France was the actual protector of the Catholics in the Ottoman States.

The Congress was asked to grant Russia the permanent right to intervene in favor of the Greeks in Turkey. Such a concession would virtually have given the czar a free hand in the dominions of the sultan. England was opposed to Russia's pretensions. France and Austria wished to place Turkey, not under Russian supremacy, but under European control. The powers were evidently divided on this point and, so as not to draw attention to their differences, the

question, though touched upon in conversations, was not presented for public discussion.

**437. Europe and the Congress.**—The Congress of Vienna was one of the most important congresses ever held. It sought to make in Europe a permanent territorial settlement and to establish a lasting peace based on the conclusion of a general treaty. It was followed, in fact, by a long period of peace, but this was probably due more to exhaustion after twenty-three years of war than to the work of the plenipotentiaries assembled at Vienna.

These had minutely estimated the economical, agricultural, military and industrial value of the countries and their inhabitants, but had not taken into consideration their aspirations, traditions, sentiments, and customs. They had estimated the material but neglected the moral forces of Europe. They had divided Europe into a group of *states*, rather than a society of *nations*. The work of the Congress was to be largely undone owing to this neglect of the moral forces in operation.

**438. The Holy Alliance signed September 26, 1815.**—The Holy Alliance, concluded shortly after the Congress of Vienna, was, like the League of Nations of our own day, an attempt to provide a durable peace for a war-weary world. But unlike the covenant of the League of Nations, in which the name of God is not mentioned, the treaty of the Holy Alliance contains nothing else than a declaration of religious truths and moral precepts. Originated by King Frederic William, the Holy Alliance was mainly the work of Czar Alexander I, and was first signed by the emperors of Austria and Russia and the King of Prussia. In the treaty the three sovereigns expressed their conviction that the policies of all governments ought to be based on the sublime truths taught by the eternal religion of the God-Savior. They proclaimed it to be their unalterable determination to follow in their decisions only the precepts of this holy religion, which are precepts of justice, charity, and peace. They resolved to

EUROPE
after the Congress of Vienna, 1816
House of Bourbon
Spanish Bourbons
Italian Bourbons
Hapsburg
Guelphs
Hohenzollern
Savoy
Wettin
Wittelsbach
Denmark
German Confederation
IRELAND
Dublin
Liverpool
Manchester
NORTH SEA
ENGLAND
Birmingham
London
HOLLAND
Antwerp
BELGIUM
Brussels
Waterloo
Boulogne
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Amiens
Brest
Seine
Paris
Fontainebleau
Orleans
Loire
Nantes
Strasburg
Luneville
Basel
Zurich
Berne
SWITZERLAND
FRANCE
Rochefort
Lyons
Geneva
Bordeaux
Bayonne
Santander
Avignon
Toulouse
Perpeluna
Saragossa
Madrid
SPAIN
Barcelona
Valencia
Granada
Ceuta
Algiers
Oran
AFRICA
Tunis
MAJORCA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CORSICA
SARDINIA
Marseilles
Toulon
Genoa
Milan
KGM. OF SARDINIA
Marengo
Savona
Parma
Mantua
Venice
TUSCANY
PAPAL STATES
Elba
Rome
Naples
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
Messina
ADRIATIC SEA
DALMATIA
Trieste
Laibach
Carinthia
Carniola
Leoben
TYROL
AUSTRIA
Munich
Hohenlinden
Ulm
Danube
Vienna
Wagram
Presburg
Austerlitz
Prague
GERMAN CONFEDERATION
Cablentz
Aberstadt
Jena
Leipzig
Berlin
WEST PHALIA
HANOVER
HESSE
Rhine
KGM. OF SAXONY
Hamburg
MECKLENBURG
POMERANIA
Elbe
Oder
Danzig
Konigsberg
Friedland
Eylau
RUSSIA
Warsaw
KGM. OF POLAND
Cracow
GALICIA
Pesth
Klausenburg
Szegedin
TRANSYLVANIA
HUNGARY
Temesvar
Belgrade
Bucharest
Danube
Sofia
TURKISH EMPIRE
Adrianople
Constantinople
Saloniki
Smyrna
Anguria
Athens
GREECE
Corinth
CRETE
BLACK SEA
Dniester
Odessa
CRIMEA
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300
Longitude 5° East from 10° Greenwich 15°

look upon one another as compatriots and to remain united by the indissoluble ties of true brotherhood.

The friendly and peaceful relations between the sovereigns were to exist also among their subjects. These were to consider themselves as members of one family. The ties of a mutual affection were to bind them together and prompt them to mutual helpfulness. Nor was this alliance to be confined to the three original states which signed it. All the powers willing to acknowledge these principles would receive an affectionate welcome into it. As the first signers were one a Catholic, another a schismatic, and the third a heretic, it could reasonably be hoped that others might join the union. To the signatures of the above-mentioned rulers were, in fact, soon added those of Louis XVIII and of the Prince-Regent of England.

**439. Misgivings aroused by and Use made of the Holy Alliance.**—The conclusion of the Holy Alliance seemed to foreshadow a new crusade against the Turks, thus realizing a dream of the czar. So strong was this impression in some circles that the Sublime Porte, after the publication of the treaty, became alarmed and asked for explanations in Vienna and London. On the other hand, the Liberals of all countries looked upon the treaty as a signal for the opening of a general campaign of repression against themselves and their ideas.

In reality, the document was drawn up neither for the suppression of Turkey nor for the restriction of the liberties of the people. It merely gave expression to the *mystical sentiments* of the Emperor Alexander. The intentions of the three sovereigns who first signed it were upright; but, under Metternich's influence, the Holy Alliance became in reality a league of the kings against the people. The kings continued as absolute monarchs and the people remained as powerless politically as under the old regime.

Shortly after the conclusion of the Holy Alliance, a plan was evolved and adopted which called for the holding of

congresses at stated times. At these meetings political questions of general European interest were to be discussed and means devised for the maintenance of peace. The plan was carried out for a time, and with the Congress of Vienna there opened a series of European congresses.

**440. Metternich and the Principle of Intervention.**— Among the factors which shaped the history of the time, two, a man and a principle, merit especial attention: the Austrian Chancellor Metternich and the right of intervention. Metternich's influence was preponderant for an approximate period of eight years. The political system applied in Europe from 1815 to 1822 still goes under the name of the *Metternich system.*

Despite this unusual power wielded by him, Metternich was neither a great statesman nor a politician endowed with extraordinary talents. Few men, however, have had a more exaggerated idea of their own importance. Contemporaneous diplomats were in his eyes men of insignificant merit, whereas he was God's lieutenant, the luminary that shed its brilliancy for the benefit of mankind, a moral power, the absence of which would be keenly missed if it should fail.

He was the sworn enemy of the Revolution, and declared himself the champion of the old order of things. The Revolution he styled a sickness, a volcano, a fire which threatened to consume everything, to destroy the whole social order.

One of Metternich's pet theories was the right of intervention. According to him, *isolated states*, such as had existed in antiquity, had disappeared and had been replaced by a *society of states*. In this society each individual state had its particular interests, but was bound to the other states by general interests. Each state, as member of this society, ought to have for its motto: "Do not unto another what thou dost not wish to be done unto thee."

This society of states, he further held, must maintain a just equilibrium among all its members. If one of them seeks to rise above the others, becomes warlike and attempts

to usurp power; or if its internal condition becomes a danger to the security of the other states, these, in virtue of the principle of solidarity, enjoy the right of *intervention.*

**441. The Congress of Troppau-Laibach (1820–1821).**—A revolution which broke out in Spain in 1820 reminded the European sovereigns of their agreement to meet from time to time for the discussion of international affairs. England, however, was now opposed to the calling of a congress, and Austria manifested a similar disposition. But when the revolution in Spain was followed by an insurrection in the Kingdom of Naples, Metternich, fearing for Austrian interests in Italy, considered the holding of a new congress a necessity. It met at Troppau, and later continued its work at Laibach.

At the deliberations it became apparent that the powers were not in agreement as to the manner in which the above revolutions ought to be dealt with. The countries with absolute rulers, like Austria, Prussia, and Russia, were opposed to constitutional government and favored armed intervention for the defense of absolutism. France and England, owing partly to interest and partly to conviction, were averse to the maintenance of absolute rule by the sword. The congress by a majority vote, nevertheless, sanctioned armed Austrian intervention in the Kingdom of Naples.

**442. The Congress of Verona (1822); the Monroe Doctrine Proclaimed (December 2, 1823).**—Another congress was held in Verona in Italy in 1822. It was called to discuss Italian affairs; but considered, in fact, the situation created by the Spanish revolution. Despite England's opposition, it decreed armed intervention in Spain, and France subsequently carried out this decision (1823).

More important in its results than the French intervention in Spain was the rebellion of the Spanish-American colonies. The establishment of republics in Central and South America seemed to be a direct attack upon the divine right of kings as believed in by the autocrats of Europe. After the suppres-

sion of the revolution in Spain the latter country, supported by France, wished to refer the colonial question to a congress in order to secure European help in stamping out the revolution. But no congress was held, and Europe did not intervene owing to the opposition of England and to the attitude assumed by the United States. England saw in the freedom of the Spanish-American colonies her own commercial advantage.

The United States, after some hesitation, not only recognized the governments of the new republics (1822), but President Monroe embodied in his annual message to Congress the remarkable passages which have become known as the Monroe Doctrine (December 2, 1823). This doctrine may be summed up as follows: (1) The United States will not interfere in the internal concerns of any European country. (2) It will not interfere with the American colonies of any foreign power. (3) If any European government attempts, at any future time, to extend its political system to any part of this hemisphere the United States will interfere. (4) The American continents are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for colonization by any European Power. This momentous declaration has since formed the subject of innumerable discussions, but at the time of its publication, it attracted little attention.

**443. The Congress of St. Petersburg and the Disruption of the Holy Alliance (1825).**—French intervention in Spain was the last armed expedition carried out in the name of the Holy Alliance. When the expedition was undertaken, considerable differences of opinion already divided the powers. France interfered without enthusiasm and after some delay. England was so opposed to intervention that, according to her prime minister, she did not resist this unwarranted aggression solely because she stood alone among the powers.

Turkish affairs not only increased the existing discord but completed the disruption of the alliance by separating Russia from Austria and Prussia. As the Emperor Alexander

I was unsuccessful in having the Oriental question discussed at the Congress of Vienna, he sought to have it settled at a special congress at St. Petersburg in 1823. But owing to the procrastination of Austria and England, the delegates assembled only in 1825. Even then the sessions lacked the solemnity of former congresses, and the czar was the only crowned head present. The assembly agreed that the Porte would be requested to grant satisfactory reforms to its subjects, and that in case of refusal the powers would offer their mediation. There was no question of any concerted action or of any means of coercion to force upon the Turks the decisions of Europe.

The year in which this conference of St. Petersburg was held, Alexander I died and was succeeded by Nicholas I (December 1, 1825). The latter's absolutist instincts seemed to make him a natural associate of Metternich and a logical upholder of the Holy Alliance. He was, however, a nationalist rather than a dreamer: the particular interests of Russia came in his mind before the general interests of the various states. As economic interests detached England from the Holy Alliance, so a nationalist policy brought about Russia's defection. Nicholas I pursued his aim of weakening Turkey regardless of the principles proclaimed by the Holy Alliance. With his accession to the throne of Russia, the Holy Alliance passed from the domain of actual fact to that of memory.

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## CHAPTER XXII

### FRANCE FROM 1815 TO 1914

**444. France since 1815.**—The history of France from 1815 to 1914 presents a record of numerous changes of dynasties and forms of government. This frequent shifting from system to system is accounted for by deep seated political divisions in the nation. The country was a constitutional state during this whole period; but even the constitution underwent frequent and radical modifications. In the comparatively short period of a century France was successively a monarchy (either Bourbon or Orleanist), a republic, an empire, and again a republic. These different forms of government had and still have today their respective supporters: royalists, Bonapartists and republicans.

The attitude assumed by the party in power toward religion increased the divisions in the public life of the nation. Some governments protected the Catholic religion and promoted its worship, whereas the present republic was, for a while, extremely hostile to the Catholic Church and even to all forms of Christianity.

**445. France from 1815 to 1848.**—After Napoleon's abdication, France was governed for thirty-three years by a constitutional monarchy—that is, by kings whose power was limited by the *charter*, as the French constitution was then called. The reigns of the three sovereigns of this time, Louis XVIII (1815–1824), Charles X (1824–1830), and Louis Philip (1830–1848) were not conspicuous by their influence abroad. These rulers devoted their energy to the internal affairs of the kingdom, so that, with the exception of the conquest of Algeria, no event of importance has to be recorded in external affairs.

The reigns of Louis XVIII and of Charles X are known as the *Restoration*, or the period during which an attempt was

made to restore, more or less completely, the old order of things. It came to an end with the *July Revolution* in 1830, when the aristocratic monarchy, the rule of the nobility, was overthrown to be replaced by the rule of the middle class (bourgeoisie) with Louis Philip of Orleans as king (hence "roi bourgeois" or "citizen-king").

## I. France under the Restoration (1815–1830)

**446. The Government's Difficult Task under the Restoration; Louis XVIII (1815–1824).**—The task of governing France after Napoleon was an extremely difficult one, owing to both external and internal circumstances. Louis XVIII, although the lawful heir to the French throne, was imposed on France by the allies, her enemies, the same allies who had defeated the French armies and banished the great French emperor. A foreign army was to occupy French soil for a considerable period, and foreign sovereigns were to exercise supervision over French affairs. Internally, the country was rent by divisions. On the one hand, the ideas of the revolution had made considerable progress and were accepted, at least partly, by many; on the other, some royalists favored a complete restoration of the old regime.

Louis XVIII was personally in favor of a policy of reconciliation. The children of the same country, he held, should live together like brothers and sisters. This conciliatory policy was dictated to him both by his lucid mind and his love of rest. He was convinced that an attempt to restore the old pre-revolutionary system would lead to a revolution. This he dreaded and desired to avoid. For, old as he was, suffering from gout and having led the life of an exile for twenty-three years, he was averse to being subjected to another period of banishment at the age of sixty.

**447. Charles X (1824–1830).**—The Count of Artois, a brother of Louis XVIII, exerted important influence on public affairs even before he succeeded his brother as king

of France under the name of Charles X. He was uncompromisingly conservative in politics and stanchly Catholic in religious policy. Describing himself as the only man entirely uninfluenced by the revolutionary propaganda, he expressed his contempt for the constitutional monarchies in the remark that, "he would rather saw wood than reign after the fashion of the King of England." A benign Providence afforded him an opportunity to apply himself to the former menial but useful occupation after he had made a determined attempt to rule as absolute king. His opposition to all progressive measures coupled with the untimely favor which he now and then showed the Catholic religion led to a new revolution and cost him his throne in 1830.

**448. The Charter or Constitution of 1814.**—The fundamental law of 1814 was officially called a Charter, because its name harked back to the old regime. The designation carried the implication that the provisions of the instrument were not dictated by the nation to its ruler, but were gracious concessions granted by a benevolent king to his beloved people. The Charter was drafted in May, 1814, at the first return of the Bourbons to France. It remained in force under three kings from 1815 to 1848 and outlasted the Restoration.

It defined the exercise of the executive, legislative, and judicial power in the reorganized French government. Its chief merit lay in the provisions which it laid down concerning the executive and legislative departments. In the matter of justice, it maintained the Napoleonic code, thus perpetuating the work done in this department during the preceding reign.

The executive power was attributed exclusively to the king. The law-making power was placed in the hands of the king and parliament. The judicial authority was exercised by a body of officials different from both king and parliament.

The king commanded the forces of both land and sea,

declared war, signed the treaties of peace, of alliance and of commerce, appointed to state offices and took all measures necessary for the security of the country. He was assisted by responsible ministers who might be impeached by the Chamber of Deputies and judged by the House of Peers.

These two houses constituted the parliament. Their vote was requisite for the enactment of all laws, which were initiated, confirmed, and promulgated by the king. The latter enjoyed the right of convoking, proroguing and dissolving the Chamber of Deputies and that of naming the Peers whose titles were either hereditary or for life.

The Charter declared the equality of all Frenchmen before the law and their admissibility to office. It guaranteed the liberty of the individual, proclaimed freedom of worship, though it made the Catholic religion the official religion of the state, granted freedom to the press with the limitation that every one must conform to the laws enacted to suppress the abuses of this liberty. It declared irrevocable the sale of national property and abolished conscription, which had become so hateful under the empire.

The Charter undoubtedly contained some excellent provisions, but, owing to the property qualification which it required of electors, it excessively restricted the share of the people in the government. The suffrage was in reality granted only to about 90,000 persons.

**449. Political Parties under the Restoration; the Constitutionalists.**—Three political parties were formed after the promulgation of the charter or constitution. All three can be easily distinguished by their attitude toward the document. (1) Some Frenchmen accepted the charter as satisfactory; they formed the constitutionalist or doctrinaire party; (2) some opposed the charter, considering its concessions excessive; they were the Ultra-Royalists; (3) others rejected it, holding that its concessions were insufficient; they were called the Independents.

The Constitutionalists looked upon the charter as an

excellent instrument of government under the circumstances. They were nicknamed *doctrinaires* owing to the sententious and dogmatic tone of their leading orators and most distinguished writers. They sincerely undertook the work of reconciliation between France of the old regime and France of the revolution, seeking to induce the privileged classes to acknowledge the new political and social order and to win over the middle class to a recognition of the Restoration. True monarchists of the old type, they considered the king superior to the people and held that parliament could impose no ministers on him.

The party was made up of some members of the aristocracy, many former revolutionists and officials of the empire, and a large number of representatives of the higher middle class. This latter element constituted the majority in the party.

**450. The Ultra-Royalists.**—The Ultra-Royalists favored absolute power in the king and advocated the restriction of popular liberties. They were more royalist than the king by conviction, sentiment, and interest. They demanded the appointment to public office of men chosen from their own ranks, called for the restoration to the original owners of the properties confiscated by the revolution, and insisted on the repression of all revolutionary sentiment. The party was recruited from the aristocracy and the clergy, the two classes which had suffered most from the revolution.

**451. The Independents.**—The Independents found fault with the origin, character, and contents of the Charter. Believers in the principle of popular sovereignty they contended that the constitution should originate with the people and not be bestowed by a king upon his so-called subjects. Owing to its conservative character, the charter was in their eyes a worthless document which granted insignificant rights to the people. They fought valiantly for increased liberties, particularly for greater freedom of the press.

Many of them secretly favored the overthrow of the Bour-

bons as intruders imposed on France by foreign forces. The party was very numerous and included in its membership noblemen, Bonapartists, republicans, and, for obvious reasons, the purchasers of national property, and the patriots dissatisfied with the peace conditions imposed on France. All these elements rallied around the tricolor of the revolution rather than the white flag of the Bourbons.

**452. Political discussions under the Restoration.**—While it was difficult to frame a constitution satisfactory to the majority of Frenchmen, it was still more difficult to execute the provisions of the document accepted more or less willingly by the nation. Lively, heated, even violent political discussions ensued; they took place in the parliament, the newspapers, and contemporary literature, and divided the country into hostile factions. The two topics chiefly responsible for these differences were the electoral system and the press regulations.

Concerning these two points the constitution laid down only general principles without specifying how these were to be worked out in practise. The conditions for being an elector were specified, but it was not stated that every elector should have only one vote. That an election was to be held was stated, but the place and manner in which it should be held were passed over in silence. Was it to be held in every locality or only in capitals of districts, was the vote to be secret or public? Different laws were enacted to settle these questions and produced different electoral results.

A masterpiece of indefinite and vague statement was the law concerning the liberty of the press. This liberty was apparently proclaimed, but in reality was not granted at the beginning of the Restoration. Every publication was subject to censorship and a composition in which the "name of the usurper" (Napoleon) was mentioned might mean five years in prison or 20,000 francs fine for its author.

**453. Popular Outbursts; Legal Proceedings.**—The heated political discussions give only an imperfect idea of the

excitement and antagonism prevailing in France at this time. Feeling ran so high that an Ultra-Royalist deputy asked that irons and executioners be used against his political enemies. Violent outbursts of popular fury occurred, in fact, in southern France and became known as the White Terror. The name was derived from the followers of the white flag of the monarchy who in several cities massacred the Bonapartists.

Besides these lawless manifestations, judicial proceedings were instituted against officials and officers of the revolutionary and Napoleonic period. The "Regicides," that is, the deputies who voted for the death of Louis XVI, were banished. Several generals were court-martialed and shot; others escaped punishment by flight. Marshal Ney, "the bravest of the brave," was the most illustrious victim. He was sentenced to death and shot for having supported and fought for Napoleon after the latter's return from Elba: it was a juridically just sentence, but an egregious political blunder and, considered from a patriotic standpoint, it was a crime.

**454. Increasing Discontent with the Government; Dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies.**—As years passed increasing discontent with the government manifested itself under the Restoration. Matters reached a crisis when in 1829 Charles X chose an ultra-conservative ministry. The announcement of its creation aroused strong opposition in constitutionalist circles. The press and orators of this party were not only dissatisfied with the ministry but feared the enactment of restrictive measures and considered the very existence of the charter in danger. Some politicians came to the conclusion that a loyal application of the constitution could not be hoped for from the Bourbons; and Talleyrand, in agreement with two young journalists, *Thiers* and *Mignet*, initiated a clever propaganda in favor of the Duke of Orleans.

When the Chamber of Deputies convened in 1830, the

Address of the Two Hundred and Twenty-One was drawn up, signed and presented to the king. It was a frank declaration of the absence of unity and cooperation between the people and the government. The address was signed, as the name indicates, by 221 deputies as against 81 non-signers. The king answered by first pronouncing the prorogation and then the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies.

**455. The King signs the Ordinances and is driven from the Throne by the July Revolution (1830).**—A new election was held but turned out unfavorably to the government, increasing the opposition from 221 to 270 deputies. A few days after the election, the king signed the *Ordinances* which were to be the immediate cause of the revolution. In issuing them, he based himself on the fourteenth article of the charter which conferred upon him the right of "framing the rules and ordinances necessary for the execution of the laws and the security of the state." The first of the four ordinances suppressed the liberty of the press, the second pronounced the dissolution of the Chamber, the third altered the electoral law, the fourth stated the date of the new election and of the meeting of the Chamber.

These ordinances provoked a revolution in Paris which in four days swept away the Bourbon monarchy (July 26–29; hence *July Revolution*). The journalists of the opposition refused to abide by these new regulations, the judges and lawyers proclaimed them illegal, and the people, preparing for armed resistance, threw up barricades in the streets of Paris. The government taken unawares was woefully unprepared to cope with such oppposition although the king affected quiet and security. Some of the troops used for the defense of the throne passed over to the insurrectionists, so that government and dynasty were overthrown almost before they realized the real danger of the situation.

When Charles X announced the repeal of the ordinances and his willingness to call a liberal ministry, it was too late.

A provisional government had already been constituted and La Fayette was at the head of the military forces of Paris. The Duke of Orleans was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom and wrote to Charles X that he accepted only temporary power. In reality he became King Louis Philip I. Charles X abdicated in favor of his grandson and proceeded to England never to return.

## II. France under Louis Philip (1830–1848)

**456. Louis Philip; the Constitution; the New King's Policy.**—The reign of Louis Philip is also known as the July Monarchy from the circumstances in which the new king secured the crown. He was the son of that Duke of Orleans, who, surnamed Philip Egalité (Equality), voted during the Revolution for the death of his cousin Louis XVI. Louis Philip was fifty-seven years old when he came to the throne. He did not promulgate a new constitution, but accepted the existing charter as revised and presented to him by parliament. The modifications introduced into the document were few and insignificant in appearance, but of profound importance in fact.

The title of King of France was changed to King of the French in order to express the free acceptance of the monarch by the people. The Catholic religion was declared to be the religion of the majority of Frenchmen instead of being kept as the official religion of the state. The right to initiate legislation, hitherto exclusively reserved to the king, was conferred upon the parliament. The requisite age for an elector was reduced from thirty to twenty-five years. The fourteenth article on which Charles X's famous ordinances were based was so thoroughly revised as to preclude all possibility of any similar occurrence.

Although he accepted the constitution from the people and called himself "citizen-king," Louis Philip nevertheless considered himself above the nation and entitled to a preponderant influence in the government. His policy may be

summed up thus: personal government and maintenance of existing conditions, that is, government of the king and by the king without further concessions to the nation. Prudent and skilful, he concealed his real intentions for a time, and, after several years of incessant struggle, he realized from 1840 to the end of the reign his very purpose of being master in the kingdom.

**457. Division of Louis Philip's Reign.**—The reign of Louis Philip, during which the upper middle class controlled the government, naturally falls into two parts, the first of which (1830–1840) was a decade of unrest and disturbances, the second (1840–1848) a period of apparent calm and internal peace.

During the first period the king had to defend himself against the insurrectionist tendencies of the opposition. Various disturbances occurred in the kingdom, some due to the Legitimists or upholders of the "Legitimate" dynasty of the Bourbons, others organized by the republicans or opponents of all dynasties. The disturbances caused by the republicans bore at once an anti-monarchical and anti-Catholic character. In the face of the serious difficulties besetting him, Louis Philip resorted to numerous changes of ministries, choosing eleven different ministries in ten years.

During the second period, the agitation against the government was less violent and the prevailing discontent less apparent. The king, carrying out his personal programme, maintained existing institutions, but made no new concessions to the growing democratic spirit.

Throughout the reign the National Guard was the main support of the monarchy. Created in 1831, it was chiefly recruited from the middle class and had the organization of a veritable army. So essential was its support to the July Monarchy that Louis Philip's sudden fall from power in 1848 was due to the fact that the National Guard failed him.

**458. The Political Parties; the Party of Motion and that of Resistance.**—At the beginning of the reign, the political sentiment of the country was represented by four parties:

two (the Legitimists and the Republicans) forming the opposition and two, that of motion and that of resistance, supporting the government. The party of motion or progress and the party of resistance or inertia underwent considerable change during the latter part of the reign. Their strange names were derived from their platforms and tendencies.

The party of *Motion* favored progressive steps toward a more complete realization of democratic ideals. The July Revolution was, in its eyes, only a beginning of needful and desired reforms. The party of *Resistance*, on the contrary, held that the revolution came to an end with the election of a new king and that all further efforts to increase popular rights should be resisted. Its aims coincided with those of Louis Philip and of the electoral majority. Its chief leaders were *Périer*, *Guizot*, and *Thiers*, who were likewise the three celebrated ministers of the reign.

**459. The Opposition Parties: Legitimists and Republicans.**—The Legitimists and Republicans openly declared their opposition to the new dynasty. The Legitimists contended that Louis Philip had, in treacherous fashion, ravished the crown of his own cousin. The latter, called the Duke of Bordeaux, was the rightful king, Louis Philip a shameless usurper. The Republicans agreed with them as far as Louis Philip was concerned, but were opposed to any government carried on by kings. Neither the Republicans nor the Legitimists were very numerous, but the former were mostly young, energetic and resolute men; while the latter were recruited chiefly from the nobility and clergy.

**460. Two New Parties; the Catholics.**—Two new ones were formed in the course of Louis Philip's reign. They were the *Catholic* and the *Socialist* parties. Indifferent to the form of government and the person of the ruler, they pursued, each with youthful courage, a very definite aim. The Catholics demanded unrestricted freedom for their Church and the Socialists agitated for an improvement in social conditions.

The Catholic party was formed to combat the strong anti-Catholic agitation which was carried on at the beginning of Louis Philip's reign. It was organized by the famous abbé, Felicité de Lamennais. Another young priest, the Dominican Lacordaire, and an illustrious peer of the realm, Count of Montalembert, completed the leadership of the party. Lammenais was an original and forceful writer, Lacordaire a remarkable orator, and Montalembert ably served the Catholic cause both in his printed works and public speeches The ardent zeal of these three men brought about a remarkable Catholic revival, the fruits of which were reaped, particularly after the downfall of Louis Philip.

Unhappily, they were excessive in some of their demands, incautious in some of their statements, immoderate in their language, and exceedingly aggressive in their methods. They were accused of holding un-Catholic opinions in France and, when they referred their case to Rome and insisted on a decision, Pope Gregory XVI, while admiring their zeal and intentions, condemned some of their principles and methods. Lacordaire and Montalembert, as dutiful sons of the Church, submitted to the pronouncement of its supreme pastor. Lamennais, on the contrary, broke with Rome and in 1854 died outside the Catholic Church.

**461. The Socialist Party.**—Under the name of Socialists were comprised at the time all those who considered the work of the Revolution of 1789 incomplete and favored new reforms, particularly changes in the organization of society. A few members of the middle class and many of the workingmen of the large cities held these views. The Socialist party sprang from a *desire for social reform*, and this desire was born of the wretched condition of the laborer.

The Revolution of 1789 had improved the political position of the workingman by securing to some extent liberty and equality for him, but it had rendered more unbearable his *economic* condition. For it had suppressed the associations from which he could derive assistance in need and

had forbidden the establishment of trade unions. The employee was thus helpless in his relations with his employer and powerless to defend himself against the latter's greed and covetousness. Furthermore the discovery and development of modern machinery reduced both the number of necessary laborers and the salaries formerly paid. The evil, already felt under the Restoration, was aggravated in the reign of Louis Philip by the multiplication of factories and an abnormal growth of the urban population.

Some writers, like Saint-Simon, had, in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, expounded theories of an ideal organization of society. It was only in 1840, however, that such theories were popularized by Louis Blanc in his book *Labor Organization*. The merit of the work consisted in its precise though unpractical programme. Neither this nor most other socialistic works of this time dwelt upon the alleged antagonism between the capitalist and the laborer. They insisted on the need of union and cooperation among all the members of society for each individual's benefit and welfare.

According to *Labor Organization* every man has a right to work and society, viz., the state, is bound to provide work for all. The state will therefore supply the laborers with the necessary funds for the establishment, in every branch of industry, of social factories. In these factories or national workshops the workers will be their own directors and will be entitled, beside their salaries, to a part of the revenues. This program was bound to appeal to the working classes and to secure among them a considerable following.

**462. Louis Philip's Foreign Policy finds little Favor with his Subjects.**—The central aim of Louis Philip's government can be expressed in one word: peace. Peace was to be maintained both at home and abroad. As he owed his throne to revolution and had made concessions to the democratic spirit, he had no hope of winning favor with the absolute monarchies of Austria, Russia, and Prussia. As a

constitutional king, he courted the friendship of the leading parliamentary state, Great Britain. Peace with all countries and friendship with England were the paramount aims of his foreign policy. He obtained this twofold end, but only at the cost of severe criticism from his subjects.

His system of peace at any price and his alleged subserviency to the English government were roundly denounced in the press and on the public platform. The king and his ministers were accused of sacrificing French national honor and interests in their ill-advised efforts to entertain cordial relations with England. The *right of search* was the question of more general bearing on which attacks were made against the government. At the Congress of Vienna, England had carried a prohibition of the slave trade. She subsequently proposed that, in the execution of this decision, the right to search merchantmen suspected of carrying colored slaves be granted along the coast of Africa to the warships of all nations. The French government under the Restoration had rejected the proposal on the ground that, owing to the numerical superiority of the British navy, the acknowledgment of such a right would give Great Britain control over the world's shipping.

Louis Philip, on the contrary, immediately after his accession, accepted at least in part the English proposal. Excesses were soon committed by the British in searching for slaves, and were followed by numerous protests addressed to their government by French shipowners. Despite excesses a new agreement was concluded in 1841 between the two countries. It not only maintained the same right, but extended it to the whole Atlantic Ocean. The Chamber of Deputies refused to confirm the convention, but it was dissolved and the new election resulted in a victory for the government.

**463. Demands for Parliamentary and Electoral Reform; the Campaign of Banquets.**—In domestic affairs the July Monarchy, as has been said, frowned upon all democratic

progress and refused all new concessions to popular demands. As a result all the progressive elements opposed the government on this score. They demanded a reform of the parliament and a reform of the electoral system. State officials were to be ineligible for the House of Deputies because they were more conspicuous by their subserviency to the king than by their defense of the people. The electoral system was to be so changed as to include a large number of voters. The government obstinately refused all concessions on these two points.

To break its resistance the campaign of banquets was carried on in 1847. Banquets were organized throughout France at which petitions in favor of parliamentary and electoral reform were signed. At these well-attended banquets (there were 1,800 guests at one of them) speeches were delivered declaring the need of new concessions. Exquisite food and excellent wine helped the guests to a keener appreciation of, or warmer enthusiasm for, the benefits the country would derive from the proposed changes.

**464. The Campaign of Banquets leads to the Revolution of 1848.**—On February 22, 1848, a grand banquet was to be held in Paris as the crowning event of the agitation in favor of parliamentary and electoral reform. It was to be preceded by a procession to the banquet hall. On the evening of the twenty-first the government forbade both procession and banquet. A large crowd nevertheless assembled at the appointed time in the place named for the forming of the procession. The crowd was a good-natured one, and no disturbance seemed imminent. However, during the following night, barricades were erected in some streets of Paris.

The National Guard was now called out, but sided with the people rather than with the government. Obviously France had reached another crisis. The king asked for the resignation of the ministry and appointed the popular Thiers prime minister. While this caused universal satisfaction, an

unfortunate incident led to the downfall of the dynasty. A detachment of infantry, first fired upon from the crowd, returned the fire without orders and with disastrous effect. This exasperated the populace and caused a general insurrection. In the morning of February 24 the streets of Paris were covered with barricades and the capital awoke amidst the shouts of "Long live the Republic." It seemed impossible to defend the government against the insurrectionists, and Louis Philip abdicated in favor of his ten-year-old grandson, the Count of Paris. The mother of the prince was to be regent of the kingdom. However, a provisional government was established, and the prince never occupied the throne. Louis Philip left for England, where he died two years later.

**465. Some Important Laws enacted under the July Monarchy.**—The reign of Louis Philip, which, inaugurated by a revolution, was thus suddenly terminated by another revolution, was notable for the enactment of some laws which permanently influenced the history of France. To promote education, a law was passed imposing on each township the establishment and maintenance of at least one primary school.

Two other important laws were voted, with the purpose of providing better means of communication between the different parts of France. One of these increased the number and improved the condition of local roads. The other decreed the establishment of nine great trunk lines which ran from Paris to the frontiers.

These laws brought about in a short time the complete material and intellectual transformation of France. The diffusion of education enabled the people to understand more fully their rights and duties as citizens of a constitutional state. The easier means of communication and new facilities of transportation promoted agriculture, industry, and commerce, increasing enormously the prosperity of the nation.

## III. France from 1848 to 1870

**466. The Provisional Government.**—The Provisional Government proclaimed the Republic; it abolished the laws restricting the freedom of the press, decreed the election of a National Constituent Assembly, and declared that in this election every Frenchman twenty-one years old was entitled to vote and every Frenchman twenty-five years of age was eligible to membership. *Universal manhood suffrage* was now used for the first time in France, and the number of voters was raised suddenly from about 200,000 to more than 9,000,000. The Deputies were no longer the delegates of the minority, but the representatives of the people.

Quiet did not return among the populace of Paris immediately after the organization of the Provisional Government. The Socialists were particularly active and troublesome, and on their demand work was guaranteed to all citizens. In order to redeem this promise, national workshops were established. Every person who applied in these for work was granted either work or a salary. As many as 10,000 applicants presented themselves on the very first day. Although it was officially intimated that these workshops were established in fulfillment of the programme of Louis Blanc, they were in fact organized against his will. They were short-lived, and the laboring element for whose benefit they existed yielded to their suppression only after bloody encounters with the forces of the government.

**467. The Constituent Assembly (May 4, 1848–May 26, 1849).**—The Constituent Assembly succeeded the Provisional Government in power and met on May 4, 1848. Of its 900 members, the great majority were moderate republicans, about 130 were Catholics and only a few were Socialists. It gave, as its name indicates, a new constitution to France (November, 1848).

A solemn declaration, placed at the head of this constitution, defined the duties of every Frenchman to the Republic and of the Republic to every Frenchman. It was a declara-

tion of the *duties* of the citizen completing the declaration of the *rights* of man promulgated by the French Revolution. The constitution provided for the government of the country by creating a single house as the legislative power. This assembly was to be elected for three years by direct universal manhood suffrage, and could be dissolved or prorogued only by itself. The executive power was delegated to a president of the Republic, who was to be directly chosen by the people for four years and could not be reelected for an immediately following second term.

**468. Presidential Election December 10, 1848; Louis Napoleon.**—Four candidates contended for the presidency in the election which followed: (1) Lamartine who was given less than 8,000 votes; (2) Ledru-Rollin who secured almost 400,000; (3) Cavaignac who rose to about 1,500,000; and (4) Louis Napoleon Bonaparte who carried the election with 5,434,000 votes.

From 1848 until 1870 Louis Napoleon either as president or emperor controlled the destinies of France. He was a son of the former king of Holland, Louis Bonaparte, and a nephew of Napoleon I. After the death of the latter's son, he became the head of the Bonaparte family and heir to whatever rights it possessed to the French throne. In his younger days, he had joined the secret society of the Carbonari in Italy and had taken part, in 1830, in insurrections in the Papal States.

He had made two unsuccessful attempts to overthrow the July Monarchy and had been sent into exile and sentenced to imprisonment. Escaping from prison he fled to England, but returned to France at the outbreak of the revolution in 1848. He was even at this time little known in France. He spoke little, but always seemed to be absorbed in serious reflection and deep thought. His contemporaries were long deceived by these appearances and considered him a profound thinker, whereas he was little more than a superficial dreamer. He owed his success in the presidential election

to the spell exercised over the voters by the name of Napoleon and to the support of the Catholics and Royalists.

**469. The Legislative Assembly; the Falloux Law concerning Education.**—The Constituent Assembly completed its work in May, 1849, and was succeeded by a newly elected parliament, the Legislative Assembly. The latter had a majority of Catholics and Royalists.

Among the important laws which it voted was the Falloux Law concerning education. This measure received its name from its author, Count Falloux, who was then minister of public instruction (1850). It extended the right to maintain private schools, which in 1833 had been granted for primary grades, to secondary institutions, and thus further reduced the monopoly of the state in education. Thenceforward every Frenchman who had reached the age of twenty-one and possessed the necessary certificates might open a school. The same privilege was granted to every minister of the three officially recognized religious denominations (Catholics, Protestants and Jews). In schools for girls, members of religious congregations were admitted as teachers without state certificates or academic degrees.

Besides the public schools controlled by the state, private schools were now established and maintained by secular corporations, religious congregations or competent individuals. In 1875, a third law completed this private school system by allowing Catholics to maintain their own Universities. These different measures helped to counteract the evil effects of the irreligious education imparted in the public schools.

**470. Conflict between the President of the Republic and the Legislative Assembly; Louis Napoleon becomes Emperor Napoleon III (December 2, 1852).**—The Legislative Assembly, composed as it was chiefly of Catholics and Royalists, desired the restoration of the kingship. On the other side, the President of the Republic was determined to maintain himself in power. These conflicting aims led to a contest in which the president triumphed over the assembly. A

restoration took place indeed, but it was the restoration not of the kingship, but of the Napoleonic empire.

In December, 1851, the president pronounced the dissolution of the assembly and appealed to the people for a vote on the following proposition: "The French people wish to maintain the authority of Louis Napoleon Bonaparte and delegate to him the power necessary for the framing of a constitution." The country by an overwhelming majority pronounced in favor of Louis Napoleon.

This plebiscite was soon followed by another decreeing the restoration of the Napoleonic dynasty. France, in 1852, by a vote of 7,839,000 to 53,000 pronounced for the reestablishment of an hereditary empire. On December 2 of the same year Louis Napoleon was proclaimed emperor of the French and began to reign as Napoleon III.

**471. The Second Empire (1852–1870); the First or Autocratic Period (1852–1860).**—The second empire lasted from December 2, 1852 to September 4, 1870. Its history naturally falls into two periods, a first or autocratic period (1852–1860) and a second or liberal period (1860–1870).

During the first period the emperor exercised personal and absolute power. While through the revolution of 1848 universal suffrage and democratic government had been established in France, absolute rule was restored as soon as Louis Napoleon felt powerful enough to make himself sole master of the country. His great aim was to reproduce as faithfully as possible in the France of his day the government, creations and institutions of the first Empire. Like Napoleon I, he excluded the people from all share in the government, reorganized the administration, and suppressed the liberty of the press. Imitating his uncle's example also in outward display, he surrounded himself by persons of distinction and reintroduced an elaborate ceremonial. The imperial court became after his marriage to Eugenie de Montijo, a Spanish countess of striking beauty, the most brilliant court in Europe.

**472. The Second or Liberal Period** (1860–1870).—The internal policy of Napoleon III underwent a change in 1860, and became gradually more and more liberal. The new course was due to two important causes: (1) the Franco-Italian War of 1859 against Austria; (2) the defection of the Catholics and of the manufacturers, who from supporters became opponents of the emperor.

The Italian campaign was undertaken by the French to free the northern part of the peninsula from alleged Austrian oppression; but it was a glaring inconsistency to shed the blood of the nation for the liberty of foreigners and to refuse that very liberty to Frenchmen. On the other hand the war aroused Italian national sentiment and brought nearer the formation of a united Italy. The temporal power, so long exercised by the Popes, seemed thus threatened, and the Catholics, its upholders, began to oppose the emperor.

About this time Napoleon concluded a new treaty of commerce with England. This agreement was favorable to French agricultural products but dealt a heavy blow to French industry. The industrial leaders and manufacturers denounced the treaty and attacked the government which concluded it.

Under these circumstances, Napoleon was forced to rely on the Liberals, and the imperial government became slightly democratic in character. The parliament was granted the right to discuss freely the affairs of the country in an annual address to the emperor (1860). Other concessions were made at subsequent dates. The restrictions imposed on the press were modified, and the freedom of meeting was partly restored. However, as the concessions grew in number the opposition increased in intensity owing to the failure of the emperor's foreign policy.

**473. External Affairs under the Second Empire.**—An empire in which a Napoleon was restored to power was bound to bear to a large extent a military stamp. True, Napoleon III declared at the beginning of his reign that the

Empire meant peace. He may have been sincere in his declaration, but the military feature had so overshadowed all else in his uncle's reign that a purely peaceful Napoleon would appear as a strange personage to France and to the world.

The reign was marked by important wars fought with varying success. In external as in internal affairs the second empire may be divided into two periods already indicated, the first from 1852 to 1860; the second from 1860 to 1870. The first period was one of success in foreign wars. It included the Crimean War against Russia (1853–1856); and the Franco-Italian War against Austria (1859). The second period was one of failure, first in an expedition against Mexico, and second in a war with Germany. The expedition and wars, just mentioned, will be treated later in more appropriate places.

**474. Improvement in Economic and Labor Conditions under the Second Empire.**—France became wealthy and her people prosperous under Napoleon III. The emperor promoted agriculture, fostered commercial relations and improved the condition of the laborer. At his instance, numerous measures were taken to lighten the burden and alleviate the suffering of the working classes. The laborers were allowed to form unions and to declare strikes in defense of their rights. Savings banks were established for them and, to give them employment, extensive public works were undertaken both in Paris where the city was greatly embellished and in the provinces where new railroad lines were built.

The general wealth of the nation was vastly increased by the enlightened policy and wise measures adopted by the government. If France was able to bear without ruin the disasters of 1870–1871, it was due to the remarkable economic development of the country under Napoleon III.

## IV. France from 1870 to 1914

**475. The Third or Present French Republic proclaimed September 4, 1870.**—The unsuccessful war in which the French became involved in 1870, led to the capture of Napoleon III by the Germans and the proclamation of a republic in Paris. This is the form of government which France has since retained. It was considered for a long time only provisional, and had to withstand first the armed attack of the Commune, and later the more peaceful efforts of the National Assembly to restore the monarchy. It is frequently referred to as the Third French Republic and is accepted today by an overwhelming majority of Frenchmen.

**476. The Commune (March 18–May 28, 1871).**—The Commune is thus called because it was the form of government which the city (commune) of Paris attempted to impose on France. The term is usually applied to the civil war which was the result of this attempt, a short but bloody episode in the internal history of that country. The fratricidal attempt ended with the triumph of the legitimate government, but only after numerous lives had been sacrificed and some invaluable monuments destroyed in Paris.

**477. The National Assembly; Its Monarchical Tendencies.**—The Republic proclaimed in Paris after the fall of Napoleon was until 1875 only a provisional government. Shortly after its establishment a *National Assembly* was elected for the purpose of concluding peace with Germany. It accomplished this task, and a few years later gave France a definitive form of government. It was composed, in majority, of monarchists, but of monarchists divided among themselves: Legitimists, Orleanists, Bonapartists.

The Legitimists favored the Count of Chambord or Henry V for the kingship; the Orleanists defended the rights of the Count of Paris; and the Bonapartists considered Eugene Napoleon, son of Napoleon III, as the legitimate heir to the throne. These divisions were a serious obstacle to the success of their efforts to reestablish a monarchy.

At the same time, it ought to be stated that the preparations for the triumphal entry of the Count of Chambord into Paris and his accession to the throne had so far progressed that the lights for the illumination of the city were already manufactured. It was only then that his peremptory refusal to accept the tricolor instead of the Bourbon lilies as the flag of France caused a complete rupture of the negotiations for his return. Even after this discomfiture the monarchists did not lose heart and continued to maintain a so-called provisional government with Marshal McMahon as President of the Republic.

**478. The Constitutional Laws of 1875.**—In 1875, it was evident that the definitive constitutional work of the assembly could no longer be delayed. Several laws were passed and are known as the constitutional laws or Constitution of 1875. With slight modifications introduced in 1884, they are still in force at the present day.

According to these enactments the executive power is vested in a president of the Republic, who is elected for seven years by the National Assembly, that is, by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies. The legislative power is mainly exercised by these two houses. The members of the Chamber of Deputies are elected for four years by all Frenchmen of twenty-one years of age.

These constitutional laws established the parliamentary system in France. The ministers of state are responsible to parliament and can govern only with its support. This has caused frequent changes of ministry in France. The President of the republic has no personal power and is himself indirectly dependent on parliament since his decisions must be countersigned by one of the ministers. The parliament, and especially the Chamber of Deputies, holds almost all authority in its hands. Another characteristic of the French government is its highly centralized organization, despite its republican form.

**479. National Defense.**—After the defeat of 1870–1871,

it was evident that a strong army was of absolute necessity to France especially as the sentiment of revenge was kept alive in the nation, and the peace of Frankfort concluded with the Germans was declared a *truce*, not a peace. The republic successfully organized this army and also established a strong line of fortifications on the eastern frontier. Universal military training was imposed by law, and, in the name of equality, so wrongly misinterpreted by French lawmakers, all exemptions and reductions in time of service were eventually suppressed. Priests as well as civilians were forced to bear arms regardless of the laws of the Church forbidding the practice.

**480. The Religious Policy of the Third Republic.**—The Third Republic, after its definitive establishment in 1875, inaugurated a persecution against the Catholic Church. The causes of this course were religious and political. They were due to the hatred of religion which animated the Republicans and to the ruling party's determination to uproot the monarchical ideas held by most Catholics. The antagonism between the republicans and the Catholics was not new; it dated back to the French Revolution. The Catholics remembered the Revolution's violent and unjust attacks on their Church; the republicans wrongly fancied that genuine democratic principles were necessarily anti-Catholic principles. As a consequence, Monarchist and Catholic or clerical were almost considered synonymous terms.

Shortly after its organization, the Republican government removed monarchists from public office and appointed republicans in their place. This action not only deprived the Catholics of considerable influence, but made every office held by a republican a center of anti-Catholic propaganda.

Administrative measures were followed by special laws in favor of the Republic and against the Church. The chief battleground was at first the field of education. Two classes of institutions were giving instruction to the youth of France:

the public or state schools and the private (mostly Catholic) schools. The government first undertook a thorough organization of the public school system (1879–1886), and then set to work to destroy the Catholic institutions.

Education in the primary grades was made compulsory, that is, every child was compelled to attend some school either public or private (Catholic) as the parents preferred. The public schools alone received financial support from the government. Admission was free, instruction was imparted exclusively by laymen, and all teaching of religion was forbidden. In theory the French public schools were to abstain from teaching religion; but in practise they went frequently much further, teaching irreligion.

**481. The Associations Act against Religious Congregations (1901).**—Catholic education was carried on in France chiefly by religious orders or congregations, some of which had received governmental authorization, while others, in much larger number, were unauthorized. At the beginning of the present century two laws were passed against these teaching orders, the first against the unauthorized, the second against the authorized. The unauthorized congregations came under the Associations Act of 1901. It provided (1) that in the future no religious congregation should be established in the country without the government's permission; (2) that all existing unauthorized congregations must seek authorization, otherwise they will be dissolved and their property seized by the government; (3) that no member of an unauthorized congregation might teach in France.

Some congregations refused to apply for authorization and were suppressed, others sought, but were refused, official recognition and were likewise suppressed. Within a few years thousands of Catholic religious men and women were in exile, and over 10,000 Catholic schools were closed.

Only a few congregations were permitted to continue their work for a short time. In 1904, a second law decreed that

within ten years no member of any religious congregation, authorized or unauthorized, would be permitted to teach in any public or private school in France. The work of Catholic education could under these circumstances be carried on only with extreme difficulty; but the anti-religious hatred of the radicals was not yet satiated.

**482. Law separating Church and State Voted December 9, 1905.**—The agitation against Catholic education was attended by attacks on the official recognition of the Church by the state and by demands for the repeal of the concordat. Instead of the existing union, separation of Church and State was asked for by the radicals. The agitation was crowned with success in a comparatively short time. It mattered little that the Holy See showed itself conciliatory in its dealings with the French government. Pretexts were found for opposition to the exercise of papal authority in France, and in 1904 the French government formally broke off diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

The law separating the Church from the state was voted by parliament the following year. It abrogated the concordat, which since 1801 had governed ecclesiastical relations between France and Rome. All religious denominations were placed on an equal footing and were allowed the rights of private corporations. The salaries so far paid to clergymen by the state were to be gradually suppressed. Associations of Worship were to be formed by laymen and were to take possession forever of Cathedrals and churches and for a time also of ecclesiastical dwellings, such as parochial and episcopal residences.

This law was promulgated in December, 1905, by the French government. It had many objectionable features in the eyes of the Church. In the first place it had been prepared by representatives of the state without consulting ecclesiastical authorities. Secondly, the concordat, a mutual agreement between the French government and the Apostolic See, was, contrary to international usage, abrogated by one

of the contracting parties without reference to the other. Thirdly, the salaries paid to the Catholic clergy could not be suppressed without injustice since they were a compensation for the ecclesiastical property seized in the days of the Revolution. Fourthly, in the Associations of Worship ecclesiastical power conferred by Christ on the clergy was usurped by laymen. For these reasons, Pope Pius X, in 1906, condemned the law as null and void and forbade the formation of Associations of Worship. The French government ignored the condemnation, whereas its Catholic citizens, obedient to the Pope, formed no Associations of Worship.

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## CHAPTER XXIII

### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND FROM 1815 TO 1914

**483. English Rulers from 1815 to the Present Day.**—When the Congress of Vienna met, King George III had been ruling since 1760. He lived until 1820, and his reign is officially reckoned from 1760–1820. In 1811, however, his mind became unbalanced and his eldest son acted as regent until 1820. In that year the latter began to reign in his own name, assuming the title of George IV (1820–1830). He died without issue and was succeeded by his brother William IV (1830–1837). Like his predecessor, he left no direct heir and the crown passed to his niece, Victoria, the daughter of his brother, the Duke of Kent.

With the accession of Queen Victoria, then in her nineteenth year, began the longest and most successful reign (1837–1901) in the history of England. She had been carefully trained for her high position by tutors appointed by her mother and showed skill and prudence in the difficult situations in which the country was placed during her reign. Her accession was marked by the separation of the Kingdom of Hanover from England. Since 1714, England and Hanover had been ruled by the same sovereigns, the kings of England. But as the Salic law regulated the succession to the Hanoverian throne, Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, became King of Hanover.

When the Queen died in 1901, she was succeeded by her son, Edward VII, who ruled for nine years (1901–1910), and is said to have exercised considerable influence in shaping the foreign policy of the British empire. He was succeeded by his son George V who, in a quiet and unostentatious manner, exercises the rights and fulfills the duties of his exalted position.

**484. Outline of English History in the Nineteenth Century.**—The history of England in the nineteenth century is

of the greatest importance whether we consider the internal affairs of the kingdom or the relations of the British empire with the outside world. England played usually an important and frequently a leading part in international questions. She appeared during the century as the greatest colonial power and the most successful commercial nation.

In her internal history, important questions came up for settlement. The leading domestic events may be summed up in the four following points: (1) A movement for greater religious freedom which produced as its principal result *Catholic Emancipation* in 1829. (2) A spirit of greater fairness in British statesmen in their dealings with the Irish people and an improvement in Anglo-Irish relations. (3) A movement in favor of political democracy which resulted in a reform of the electoral and parliamentary system. This reform was accomplished in four different laws passed respectively in 1832, 1867, 1884, and 1911. (4) The economic reform which was marked in commerce by the transition between 1846 and 1860 from the system of protection to the policy of free trade.

## I. Catholic Emancipation and Anglo-Irish Relations

**485. The Three Great Problems in Anglo-Irish Relations.** —Three words sum up the grave problems which called for solution in the relations between England and Ireland. These were: (1) *Church;* (2) *Land;* (3) *Government.* More explicitly the three following questions demanded settlement: (1) the simultaneously political and religious problem of Catholic Emancipation; (2) the agrarian problem involving the restoration of their land to the Irish people; (3) the problem of self-government known as the question of Home Rule.

These three questions received the attention of the English government in the order named. Two, the religious and the agrarian question, have been given a definitive solution.

The Home Rule issue reached an acute stage by the rise of the Sinn Fein or Republican Party.

**486. The Causes and Beginnings of Catholic Emancipation.**—The beginnings of Catholic Emancipation date back to the second half of the eighteenth century. The success of the movement favoring in England and Ireland the extension of religious freedom to Catholics was due to four general causes.

1. The spirit of indifference toward all dogmatic belief which spread widely in the eighteenth century. People began to look upon the tenets of all religions as elements of no practical consequence; and for persons in this frame of mind no reason existed for persecuting the Catholics or any other denomination.

2. The fear inspired in the English government by insurrections in the colonies, such as the American Revolution, or by threatening civil war as was at times the prospect in Ireland.

3. The pressure brought to bear by the Irish people—in great majority Catholic—on English statesmen or, differently expressed, the organized strength of a nation demanding its religious rights.

4. A great and disinterested leader, Daniel O'Connell (1775–1847) whose rousing appeal and irresistible eloquence secured for Irish and English Catholics that liberty which at first seemed impossible to obtain.

**487. The First Important Relief Acts in Favor of English and Irish Catholics (1778); Relief extended to Scotland (1793).**—The several measures which toward the end of the eighteenth century brought relief to the Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland were passed, some by the English, others by the Irish parliament. The year 1778 is memorable for the first two important bills voted to grant some degree of freedom to Catholics. One of these bills was passed in London and affected England, the other was voted in Dublin and applied to Ireland. The proposal to extend to

Scotland the freedom granted in 1778 by the English parliament led to riots in Glasgow and Edinburg. In England, the Protestant Association was founded under the presidency of Lord George Gordon and engineered the famous Gordon riots in London in 1780.

Despite these outbursts of popular feeling, other relief measures were passed by both parliaments, and in 1793 a special act voted by the English parliament also brought relief to the Catholics of Scotland.

The Catholics of the three kingdoms were relieved of many disabilities and were granted the following rights:

1. The right to purchase, inherit and transfer land, also permission to follow the legal profession.

2. The right to vote at elections in Ireland but not in England and Scotland.

3. Permission granted to priests and schoolmasters to exercise their respective functions without molestation.

These concessions were undoubtedly considerable, but they did not remove all disabilities from the Catholic body, and the crowning act of Catholic Emancipation was voted only after years of agitation in 1829.

**488. Daniel O'Connell's Agitation for the Extension of Catholic Rights.**—The Act of Union placing Ireland, like England, under the jurisdiction of the Parliament in London, was passed in 1800, with the understanding that the Irish Catholics would be admitted to this legislative body. William Pitt, the author of the Union, had made promises to this effect, and it was hoped that Catholic Emancipation would make further progress in the early years of the nineteenth century. Pitt, however, never fulfilled his promise, and the king was stubbornly opposed to any legislation in favor of his Catholic subjects. Relief from the still existing disabilities was only granted when, owing to the excitement prevalent in Ireland, English statesmen saw no other alternative than either to make new concessions or to risk civil war.

The threatening situation which forced redress of grievances from hostile politicians and an unyielding king was the result of an agitation of several years duration. Daniel O'Connell was the leader in this struggle for Catholic rights. The difficulties he encountered were enormous, but his disinterestedness and power to sway the masses triumphed over all obstacles.

In 1823, he founded the Catholic Association, the object of which was to win Emancipation by legal and constitutional means. In this determination to act and agitate only within the limits of the legal prescriptions then governing his country, lay the source of his strength. He worked with tireless energy to spread the association. Although progress was at first slow, the organization had, in 1825, acquired such proportions that the government, alarmed at its strength, decreed its suppression. O'Connell submitted to the sentence of condemnation, but no less skillful lawyer than ardent patriot, he evaded the government measure by reestablishing the association under a changed name, "the New Catholic Association." He continued to agitate and stir up Catholic sentiment in Ireland.

**489. The Relief Act in favor of Irish, English and Scottish Catholics (1829).**—In England public opinion was divided on the question of Catholic Emancipation. After the dissolution of the Catholic Association in Ireland, in 1825, an act of Emancipation was passed by the House of Commons, but thrown out by the Lords. In 1828, the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed and relief extended to all Protestant Dissenters. (See Nos. 193 and 194 of this book.)

Catholics alone were now suffering from disabilities, particularly exclusion from Parliament, as an oath against Transubstantiation was required of every member. But discrimination could not be exercised against them much longer. Daniel O'Connell came forward in County Clare, Ireland, as a candidate for the House of Commons. He boldly declared that, if elected, he would claim his seat in

Parliament, but would refuse to take the prescribed anti-Catholic oath. Although the government strained every nerve to elect its own candidate, O'Connell was returned by a large majority.

The government now realized that the agitation in Ireland must be stopped at all cost. The Wellington ministry, animated by no sentiment of justice, but yielding to fear and necessity, brought forward a bill granting Catholic Emancipation. It was carried by both Houses of Parliament in 1829 and became a law a few days before O'Connell presented himself in the House of Commons.

As his election had taken place before the bill was passed, he was required to take the oath against Transubstantiation. At his appearance in the House of Commons, he was informed that he would be allowed to take his seat only after fulfilling this condition. He asked to see the oath, was handed a large card on which it was printed, put on his eye-glasses, and read the card with deep attention as if he had never yet seen what he was supposed to swear. Breathless silence reigned in the assembly until O'Connell, having finished the reading of the oath, flung the card from him on the table of the House with the contemptuous remark that he would not take such an oath.

A new election was necessary in County Clare; O'Connell was again a candidate, was returned a second time and took his seat in the House of Commons.

**490. Meaning of Catholic Emancipation; Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland (1869).**—The Relief Bill which Daniel O'Connell had wrung from statesmen who had until then opposed all such concessions, applied to Catholics in Ireland, England, and Scotland. It admitted them to all public offices with very few exceptions and gave them the vote in all elections. A Catholic, however, could neither become King nor Regent in England. Catholics were likewise debarred, as it was more generally held, from the offices of Lord Chancellor of England and Lord-Lieutenant

of Ireland. Recently, however, a Catholic has been appointed to the last-named office.

After the passage of the Emancipation Bill, the Catholic Church still occupied an inferior position in the three kingdoms. This was particularly unfair in Ireland, where a Catholic majority had to support an official Protestant church. Whereas hundreds of Catholics were in many places huddled together in wretched buildings to hear Mass, they were compelled to support an Anglican clergyman whose congregation, assembled in a spacious edifice, consisted at times only of his immediate family and two or three other persons.

This intolerable injustice was partly suppressed in 1838, when the payment of tithes was shifted from the Irish peasants to the landlords. It was entirely abolished in 1869, when the Anglican Church was disestablished in Ireland. After this date no official Protestant Church was recognized in the island.

**491. The Irish University Act of 1908.**—In the matter of education, so closely connected in Catholic eyes with religious belief and practice, different attempts, at times unsuccessful, were made by the English government to improve the condition of the people and to give satisfaction to their religious demands. The crowning measure of these reforms was the *Irish University Act of* 1908. This law finally solved the ever-recurring question of a Catholic University for Ireland.

According to its provisions two non-sectarian universities were to be established in Ireland: one at Dublin, the other at Belfast. Although these universities were officially non-sectarian, in reality, the one in Dublin was Catholic and that in Belfast, Protestant. In this manner, the educational problem has at last been solved to the satisfaction of the government and in accordance with the demands of the religious bodies.

**492. The Land Question.**—The agrarian problem was the

result of the plantation system by which the Irish landowners were unjustly and cruelly driven from their possessions. These were turned over to foreign settlers, of whom the present landlords are the successors. Large numbers of the Irish people were, in the nineteenth century, tenants on the farms owned by the landlords. They paid a high rent for the soil which they tilled and formerly owned, but which was now held by their despoilers.

This was bad enough, but matters were made worse by the fact that initiative and industry on their part were almost discouraged since improvements usually led to an increase in the rent to be paid to the landlord. Delay in the payment of the rent would easily lead to the eviction of the tenant. Such a deplorable and disastrous situation caused the "agrarian crimes," which consisted in damage inflicted on the property of the landlords such as the burning of crops, the removal of fences and, in some instances, attempts made on the life of the owners.

**493. The Fenian Brotherhood.**—The movement against the landlords assumed a threatening aspect particularly at the end of the American Civil War, when it received encouragement and help from Irish sympathizers in the United States. The "Fenian Brotherhood," a secret society established to overthrow British rule and establish a republic in Ireland, became conspicuous at this time and led in the movement. A rebellion was planned and attempts were made to carry it out. The plans failed, however, and now as in other periods of agitation in Ireland coercion laws were passed.

The movement had at least the result of directing the attention of English statesmen to the sad state of Ireland. They realized that insurrections were probable as long as no remedy was applied to the unhappy condition of the Irish people. A man whose name must always be mentioned prominently in a study of Anglo-Irish relations, William Ewart Gladstone, now endeavored to bring about an equitable solution of the dreaded Irish question.

**494. The First and Last Irish Land Acts (1870, 1903).**—It was during Gladstone's first ministry that the first Irish *Land Act* was passed in 1870. It stipulated that the outgoing tenant, who is not ejected for non-payment, must be compensated for the improvements he has made on his holding. It also empowered the government to make loans to such tenants as wished to buy, with the consent of their landlords, the farms which they cultivated. Several measures have since been passed supplementing the Land Act of 1870. The last one dates from the year 1903. Its principal provision was that it made sale on the part of the landlord compulsory and provided for the loaning of the necessary purchase price to the tenant. These laws seem to have solved satisfactorily the agrarian question, and it seems certain that at a not far distant date the majority of the Irish farmers will own their lands.

**495. The Background of Home Rule.**—The part of Ireland under English jurisdiction had its own parliament at an early date, but it was the parliament of the Anglo-Norman colony about Dublin. This parliament was in existence in the thirteenth century. Its attributions were limited on two occasions, by the Poynings Act in 1494, and by an English Act of Parliament in 1720. The Poynings Act, so named after its English author, subjected the Irish parliament to the English lord lieutenant and his council. The Act of 1720 conferred on the English parliament the right to frame laws for Ireland and deprived the Irish House of Lords of the right to hear appeals.

These limitations were removed in 1782, when Ireland was given a free and, in many respects, independent parliament. This legislative body has been frequently called Grattan's Parliament after the statesman who was chiefly responsible for its establishment. Its membership was Irish, but exclusively Protestant. Its end came January 1, 1801, when the legislative union between England and Ireland went into effect. William Pitt had by bribery and corruption

brought Ireland under the jurisdiction of the English Parliament.

**496. Daniel O'Connell seeks the Repeal of the Union.**—William Pitt, to put through the Union, had promised the Catholics of Ireland admission to the English Parliament. He did not keep his promise, and the Irish Catholics won this elementary right only in 1829.

The concession did not put an end to Daniel O'Connell's agitation for more extensive rights. He soon insisted on the repeal of the Union itself. At numerous meetings he denounced an administrative system in which all decisions regarding the government of Ireland were handed down in London. Now as in former years he was resolved to use only legal means to secure the desired result. When the government made serious efforts to put down the movement, some of his more ardent followers broke away from his restraining influence and the agitation directed by him came to an end. O'Connell died shortly after at Genoa while on a journey to Rome (1847).

**497. The "Young Ireland Party"; the Famine (1845–1847); Attempt at Insurrection (1848).**—To the bolder spirits among O'Connell's followers his peaceful agitation seemed after 1840 to hold out no promise of success. Impatient of delay, they left him and formed the Society of Young Ireland. Their object was not to secure self-government under English suzerainty, but to separate from England and to found an Irish Republic. Advocates of Irish independence, they were yearning for the day when they could fight for its establishment against the English government.

This tendency to resort to physical force was favored just then by the distress from which the country suffered. The terrible years, 1845–1847, were at hand and brought with them hunger and sickness. The potato crop was a partial failure in 1845 and a complete failure in the two immediately following years. As the Irish peasants raised little else, a

terrible famine desolated the island. The people perished or fled the country by thousands.

In this extremity the use of force appeared more and more to "Young Ireland" as the only solution of Ireland's suffering. Preparations for an insurrection were made, but were little advanced when the revolutionary year of 1848 broke over Europe. Carried away by the example of insurrectionists in other countries, the Young Irelanders rose in rebellion. They could accomplish nothing and brought down severe punishment, by transportation, on their leaders.

A similar attempt made later by the Fenians was equally unsuccessful, as has already been stated above (no. 493).

**498. The Home Rule Party; Charles Stuart Parnell (1846–1891).**—The rebellions spoken of failed to improve conditions in Ireland, but they strengthened the national sentiment and drew attention to English misrule in the island. After the Fenian uprising English statesmen began to see the need of reform, and Irish patriots fell back on agitation and organization to secure redress. The first Gladstone ministry (1868–1874) demonstrated its willingness to afford relief in a practical way. During its incumbency, Isaac Butt, an Irishman and a Protestant, founded the Home Rule party (1870). This new creation demanded an Irish parliament and home rule in purely domestic affairs. It met with considerable success, and in 1874 elected sixty members to Parliament.

This Irish party became a power in the House of Commons only when Charles Stuart Parnell adopted and used effectively a new means of resistance. This leader, a Protestant and son of an English landowner, resorted to parliamentary obstruction, that is, he prevented by interminable speeches and other devices all useful legislation. The scheme succeeded for a time, but the British parliament soon laid down rules preventing such interference.

Obstruction in London was thus rendered ineffective, but agitation in Ireland received added strength by the formation

of the Land League (1879) and, after its dissolution, by the organization of the similar Irish National League. So strong had the movement in favor of Irish rights become that the government was about to carry out a new policy of conciliation. Just then the commission of a crime grievously injured the Irish cause and elicited a cry of rage from the English people. Lord Cavendish, Chief Secretary for Ireland, was assassinated by members of a secret society called the "Invincibles." A policy of coercion was at once adopted and carried out in Ireland.

**499. Gladstone's Two Unsuccessful Home Rule Bills (1886, 1893); the Bill passed under Asquith (1914).**—The need of Irish parliamentary support felt by the Conservatives as well as the Liberals did not long permit of the enforcement of coercive measures. Amidst these circumstances favorable to the Irish national movement occurred that important change in the political sentiments of Mr. Gladstone, his conversion to Home Rule. As prime minister he introduced, in 1886, a bill in the House of Commons designed to grant Ireland a separate parliament. The bill was rejected by the House of Commons; Gladstone appealed to the people in a new general election, was defeated and forced to resign. Having returned to office a few years later, he introduced his second Home Rule bill. The measure was passed by the House of Commons, but thrown out by the Lords.

There the matter rested until the Asquith cabinet (1908–1916) took it up. The government was confronted with opposition from two sources: from the House of Lords and from part of Ulster. It showed energy in dealing with the former and so reduced the power of the Lords, that they can no longer be a permanent obstacle to the legislative work of the Commons. It displayed much less firmness in overcoming the rebellious opposition of Ulster, and Ireland was threatened with civil war in 1914. The outbreak of the World War temporarily put an end to the agitation for or against Home Rule. Mr. Asquith's bill which had already

been passed by the House of Commons was enacted into law, but, by agreement, its provisions were not to be enforced until after the war.

## II. Parliamentary and Other Reforms

**500. Conditions in England immediately after the Napoleonic Wars.**—The restoration of peace in 1815 was followed in England by several years of misery, distress and unrest. War having ceased, vessels of all nations could again freely cross the oceans and place the products of the various countries on the markets of the world. The expenses incurred by England during the war had been enormous and as a result the taxes were extraordinarily high. Several successive bad crops increased the misery from which the poor people already suffered. The sudden release of thousands of soldiers and sailors threw upon the country men willing to work but incapable of finding employment owing to the unfavorable business conditions.

Some capable agitators appearing at this very time brought home to the masses the administrative defects already vaguely known to them and revealed others which the people had not yet perceived. This could be the more readily accomplished as the newspaper was for the first time made accessible to the general public. William Cobbett, an able writer, reduced in 1816 the price of his "Weekly Political Register" from twelve and a half pence to two pence. Thus a newspaper, distinguished for its vigor of style and conducted by a man of the people, became a powerful means of political propaganda.

**501. The Parliamentary Reform of 1832.**—The French Revolution had prevented the introduction of parliamentary reform at the end of the eighteenth century. After 1815, the remembrance of the Revolution and the fear of its consequences delayed the same reform for a considerable time.

England, however, gradually made reasonable concessions to the people and thus avoided the revolutions which forced more liberal institutions from the continental governments. Nevertheless, a prolonged, widespread and intense agitation was necessary before the first reforms were introduced. The holding of numerous mass meetings, the formation of special societies, the outbreak of riots characterized the campaign which in 1832 broke the determined resistance of the government. In that year the first electoral reform bill was passed. It was wrung by the people from king, Lords and Commons.

The reform of 1832 had a twofold character: (1) it *effected a change in parliamentary representation;* (2) it *increased the number of voters.* It suppressed the right of representation for the boroughs with less than 2,000 inhabitants and reduced that of towns with a population slightly above that figure. It increased, on the contrary, the number of representatives of the large cities and of the most populous country districts. The measure also reduced the property qualifications of voters so that all independent farmers enjoyed the franchise. The House of Commons thus no longer merely represented the upper classes as had been the case up to that time; it was now a body representing the aristocracy and the middle class and was controlled chiefly by the latter. Furthermore, the old names of *Whigs* and *Tories* were gradually superseded by the designations of *Liberals* and *Conservatives.*

**502. The Municipal Reform Act of 1835.**—The need of a democratic reform made itself felt about this time in the government of the English towns just as keenly as in the national administration. The Parliamentary Reform was closely followed by a measure similar in character concerning the towns. It is known as the *Municipal Reform Act of* 1835. In *local* as in *national* affairs, the middle classes were thus granted a much greater share in the government.

**503. The Chartist Agitation.**—As the Reform of 1832 did not grant the franchise to the laborers, it only gave partial satisfaction. The radicals soon resumed their agitation in

favor of universal manhood suffrage. In 1838, the famous document which was denominated, probably by O'Connell, the "People's Charter", was published and with its publication the *Chartist* agitation began. The People's Charter contained the famous "six points" or demands of its supporters, namely: universal (manhood) suffrage, vote by ballot, annual parliamentary elections, abolition of the property qualification required of members of Parliament, equal electoral districts and payment for service in Parliament.

A special party known as the "Chartists" was formed. It displayed intense activity and gained considerable following, but achieved little success. It lost its strength and influence when in 1848 it presented to Parliament a petition signed by several million of its alleged supporters. Upon close examination many signatures were found to be those of fictitious persons or of opponents of Chartism. Parliament met such a proceeding with contempt and ridicule.

**504. The Electoral Reform of 1867.**—In 1867, the famous conservative minister Benjamin Disraeli, later Lord Beaconsfield, carried through Parliament a new electoral reform bill. The act was based on the same principles as that of 1832. It reduced or suppressed the representation of the smaller towns and increased that of the industrial centres and of the more thickly populated country districts. Its chief characteristic was the reduction of the property qualification of the electors. The number of voters was considerably increased. All classes of the population, with the only important exception of the farm laborers, were given the franchise. The electorate now comprised probably about two-thirds of the men of England.

During the discussion of this bill in the House of Commons, Mr. John Stuart Mill offered an amendment in favor of woman suffrage, but the amendment was defeated. It was the first time that the question was brought before the English Parliament. Shortly after this, in 1869, women

were granted the municipal franchise, and in 1870, they obtained the right to elect and to be elected to school boards.

**505. Gladstone's Electoral Reform Bill of 1884.**—A third great electoral reform bill was carried through Parliament by Gladstone in 1884. He made himself the champion of the men from whom the right to vote was still withheld, notably the farm laborers. In England there are the landlords who own the farms, the tenants who rent them, and the laborers who work on them. This last class was now included in the franchise. At the same time the representation in Parliament was made still more equitable by the creation of electoral districts, which had approximately the same number of inhabitants, and sent each one representative to Parliament. Thus two of the important points of the "People's Charter" were attained namely, universal manhood suffrage and equal electoral districts.

An amendment in favor of woman suffrage had no more success than in 1867. Its defeat was largely due on this occasion to the emphatic declaration of Mr. Gladstone: "I offer it the strongest opposition in my power."

**506. The Parliamentary Act of 1911.**—The growing democratic spirit of the English people and the rejection by the House of Lords of various measures voted by the Commons led, in 1911, to the passage of an Act greatly reducing the power of the English Upper House. The latter has no longer the power to prevent, but can only delay, legislation. Bills relating to finance, one month after their passage by the Commons, automatically become law without the consent of the Lords. Other bills also can be enacted into law, despite the opposition of the House of Lords, if they are voted by the Commons in three successive sessions extending over at least two years.

It was also in 1911 that the maximum duration of Parliament was reduced from seven to five years and that a salary of 400 pounds per year was voted to the members of the House of Commons. This provision granting compensation

for parliamentary services does not extend to the House of Lords.

**507. The Anti-Corn Law League and the Repeal of the Corn Laws.**—In English economic history the repeal of the corn laws was one of the most important reforms of the nineteenth century. The word "corn" in England when used without any further description frequently means wheat, and the corn laws were the laws which imposed import duties on grain. These laws were in existence for centuries in England, and the duties imposed on grain were at times prohibitive The purpose of this legislation was to enable the farmer to sell his grain at an advantageous price and thus to encourage production.

While these measures profited the farmer, they were opposed to the interests of the industrial classes. The more England became predominantly an industrial state, the less the quantity of grain raised in the country sufficed for the subsistence of the population. In the manufacturing districts, which were the main sufferers from such a situation, a strong agitation was carried on for the abolition of the corn laws. In 1838 the Anti-Corn-Law League was formed at Manchester. Richard Cobden and John Bright became the two great leaders of the movement. The propaganda of these two merchants met with considerable and rapid success among the people.

Parliament, however, for several years rejected the bills introduced to modify or abolish the objectionable measures. Sir Robert Peel, the conservative prime minister of the time, was at first a determined opponent of any modification in the existing laws. In 1846, however, the famine in Ireland brought the question to an issue. It seemed unreasonable to maintain a high duty on the importation of grain while there was an insufficient supply in the United Kingdom and the people were starving. Peel now changed his attitude and from an opponent became a supporter of Cobden's principles. He introduced into and carried through Parlia-

ment a measure for the abolition of the existing duties. The English people and particularly the working classes could thus buy bread at a reasonable price.

**508. The Introduction of Free Trade (1846–1860) and the Suppression of the Navigation Act (1849).**—The abolition of duties levied on breadstuffs led by degrees to the abandonment of the protective system and the adoption of Free Trade. Many other articles on which, before their admission into England, custom duties had so far been imposed were now like grain put on the free list. The country thus adopted an entirely new commercial policy, Free Trade, to which it has adhered to this day.

In 1849 the Navigation Act, which for two centuries had maintained a monopoly in favor of the English merchant marine, was also repealed, and foreign vessels have since been admitted to English ports on the same conditions as ships owned in England.

These comprehensive economic reforms improved the condition of the working classes, favored the development of industry and encouraged the increase of commerce.

**509. The Abolition of Slavery in the British Dominions; the Factory Act (1833).**—The reform movement, which resulted in the changes described above, also brought about an improvement in social conditions and led particularly to the abolition of slavery in the British dominions. The slave trade had been suppressed at the beginning of the century; slavery, however, was still in existence in the British colonies and particularly in the West Indies. Considerable opposition to this institution, and to the resultant cruel treatment of women and children, developed in the first part of the nineteenth century. In 1833, Parliament voted a law which decreed the suppression of slavery, under certain conditions, in the British dominions. The conditions were the preparation of the slaves for a life of freedom and a pecuniary compensation to be paid to the slave-owners for their financial losses. This measure gradually

led to the complete suppression of slavery in the British dominions.

That same year, 1833, another law based on the same humanitarian principles was passed, namely, the *Factory Act of* 1833. This enactment dealt particularly with the employment of children in factories and was what would be called in the United States, a child-labor law. Children below the age of nine were not to be employed in spinning and weaving factories. After that age their work was to last only for a specified number of hours and was to be performed during the day. The law also included certain requirements concerning days of rest, sanitary conditions and educational facilities.

**510. Reform of the English Criminal Code.**—Another important reform of the time was that of the English criminal code. At the beginning of the nineteenth century English criminal legislation was neither just nor efficacious. No less than two hundred kinds of offenses were punishable by death. Horse stealing, sheep stealing, forgery, picking pockets, if the amount of one shilling (twenty-five cents) was taken, could as well as the greatest crimes, like murder, be punished by death. The penal code was manifestly in sore need of reform, and a series of parliamentary acts mitigated its excessive severity. The death penalty was abolished for a great number of offenses, and the reform may be said to have been completed in 1836, when the accused was allowed a lawyer to plead his cause.

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[1]Dickens' novels are not strictly historical but illustrative of social conditions largely prevalent in England during this period.

## CHAPTER XXIV

### GERMANY FROM 1815 TO 1914

## I. The German Confederation from 1815 to 1848

**511. Factors which led to the Establishment of the German Confederation.**—The most important event in the history of Europe between 1815 and 1914 was the founding of the German Empire. Strange to say this new creation may be attributed to some extent to the French Revolution and to Napoleon: to the French Revolution because it spread the principle of nationality and aroused the national spirit out of which grew German unity; to Napoleon because he reduced very considerably the number of the petty German states and by his conquests and oppression originated or strengthened the feeling of solidarity among the different Germanic divisions.

Napoleon created the *Confederation of the Rhine*, which he composed out of a number of states of western Germany and forced into alliance with him. It was to be a buffer state between France on the one side and Prussia and Austria on the other. At the same time Prussia and Austria, the most powerful individual states in Germany, were to be kept sufficiently weak not to become a danger or even an obstacle to France.

The Congress of Vienna took up Napoleon's idea of a confederation and established the *German Confederation*. Germany was organized into a union of thirty-nine states, of which Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurtemberg formed important units, and Austria and Prussia were the leaders.

**512. Nature and Organization of the German Confederation.**—The Confederation was a league of independent states having the Emperor of Austria for its president. It was a

Falls of the Rhine at Schaffhausen

*federation of states* and not *one federal state.* As the Emperor of Austria was the president, so the Diet was the parliament and Frankfort the federal capital. But the president was a nominal, powerless head; the Diet was not a representative, German assembly, not a parliament, it was merely a meeting of diplomats or plenipotentiaries appointed by their respective sovereigns; the capital was not the seat of any central government, but the meeting place of the Diet. The decisions of the Diet in matters of primary importance had to be adopted unanimously to be binding on the various states. As a result of this condition, no measure of considerable moment was ever passed by the assembly. No central power existed capable of enforcing any decisions of the Diet. These had, therefore, in reality, the character of mere recommendations and not of binding laws. The individual sovereigns disregarded them as they pleased.

Moreover, from the very beginning there developed at the sessions of the Diet a latent conflict for supremacy between Austria and Prussia. This struggle for leadership eventually led to war and to the triumph of Prussia over Austria. The instructions to the Austrian and Prussian delegates to the very first Diet (1816) already clearly reveal this mutual antagonism. The Austrian delegates "while maintaining an outwardly cordial attitude, were so to manoeuver as not to allow Prussia the least influence on the course of business"; while the Prussian envoy was charged, "to master, as far as circumstances would permit, the conduct of the Confederation, without seeming to do so."

**513. Attitude of the German People toward the Confederation; the Democratic Movement in Germany.**—The creation of this loose confederation did not meet with general approval in Germany. Many patriots had hoped for the establishment of a closer union and the organization of a more perfect state. Especially were professors and students in the universities dissatisfied with the helpless and disunited condition in which their country was left. For a while,

however, little adverse criticism was expressed of the defective work of the Vienna Congress. The nation was weary of controversy and strife after the long struggle with France.

As the country recovered from the effects of the war, the absence of democratic government and the lack of strong national organization came to be keenly felt in the confederation. Two movements—one *democratic*, the other *national*—sought to fill this twofold want. The democratic tendencies appeared particularly in the south, where the kings of Bavaria and of Würtemberg at an early date granted constitutions to their peoples. Further progress toward democracy was impeded by Prince Metternich whose personal influence and official position enabled him to defeat the enactment of liberal measures in several states. Revolution in 1848 and in 1918 extorted the concessions which peaceful demands had failed to obtain.

**514. The National Movement in the North.**—The national aspirations were voiced especially in the north under the auspices of Prussia. Their aim, namely, the unification of Germany, was attained in 1871, by the creation of the German Empire under Prussian leadership. The first important step in this direction was the establishment of the Customs-Union (Zollverein), which was initiated by Prussia. This economic union preceded and prepared political unity. Its scope was to facilitate commercial relations between the various states of the Confederation by the suppression of the duties levied on interstate exchanges, by the substitution of free trade for the protective system within the Confederation. Between 1819 and 1836, all the German states, except Austria, entered this union, which was of invaluable commercial advantages to them. The Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, though never politically united with modern Germany, also formed part of the Customs-Union until 1919.

**515. Confederation Government unchanged by Revolution of 1848; Constitutional Concessions in Individual States.**—The demands for more liberal institutions, made with in-

creasing insistence as time elapsed, went unheeded in the Confederation. The revolution which broke out in France in 1830 was the occasion for minor uprisings in Germany. The uprisings were suppressed; the Confederation and its component states remained conservative as they had been previously. Renewed disturbances in France in 1848 led to dangerous insurrections in Germany. This insurrectionary movement again left the Federal government of the Confederation unaltered, but resulted in the granting of constitutions in several individual states.

Efforts were made to reorganize the Confederation itself and to give it a workable central government. For this purpose a National Assembly, elected by the people, met at Frankfort and held sessions in 1848 and 1849. Its spirit was progressive and its intentions upright. It sought to introduce the needed reforms, but met with unmitigated failure in its constitutional endeavors. It also suffered a rebuff in its offer of the imperial crown to the King of Prussia. The latter declined the proffered honor.

Some progress toward democracy was made in individual states of the Confederation. The rulers of some minor principalities granted constitutions and thus allayed the unrest among the people. Austria and Prussia also promised liberal reforms. In the Austro-Hungarian monarchy the revolution of 1848 was so serious that it threatened the very existence of the state. Metternich was forced to resign and fled to England. The Emperor Ferdinand I abdicated in favor of his nephew, the youthful Francis Joseph I. The new ruler granted a constitution to his people. This put an end to the revolution in Austria proper; in Hungary it was suppressed only in 1849 with the help of a Russian army. Berlin, like Vienna, was the scene of disturbances in 1848. Order was restored only after a constitution had been promised to the Prussian people.

## II. Prussia becomes the Leading State in the Confederation (1849–1871)

**516. Open Antagonism between Austria and Prussia.**—After the meeting of the National Assembly or Parliament of Frankfort, which attempted the reorganization of the Confederation, the secret rivalry between Austria and Prussia burst forth into open antagonism. The assembled delegates had earnestly attempted a reorganization of the Confederation and had significantly offered the imperial crown not to the Emperor of Austria but to the King of Prussia. Although the offer was declined, because in the eyes of the king it was made by the people's representatives, that is, by the revolution and not by the princes, Prussia was not averse to a reorganization of the Confederation from which Austria would be excluded. She attempted the realization of such a plan as early as 1850, but could not carry it through owing to Austria's uncompromising opposition. The Prussian government yielded to Austria on this occasion; but the humiliation was bitterly resented by Prussian patriots. After this incident, sentiment and interest produced almost insensibly a constantly increasing estrangement between Austria and Prussia.

**517. William I, King of Prussia (1861–1888).**—It was under *King William I* that the struggle for the leadership in the German Confederation was to be decided in Prussia's favor. He was sixty-one years old when in 1858 he became regent of Prussia; in 1861, he succeeded his brother Frederic William IV, as king, and in 1871 was proclaimed German Emperor. He was a typical Hohenzollern, energetic, hard-working and above all else a soldier. He looked upon himself as the first servant and the first soldier of the state. He was tireless in the performance of his duty, accomplished it with military precision and exhibited the greatest modesty in his actions.

He was convinced that he was a ruler by divine right and

that he enjoyed the privilege of disregarding the votes of his parliament. He possessed neither brilliant qualities nor remarkable talent. It is true that he has been styled "the Great" by some admiring Germans, but they were actuated more by blind patriotism than by a true appreciation of his merits. The title "the Victorious" conferred upon him by others is not only more accurate, but also more just to the prime minister who guided and the military leaders who served him. His great personal achievement was the reform of the Prussian army. To overcome the opposition he encountered in this undertaking, he chose as prime minister in 1862, Otto von Bismarck, the statesman who was to be associated with him in the government of Prussia until the end of his reign.

**518. Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898), Prime Minister of Prussia and Chancellor of the German Empire.**—Otto von Bismarck was born at Schönhausen in the Province of Brandenburg in 1815. He belonged to a family of the landed gentry which had given many capable officials to the Prussian state. He himself entered the public service of his country but soon abandoned it, having evidenced little fitness for it owing to a lack of the necessary discipline and regularity. He had a clear and practical mind, detested theories and was devoid of prejudice and of scruples. He was a politician of the Machiavellian type, for whom the sole motive of action is interest and the sole end success. His ambition was to create a united Germany under Prussian leadership. In his first speech as minister, he clearly defined his policy when he declared that great questions can be solved neither by eloquent discourses nor parliamentary votes, but only by blood and iron. He has since rightly been called the man of blood and iron. It was through three wars waged in six years that he completed his great work, the unification of Germany.

**519. The Reorganization of the Prussian Army.**—According to King William I the position of Prussia in Europe rested

on her military strength. As he wished not only to maintain her power, but also to place her at the head of Germany, reforms were necessary in her army, such as numerical increase and better organization. He set himself to the task almost as soon as the reins of government were placed in his hands. His scheme and measures aroused the opposition of the house of representatives and a conflict of several years' duration ensued. The crisis came in 1862, when the house refused all appropriations for military purposes. William I thought for a moment of abdication; but then decided, as a last resort, upon the choice of Bismarck as his prime minister.

Bismarck was an ultra-conservative and entertained nothing but contempt for parliamentary rights and decisions. He determined to do, without the parliament, what could not be done with the parliament. Hence, he claimed that the constitution required, indeed, parliamentary approval of the expenditures for the army, but that the constitution was silent about the measures that should be taken in case of conflict between king and parliament. Basing his course on this omission, he carried out the reorganization of the army without any parliamentary sanction. With William I he thus created for Prussia against her will the instrument of her greatness. The three wars which Prussia won in rapid succession demonstrated on what sound and thorough basis her military establishment had been placed.

**520. The Schleswig-Holstein War, or War of the Duchies (1864).**—The war of the "Duchies" owes its name to the fact that it grew out of the many complications to which the three Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg gave rise. The difficulties connected with the government, possession, or disposal of these territories flowed from numerous sources: (1) from the relations of the duchies to the Danish crown, to the German Confederation and to each other; (2) from the racial antagonism between Germans and Danes dwelling in these territories; (3) from the rival ambitions of the Ger-

man Confederation, of Austria and of Prussia; (4) from the attitude of the European powers toward German expansion and the establishment of German sea power in the north.

Matters were brought to an issue in this complicated situation by the attempt of the Danish rulers to unite the duchies more closely with their kingdom. When in 1863 the Danish king, Frederic VII, died, his successor, Christian IX, considered the duchies as integral parts of Denmark and not as autonomous states under Danish suzerainty. These pretensions were stoutly resisted by Germany, and war followed between Denmark on the one side and the two allies Austria and Prussia on the other. The short conflict was not marked by any military operations carried out on a large scale and ended with the utter defeat of Denmark. At the *Peace of Vienna* (1864) Christian IX renounced to Austria and Prussia all his rights in the duchies.

The war was no sooner concluded than the newly conquered territories became a bone of contention between the victorious allies. Bismarck's intention was to annex the duchies to Prussia so as to secure control of the port of Kiel and the prospective canal which was to unite the Baltic with the North Sea. Austria was determined to oppose such an increase in Prussia's power, unless equivalent compensation were given to her. In 1865, the following convention was signed by Emperor Francis Joseph and King William I: Holstein was turned over to Austria; Schleswig was placed under the control of Prussia; Lauenburg was also ceded to Prussia for a money payment to be made to Austria. The convention was only short-lived as the Austro-Prussian War, which soon followed, completely placed the duchies in the hands of Prussia.

**521. Bismarck prepares for War against Austria.**—Bismarck had hardly assumed as minister the direction of Prussian affairs when he declared with his occasionally brutal candor to an Austrian diplomatist: "Our relations with Austria must become either better or worse. We sin-

cerely desire the former alternative, but we shall prepare for the latter." He had resolved on war with Austria long before its outbreak in 1866, for he considered a conflict as inevitable except Austria were prepared to renounce voluntarily her rights and position in Germany.

Before embarking on a course fraught with such momentous and doubtful issues, he neglected no means of increasing Prussia's chances of success. To this end he had a meeting with Napoleon III of France and also concluded an alliance with Italy. According to Napoleon's own testimony, subsequently confirmed by Bismarck, the Prussian minister at this meeting "spoke much, in general and vague terms, but made no formal proposal." Neither did the emperor "make known to him any personal desire." The meeting came to an end without any definite results so far as the relations between France and Prussia were concerned.

In the matter of the Italo-Prussian alliance, however, Napoleon was most useful to Bismarck's designs. Actuated by his mysterious desire of securing possession of Venetia to Italy, the French emperor advised Victor Emmanuel to listen favorably to Prussia's proposals and to come to an understanding with her against Austria. An offensive alliance was concluded for three months between Prussia and Italy.

**522. Outbreak of the Austro-Prussian or Seven Weeks War (1866).**—Thus strengthened, Bismarck determined upon the rupture of the relations between Austria and Prussia. In the first place he accused the Austrian government of pursuing in Holstein a policy destructive both of public order and of the union existing between the two powers. Prussian troops invaded the territory of the duchy (June 8, 1866). In the second place he laid before the German diet a contemplated reorganization of the Confederation. This project included the exclusion of Austria from Germany. Austria in answer demanded of the diet the mobilization of the troops of the Confederation against

Prussia, and this mobilization was decreed (June 14, 1866). Two days later, Prussia began the war.

Almost all the princes of the Confederation sided with Austria. Not only was all south Germany on the Austrian side; but in the north also Hanover, Saxony, Hesse-Nassau and Hesse-Cassel opposed Prussia. On the other hand, Prussia had the support of Sardinia. As Prussia was seeking to establish a united Germany in the north, Sardinia was endeavoring to create a united Italy in the south. In Italy as in Germany, the expulsion of the Austrians was the first condition of unity, and thus the alliance between Prussia and Sardinia was a most natural one.

**523. The Military Operations.**—Despite Bismarck's diplomatic skill, the contest seemed to be a very unequal one, since the population of Prussia was only about one-third of that of the states with which she engaged in war. The conflict was waged in three different theaters: in Germany, Italy and Bohemia. It will suffice to speak here of *Bohemia*, where the conflict was decided. The operations in Italy will be dealt with in the chapter on that country. In Germany Prussia's advance was so rapid that Austria's allies were not given time to concentrate their forces.

In Bohemia the Prussian invading armies were slightly superior in numbers to the Austrians. The decisive battle was fought at *Sadowa* or Königgrätz, where the Austrian commander Benedek had taken up a strong position. He was attacked, July 3, by two Prussian armies operating from different directions, and on that same day the issue of the war was decided. The Austrians were defeated and forced to retreat toward Vienna.

The Emperor Francis Joseph appealed to Napoleon III for mediation and intervention, ceding to him Venetia, which was to be handed over to Italy. The French emperor, surprised in his calculations by the rapid and victorious advance of the Prussians and considering France insufficiently

prepared for war, advised the conclusion of a truce which was signed at *Nikolsburg*.

**524. The Peace of Prague (August 23, 1866).**—The definitive peace was concluded at Prague on August 23, 1866. The conditions were the following: (1) Austria abandoned her rights and possessions in the duchies; (2) she accepted the dissolution of the German Confederation; (3) she recognized the annexations of territory which Prussia might make in northern Germany with the exception of Saxony; (4) she agreed to pay a war indemnity of fifteen million dollars to Prussia and to sanction the union of Venetia with Italy.

By this treaty the leadership in Germany passed really and formally from Austria to Prussia. Prussia made very considerable territorial acquisitions in northern Germany, possessions important not only in themselves, but also owing to the fact that they formed the connecting link between the eastern and western possessions of the realm. The treaty was an important step toward the unification of Germany. At the close of the year 1866, the union of the north is complete; *Prussian unity* is established. North and south, however, were still divided into independent political states: another war, the war with France, was to establish the union between north and south; it was to create *German unity*.

**525. Causes of Prussia's Triumph.**—The Prussian military leaders had conducted the war operations with astounding and lightning-like rapidity. In a month and a half all was over (June 16 to July 26, 1866). Such rapid success was expected neither by the man in the street nor by professional statesmen. In France, particularly, many did not believe in the possibility of a Prussian victory. Several causes may be assigned for this unlooked for success. The Austrians, poorly prepared for war, were attacked simultaneously in the north by Prussia and in the south by Sardinia. They were led by the timid and despondent Benedek who had been forced by his emperor to accept the supreme command.

Racial hatred among the different nationalities of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy also paralyzed Austria's efforts.

However, the foremost cause of Prussia's success was her commander-in-chief Count von Moltke. He was born in Mecklenburg in 1800, studied at a military school in Copenhagen and became an officer in the Danish army. Later he decided to enter the Prussian service. While holding his commission in Prussia, he became adviser to the Turkish military authorities. In 1856, he was named chief of the Great General Staff of the Prussian army, a position which he held for thirty years, being only relieved in 1888 at his urgent request. He died suddenly in Berlin in 1891.

Von Moltke was the creator of modern scientific warfare. A disciple of Frederic II and Napoleon I, he had the merit of utilizing new inventions and discoveries for the purposes of war. The railroads became an excellent means for the rapid transportation and swift concentration of troops. The telegraph lines assured rapid communication between the commander-in-chief, his officers and armies.

An organizer of the first rank, Moltke also created a studious, efficient, and experienced body of officers. Abandoning because of the deadly weapons of defense, the Napoleonic idea of the massing of troops, he used with preference and with great success the flanking movement. Moreover he foresaw and prepared in time of peace all the details relating to a prospective campaign. The orders were beforehand in the hands of those who were to execute them. The Prussian army was like a perfect machine, which a mere turn of the hand would set in motion.

**526. The North German Confederation (1867–71.)**—The Confederation long contemplated by Prussia was established in 1867 and called the North German Confederation. As its name indicates, it included the states of north Germany. Its organization comprised the following outstanding elements: (1) a *Federal Council*; (2) *a parliament or Reichstag*; (3) *a president.* (1) The Federal Council or *Bundesrath* was

formed by the representatives of the different governments. It was an assembly like the former diet. It existed in the same sense and under the same name in the later German Empire. (2) The Parliament or *Reichstag* was an assembly elected by the universal male suffrage of all North Germans. It was a parliament in the true meaning of the word and existed in the same sense and under the same name in the later German Empire. (3) The Confederation had an hereditary president, who was no other than the King of Prussia. Its foreign relations, diplomatic representation abroad and decisions for peace or war were under his control; its army was under his supreme command. The Confederation no longer formed a federation of independent states, but was one centralized federal state: on this point it essentially differed from its predecessor.

Not only did Prussia reorganize the German Confederation on a new basis and under a new name, she also concluded after the war of 1866, a secret defensive and offensive alliance with the south German states. The *military unity* of Germany was thus complete; a new war was to establish her *political unity*, despite the reluctance of south Germany.

**527. Causes of the Franco-Prussian or Franco-German War (1870–1871).**—As differences arising between France and Prussia caused the war of 1870–1871, it has been called the Franco-Prussian war. It has also been named the Franco-German War, because all Germany, north and south, took part in it.

For several years before the outbreak of the struggle recurring differences had marred the needful harmony in the Franco-Prussian relations. Napoleon's intervention in the Austro-Prussian war was resented by Prussia, although it yielded no advantage to France. Bismarck realized that the complete unification of Germany, which was possible in 1866 had it not been for Napoleon's interference, would meet with determined opposition from France. On the other hand, the French people viewed with jealousy Prussia's grow-

ing power and were dissatisfied with the inactivity of their own government.

As his subjects desired compensation for Prussia's aggrandizement, Napoleon, immediately after the armistice of Nikolsburg, demanded that some German territory on the left bank of the Rhine be ceded to France. Bismarck's answer was a categorical refusal. Napoleon then asked for the sanction of his contemplated occupation of Luxemburg for which he offered to pay a sum of money to Holland, also for permission to annex Belgium at a favorable opportunity. The Luxemburg question was settled in 1867, at the Conference of London at which the Grand Duchy was declared neutral. As for Belgium, Bismarck attentively considered Napoleon's proposals, but never gave any definite answer. In 1870, he published in the English press the French documents bearing on the matter. These successive demands revealed Napoleon's ambitious designs to friend and foe without securing any advantage to France. The time was rapidly approaching when French national pride would have to be given some satisfaction. This national pride was wounded not because Prussia was guilty of any positive offense, but because she had increased her power to the extent of threatening France's leadership on the European continent.

In reality the chief cause of the conflict was the rival and irreconcilable pretensions of both powers, the antagonism and antipathy between both nations. The danger of a conflict was brought nearer by the fact that France appeared now in peaceful now in warlike mood, consistently neglected military preparations, and was unsuccessful in negotiating an alliance with either Austria or Italy.

Her emperor relied for the maintenance of peace exclusively on his own peaceful intentions. He forgot that a people may force war on its government, and that external peace is a condition which affects two parties either of which may force a fight on the other.

**528. Occasion and Pretext of the Franco-German War.**— The occasion of the war was the candidature of the Catholic Prince *Leopold of Hohenzollern* to the Spanish throne, which became vacant, in 1868, through revolution. In 1869, Prince Leopold, a cousin of the King of Prussia, was mentioned among the possible candidates. France at once protested to Prussia, declaring that the acceptance of the Spanish crown by the prince would jeopardize French interests. The prince repeatedly refused the proffered crown; all danger of complications seemed to be averted.

In 1870, however, the offer was renewed by the Spaniards and accepted by the prince. The event caused an explosion of popular excitement in France. The French government through its ambassador to Berlin formally demanded the withdrawal of the candidate. Prince Leopold annulled his previous acceptance and, to give satisfaction to France, refused the Spanish throne. The French government, not satisfied with this action, which should have ended the matter, insisted that the King of Prussia, as head of the Hohenzollern family, give assurrances that he would at no future time give his consent to the prince's acceptance of the Spanish crown. The king rejected this demand made orally by the French ambassador and sent the latter on the same day a dispatch in which he declared that his answer was final and that he had no further communications to make to him on the subject. At the same time he forwarded a copy of the dispatch to his minister, Bismarck, with permission to publish the document. Bismarck reduced the dispatch (called after the place from which it was sent the *Ems Dispatch*) to more concise form, gave it thus to the press and forwarded it to the Prussian envoys abroad.

As soon as its contents reached Paris, indescribable excitement seized both people and government. The passage declaring that the king had no further communication to make to the ambassador was looked upon as an insult offered to the representative of France. It was wrongly interpreted

as referring not only to the Spanish candidature, but to all matters and to be in fact a rupture of diplomatic relations. As a consequence France declared war against Prussia, (July 19, 1870).

**529. The Franco-German War (1870–71); the Peace of Frankfort (May 10, 1871).**—France thus lightheartedly plunged into a war for which she was woefully unprepared, whereas Prussia launched against her the most perfectly organized army the world had yet seen. The French people were convinced that there could be only one possible issue to this conflict, namely, a Prussian defeat. "Down with Prussia, on to Berlin" was the general cry in Paris. In Germany less self-confidence, but unparalleled national enthusiasm took possession of all classes. This patriotic ardor was aroused especially by Bismarck's publication of Napoleon's designs on German territory. In the French army confusion and disorder set in as soon as the decree of mobilization was issued. Some officers could not locate their commands and some regiments experienced difficulty in finding their armament. Moreover, the plan of campaign was faulty; the French forces were scattered along the German border and could be defeated separately. Against these disorganized troops, Moltke threw three armies proceeding at sufficient distance not to hinder each other's movements and remaining within necessary proximity for effective and useful cooperation.

The war comprised a first period in which the regular armies of France were destroyed; and a second period during which the country raised new levies but could not turn defeat into victory. In the first period fall the three decisive battles of *Wörth*, where the army of Marshal McMahon was defeated and forced to retreat; of *Gravelotte*, the greatest battle of the war, in which Marshal Bazaine, outflanked by the Germans, was enclosed within the fortress of Metz and later forced to surrender with 180,000 men; and of *Sedan*, where the French army was surrounded and forced to capitulate with its

emperor. During the second period, the most important event was the siege of Paris, which began September 19, 1870, and ended January 28, 1871. The military operations during this period centred around the French capital, which armies advancing from the provinces unsuccessfully sought to relieve. The capitulation of Paris and the armistice of Versailles were signed on the same day.

The *definitive peace* was concluded at Frankfort May 10, 1871, on the following conditions: (1) Cession of most of Alsace and of part of Lorraine by France to Germany. (2) Payment of an indemnity of one billion dollars to Germany within three years. German troops were to occupy French territory at France's expense until complete payment of this indemnity. (3) In commercial matters Germany was to be placed on the same footing as the nations most favored by France.

During the course of the war, the German Empire was proclaimed at Versailles on January 18, 1871, the anniversary day of the creation of the Kingdom of Prussia in 1701.

## III. Germany from 1871 to 1914

**530. Bismarck seeks to establish Religious Unity in the New Empire; the Kulturkampf (1871–1878).**—At the price of great sacrifices, economic, military and political, unity had been successively established in Germany. One prolific source of division remained, namely, religion, since approximately one-third of the population was Catholic and two-thirds Protestant. To consolidate the newly created empire, Bismarck proposed to effect also religious unity among all its subjects. This object was to be attained by subjecting the Catholics like the Protestants to state control in religion. They were in the empire the only large religious body enjoying independence in religious matters. Should they retain this privilege they would be, so Bismarck thought, a cause of weakness and might become a source of disaffection in an

CATHEDRAL OF COLOGNE

empire founded on the defeat of two Catholic powers: Austria and France.

Masterful as he naturally was and powerful as success had made him, Bismarck carried through a series of laws designed to subject Catholics in all things to the civil government. Most of the measures affected directly only the kingdom of Prussia; others applied to the whole empire. Some of the laws which had been voted for Prussia were passed in a similar form by the legislatures of other German states. The struggle thus waged against the Catholic Church was treacherously called by those who inaugurated it a struggle for civilization (Kulturkampf). The laws themselves are frequently styled the May Laws because several of them were passed in the month of May, 1873. They decreed, among other things, the expulsion from Germany of the Jesuits and of other religious orders not engaged in the care of the sick. The training of candidates for the priesthood was placed under civil supervision, and the appointment of clergymen was made subject to state approval. In other ways also the government of the Church was usurped by the civil power.

The Catholics vehemently protested against such flagrant violation of their most sacred rights. Bishops and priests suffered imprisonment or went into banishment rather than submit to such tyrannical oppression. The Catholic people with exemplary devotedness upheld its pastors and stubbornly resisted the enforcement of anti-Catholic laws.

Bismarck, who up to this time, had not known defeat in his political career, was equally determined to force the Catholics into submission and subjection. For several years he waged a ruthless persecution against them. But the most violent means failed to produce even mediocre results. The towering chancellor met his match in parliament in a diminutive and ungainly, but extraordinarily shrewd, Catholic representative, *Ludwig Windthorst*. Bismarck had to face the united and uncompromising opposition of the Catholic

party. This party, organized in 1871, gained in strength at every new election. Its membership was overwhelmingly though not exclusively Catholic. From the position of the seats which it occupied in the parliament building it took the name of Centre Party.

In 1878 it had become so powerful that Bismarck felt the need of its support for his economic programme. To secure its assistance he abandoned the persecution of the Church, profited by the accession of Leo XIII to enter into better relations with Rome, publicly acknowledged that his religious policy was both a blunder and a failure, and began himself to work for the abrogation of the anti-Catholic laws passed at his dictation. As for the German Catholics, they emerged from the struggle much stronger and better organized than they had entered it. The Centre Party has since played an important and frequently a leading part in Germany's political life.

**531. Bismarck's Anti-Socialistic Policy.**—Laws were framed not only against Catholics but also against Socialists. The Catholics were considered a source of disunion from a religious point of view, the Socialists were looked upon as a danger to the monarchy owing to the political views which they held and propagated. Coercive measures were passed against the Socialists and enforced for some years. This policy of repression was abandoned, however, at the accession and through the influence of Emperor William II.

Socialism, despite setbacks at elections, has not ceased to grow in Germany. The socialist party is today the most numerous political party in the country whether the number of its representatives in parliament or the number of the votes it polls be considered. In order to uproot socialism, Bismarck sought to better the condition of the laboring classes. To this effect the insurance of workmen against sickness, accident, disability and old age was made compulsory. This work of social reform was of such importance,

that it is looked upon by some as Bismarck's greatest achievement in domestic politics.

**532. German Economic and Commercial Activity.**—Before 1871 Germany was but a poor agricultural state. After that year a marvellous economic transformation took place in the country. This remarkable development was due to the steady increase in the population, to the scientific organization of all the resources and to the systematic exploitation of all the economic forces of the land.

The precision and thoroughness which had created the most efficient instrument of war in the world, were applied to the development along scientific lines of industry and commerce. Germany was transformed from an agricultural into an industrial state. Contemporaneous with the development of industry a powerful merchant marine was built and emigration decreased. The people now found sufficient work at home and stayed in the fatherland. The intensive industrial development and extraordinary commercial activity were an absolute necessity if the rapidly growing population were not to be forced to emigrate in large numbers. But the increasing frequency with which this ill-favored competitor appeared in foreign markets first caused amusement, then produced uneasiness, and finally helped to bring about a crisis in world affairs.

**533. Foreign Relations.**—Bismarck continued to direct successfully the foreign policy of the empire until his dismissal in 1890. He had greatly underestimated the recuperative powers of France. As he considered her rapid recovery from defeat a danger to Germany, he showed in the early seventies an inclination to provoke a new war with France. The difficulties were fortunately bridged over without a conflict. In 1878, he presided at the Congress of Berlin in which Russia was deprived by Europe of the spoils of her victory over the Turks. This humiliation was keenly resented in the empire of the czars.

Bismarck, nevertheless, succeeded in preventing the con-

clusion of a Franco-Russian alliance as long as he held office. Not only did he effectually prevent this union between the two great powers to the west and east of Germany, but he concluded a German alliance with Austria in 1879 and with Italy in 1882. He thus formed the Triple Alliance which lasted until the Great War. In 1884, a secret treaty was signed between Russia and Germany mutually guaranteeing benevolent neutrality in the event of either power being attacked by a third party. Should Austria now change her attitude toward Germany, Bismarck could feel safe from a simultaneous attack by Russia. This secret treaty was not renewed by Emperor William II at the beginning of his reign.

**534. A New Personality in German Politics: William II (1888–1918).**—On March 9, 1888, Emperor William I died at the age of ninety-one. He was succeeded by his son who was suffering from a fatal illness and who reigned for ninety-nine days under the name of Frederic I. The latter's death brought to the throne his eldest son, William II, who was then twenty-nine years old. With this youthful emperor began the reign of an industrious and talented but impulsive, erratic and eccentric ruler. It was the beginning of the personal rule of a monarch endowed with a highly imaginative and oratorical temperament, rather than distinguished by singleness of purpose and temperate judgment.

William II was imbued with an exaggerated idea of his own power and his country's importance. "There is," he declared on one occasion, "only one master in this country, and I am he. I shall suffer no other beside me." "I see in the people and the land which have descended to me a talent entrusted to me by God, which it is my duty to increase. Those who will help me I heartily welcome; those who oppose me I shall dash to pieces."

**535. William II Dismisses Bismarck.**—It is obvious that two strong personalities like William II and Prince Bismarck could not long harmoniously cooperate in the same adminis-

tration. No doubt Bismarck's vast knowledge and consummate statesmanship were considered by some, particularly by the Iron Chancellor himself, indispensable to the inexperienced monarch. But temperament speaks louder than expediency; it gradually became clear to all, except Bismarck, that what William I dreaded, William II would welcome: a personal change in the chancellorship.

The rupture came on a question of minor importance regarding the relations between the various heads of administrative departments and the Crown. Bismarck contended that the various secretaries of state should communicate with the monarch only through their immediate political head, the prime minister or chancellor. William II, on the contrary, held that they might communicate with him and he with them directly without previous reference to the head of the ministry. Shortly after this difference of opinion had estranged emperor and chancellor, William II requested Prince Bismarck to hand in his resignation (1890). Bismarck reluctantly and ungraciously complied with the demand of an imperious master.

The emperor later tersely expressed the real cause of the dismissal. It was a question, he said, as to whether the Bismarck dynasty or the Hohenzollern dynasty should rule in Germany. The unceremonious dismissal embittered the powerful chancellor, who went into an inglorious but loquacious retirement.

**536. The Imperial Policy.**—When some German merchants had suggested to Prince Bismarck that in the treaty establishing peace with France in 1871, Germany might ask for the cession of some colonies, Bismarck unhesitatingly replied: "I am not a colonial." Although at a later date during his tenure of office the empire acquired some outlying territories, the chancellor never felt drawn to colonial possessions. His thoughts and aims were narrowly centred in Europe.

William II, on the contrary, soon after his accession pro-

nounced the ominous words: "Our future lies on the water." The words are sufficiently comprehensive to include the whole program of his world policy or *Weltpolitik*. Germany was not to remain confined to Europe, her mission in the emperor's eyes was to expand, to acquire colonies, to increase her commerce and to speak a mighty word in all international questions. She was to be a world power conquering by peaceful expansion or, if need be, by force of arms her "place in the sun," and this place was to be a large one. This ambitious policy and the ever-growing trade of the empire led to the creation of a powerful navy. As William I was the creator of the German army, so William II became the founder of the German navy. The navy was his great personal work; it was raised in a few years from an insignificant position to the second place among the navies of the world.

In other imperial affairs the spirit of continuity was conspicuous by its absence. The ever threatening alliance between France and Russia, so long successfully prevented by Bismarck, was concluded during the reign of William II. True, Germany scored shortly afterwards a distinct diplomatic success in Turkey where she appeared as Russia's dangerous rival. But despite this advantageous position in Turkey before the World War and the acquisition of Heligoland from England, it cannot be denied that German diplomacy has miserably failed in its work since Bismarck's dismissal. The frequent indiscretions of the emperor served to increase international difficulties and caused a state of uncertainty and apprehension in Europe, particularly in France.

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## CHAPTER XXV

### ITALY FROM 1815 TO 1914

**537. Italy and the Congress of Vienna.**—From the destruction of the Roman Empire to the time of Napoleon I, Italy did not exist as a united national state ruled by a central Italian government. Divided into various states in the Middle Ages, partly subject to the Spaniards and the Austrians in modern times, almost unified by Napoleon I, she was again dismembered by the Congress of Vienna. She was divided by the latter into seven principal states: (1) the Kingdom of Sardinia; (2) the Kingdom of Lombardo-Venetia; (3) the Duchy of Parma; (4) the Duchy of Modena; (5) the Grand Duchy of Tuscany; (6) the States of the Church; (7) the Kingdom of Naples or of the Two Sicilies.

The Kingdom of Sardinia comprised the island of Sardinia and Piedmont and was ruled by the *House of Savoy*. Lombardo-Venetia was governed by the Emperor of Austria, whose influence extended to the duchies of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany, all of which were ruled by Austrian princes. The States of the Church were ruled by the Pope, and the Two Sicilies were governed by members of the House of Bourbon. In all these states absolute rule was maintained for a considerable time in the nineteenth century.

**538. Beginnings of the Movement for the Unification of Italy; the Republicans and the Reformers.**—The division of Italy into petty independent states and the restoration of absolute rule sowed the seeds of discontent and irritation among Italian nationalists and liberals. Secret societies were formed throughout Italy for the attainment of popular liberties and the establishment of a unified Italy. Members of these secret associations were chiefly responsible for the insurrections, which broke out in the Two Sicilies and in Piedmont in 1820, and in Modena, Parma, and the States

of the Church in 1831. These disorders were promptly suppressed and their instigators severely punished by the Austrians.

In 1831, the nationalists instead of using merely secret propaganda, came out in the open and agitated publicly in favor of liberal reforms and of Italian unity. This was the beginning of that great political and national movement which the Italians have called "Risorgimento" (Resurrection, Renaissance). Two divergent tendencies appeared in the course of the agitation among the devotees of the movement: (1) a republican tendency represented by Young Italy; (2) a more conservative element composed of the Reform Party.

Some, like the Genoese Joseph Mazzini (1805–1872), contended that unity should be secured through a general revolution in which the several monarchies would be destroyed and replaced by a single united Italian Republic. They formed the society known as *Young Italy*. Others, like the Catholic priest Gioberti, held that revolution was unnecessary and reform sufficient (hence *Reformers*). The monarchies were not to be destroyed but transformed from absolute into constitutional forms of government. Furthermore the several Italian states were to be unified in a Confederation the moral direction of which would be assigned to the Pope and the political and military direction to the King of Sardinia.

Both Reformers and Young Italians were convinced that unification was possible only by the expulsion of the Austrians from Italy.

**539. Leading Men and Principal Phases in the Unification of Italy.**—The different Italian states were united into one kingdom during the reign of Victor Emmanuel (1849–1878). He was the second of the name among the kings of Sardinia, but in 1861, the more important title of King of Italy was bestowed on him and as such he was known as Victor Emmanuel I. In his efforts to unite all Italians under his sway, he

was ably assisted by his minister, Count Cavour. He also profited by the expeditions undertaken by the adventurer Joseph Garibaldi and received the military support of the Emperor Napoleon III.

The history of the unification may be divided into four phases: (1) the Franco-Austrian or Italian War of 1859 by which Lombardy was added to the Sardinian kingdom; (2) the conquest of the Two Sicilies by Garibaldi (1860); (3) the Italo-Austrian War of 1866, resulting in the annexation of Venetia to Sardinia; (4) the occupation of Rome by the troops of Victor Emmanuel (1870).

**540. Accession of Pope Pius IX (1846); Revolution in Italy (1848).**—In 1846, Pope Pius IX ascended the papal throne. He signalized his accession by the introduction of a series of liberal reforms in the temporal administration of the Papal States. As a consequence he was hailed as a progressive and enlightened ruler not only in Rome and Italy but throughout the world. His example determined the sovereigns of Tuscany and Sardinia to grant greater freedom to their subjects. Ferdinand II of Naples, on the contrary, rejected all popular demands, and it was in his states that in January, 1848, the revolutionary movement began which was to extend to all Italy. He was constrained to promise a constitution; similarly the Pope, the Grand Duke of Tuscany and Charles Albert of Sardinia consented to grant constitutions to their subjects. Insurrections took place likewise in the Kingdom of Lombardo-Venetia. The Austrians were driven from Milan and Venice, and the Italian patriots now thought that the hour of independence and unification had struck.

**541. Sardinia at War with Austria; Pius IX's Flight to Gaeta; Suppression of the Revolution.**—The success of the Lombardo-Venetians against the Austrians roused national Italian enthusiasm to the highest pitch. King Charles Albert of Sardinia declared that the Lombardo-Venetians were entitled on the part of the other Italians to the help

which a brother has the right to expect from a brother. The Sardinian army at once took the field against the Austrians and was joined by contingents from other Italian states. Charles Albert was so successful for a time that both Lombardy and Venetia voted their annexation to Sardinia. Later his army was defeated at the first battle of Custozza, and an armistice was concluded (1848).

The defeat of the Sardinians was partly ascribed to the refusal of the Pope to declare war on Austria. The enthusiasm of the Italian people was suddenly changed into fury against the pontiff. His prime minister Rossi, who was an advocate of Italian unity, was stabbed to death. The revolution became so threatening that the Pope fled from Rome to Gaeta in the kingdom of Naples and issued an appeal for help to France, Austria and other powers.

In Rome and Florence the republic was proclaimed. After thus seizing power in various states, the Italian patriots considered victory over Austria was possible and the Sardinians resumed military operations. But the Sardinian army was crushed at Novara (1849), and Charles Albert on the very day of the defeat abdicated in favor of his son Victor Emmanuel II.

The latter opened negotiations with Austria and concluded peace. The revolutionary governments were suppressed in various parts of Italy by the Austrians; the French captured Rome, which they restored to the Pope, and Ferdinand II suppressed the insurrection in the kingdom of Naples. Sardinia was the only state in which a constitution was maintained as a result of the events of 1848. The power of Austria was not reduced but increased in Italy. The events of 1848–1849 proved two things: (1) that the kings of Sardinia, who had twice attacked Austria, were the champions of Italian independence and (2) that it was impossible for Italy single-handed to defeat the Austrian armies. An alliance with, and the help of, some foreign power would be necessary.

**542. Sardinia Prepares for the Expulsion of the Austrians from Italy.**—Count Cavour, sagacious and practical statesman that he was, foresaw the necessity of winning friendship abroad and of developing the national resources at home. He set himself this twofold task as soon as he was called to the ministry by the king of Sardinia in 1850. At home, he secured the necessary revenues by the suppression of the monastic orders; their properties, valued at six million dollars, he declared national property and sold for the benefit of the state. He encouraged agriculture, promoted commerce and developed the railway system. This increase in material resources provided the funds necessary for military preparations on an extensive scale.

More valuable to the establishment of Italian unity was the conclusion of foreign alliances. Victor Emmanuel's first ally was Napoleon III, who was a warm supporter of nationality and who affectionately called Italy his second country. The occasion of the conclusion of the treaty was the Crimean War in which Sardinia sided with Great Britain and France and sent 15,000 troops against Russia. This intervention could not exercise a decisive bearing on the conflict, but it secured to Sardinia a place among the great powers and brought Italian affairs before the Congress of Paris in 1856.

**543. The Franco-Austrian War and the Peace of Zürich (1859).**—A second alliance, offensive and defensive in character, was concluded between France and Sardinia in 1858. It was directed against Austria which by a series of provocations was to be forced into war. The conflict broke out in 1859. Napoleon III in assuming command of his troops declared that "he would free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic."

Two great battles decided the issue of the war: *Magenta* and *Solferino*. The first was turned into a victory for the French by the timely arrival of General McMahon on the battlefield; it delivered all Lombardy into the hands of the

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Franco-Sardinian Armies. In the second, Solferino, the Emperor Francis Joseph personally commanded his troops, but could not prevent another Austrian defeat. This battle seemed to be the first act of a campaign for the conquest of Venetia; but immediately after the battle Napoleon opened negotiations for an armistice with Francis Joseph.

The two emperors met at *Villafranca* and agreed on the preliminaries of peace. The essential clause was the cession of Lombardy to Napoleon for Victor Emmanuel. Francis Joseph was to remain in possession of Venetia. Napoleon thus abandoned his plan of a free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic. This change is accounted for by the following reasons: the deep impression made on the emperor by the sight of the dead and mutilated covering the battlefield; the fact that Prussia was mobilizing and that he was threatened with a second war on the Rhine.

The definitive peace was concluded at Zürich in Switzerland on the following conditions: (1) cession of Lombardy by Austria; (2) restoration of the sovereigns of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena, who had been driven from their possessions at the beginning of the war; (3) the organization of Italy into a confederation with the Pope as honorary president and the emperor of Austria as an active member.

In grateful acknowledgment of French military assistance against Austria, Sardinia ceded to Napoleon III in 1860 the County of Nice and the province of Savoy, the cradle of the royal family of Sardinia. Prior to the cession, the inhabitants of both territories had expressed in a referendum their desire for union with France.

**544. New Accessions of Territory to Sardinia.**—With the exception of the cession of Lombardy, none of the articles of the Peace of Zürich was observed. The armistice had aroused intense resentment among the Italian patriots who looked upon Napoleon's conduct as treason. They had hoped for a united peninsula; a powerless confederation was instead decreed.

Despite the provisions of the armistice and the stipulations of peace, the unification of Italy continued to make progress, and important accessions of territory to Sardinia have to be recorded. One year and a half after Villafranca the union of several states with the Sardinian kingdom was an accomplished fact. They included most of the papal territory and the whole of the Two Sicilies. Sardinia, which in July, 1859, had a population of five million inhabitants, had risen to be a state of twenty-two millions at the end of December, 1860. The increase was due to popular vote and to conquest. Shortly after the armistice of Villafranca, Tuscany, Parma, Modena and that part of the States of the Church known as the Romagna voted in favor of union with Sardinia, and Victor Emmanuel admitted them among the provinces under his rule.

**545. Conquest of the Two Sicilies; Victor Emmanuel is Proclaimed King of Italy (1861).**—The conquest of the Two Sicilies and their incorporation into the kingdom of Sardinia was due to the bold adventurer and ardent nationalist *Joseph Garibaldi.* In 1860, he organized at Genoa with the connivance of Cavour a body of 1,000 volunteers whom he was to lead to the assistance of the Sicilian revolutionists then fighting for independence. The *Thousand* or the *Red Shirts,* as they were called from their number or uniform, were promptly joined after their landing at Marsala by the Sicilian insurgents and also by several thousand new volunteers from Genoa. A campaign of a few weeks sufficed to deliver the island of Sicily into the hands of Garibaldi who placed it under Sardinian rule. From Sicily he passed to the territory of Naples, conquered the city and proclaimed Victor Emmanuel king. His forces were insufficient, however, to defeat the Neapolitan troops which had retreated but were not conquered. At this juncture, Victor Emmanuel and a Sardinian army completed the subjugation of the Two Sicilies.

Before invading the Neapolitan territory, the Sardinians had occupied the Marches and Umbria, two provinces of the

States of the Church. The papal troops which had tried to prevent the occupation by the Sardinians were defeated at *Castelfidardo* near Loretto and captured in Ancona (1860). In justification of their campaign in the States of the Church and the territory of Naples, Victor Emmanuel and Cavour alleged the necessity of protecting Rome which Garibaldi had openly threatened to wrest from the Pope.

After these territorial gains had been made by Sardinia, a Parliament on March 13, 1861, conferred on Victor Emmanuel the title of King of Italy. Several years later, a Roman decree (*Non expedit*, it is not expedient) enjoined upon the Catholics of the new kingdom abstention from the polls in parliamentary elections. Their motto was to be, "neither elector nor elected," because their active participation in parliamentary life might have been interpreted as an approval of the spoliation of the Holy See. The decree, though never formally abrogated, has since largely fallen into disuse.

**546. The Acquisition of Venetia (1866) and the Occupation of Rome (1870).**—There was still wanting to the new kingdom, its natural, historical capital *Rome* and the province of *Venetia*. Venetia was acquired at the peace of Vienna in 1866, after an unsuccessful war with Austria. In the war the Italians had lost the second battle of Custozza and the naval engagement at Lissa. They, nevertheless, gained a province owing to the victories won in the north by their Prussian allies.

But the Italians had the possession of Rome more at heart than even the acquisition of a new province. The occupation of Rome by the troops of the new kingdom was delayed several years owing to the fact that Rome was not merely an Italian city, but also the religious capital of the whole Catholic world. The Roman question had long been a troublesome one, notably for Napoleon III. On the one hand, he did not wish to disregard the national aspirations of the Italian patriots, and on the other, he could not help heeding in a measure the sentiments of his own Catholic

subjects. His personal desire that the Pope should voluntarily and freely renounce his rights of temporal sovereignty was thwarted by the firm refusal of Pius IX to entertain any such suggestion.

As no arrangement with the papacy was possible, Napoleon and Victor Emmanuel concluded the "September Convention" of 1864, in which the former promised to withdraw his troops from Rome within two years, while the latter declared that he would neither undertake nor permit any attack upon pontifical territory. In 1866, the French expeditionary force evacuated Rome.

Garibaldi, whose motto was "Rome or Death," at once began his preparations for an attack upon the city. He marched on Rome in 1867, but was defeated at Mentana by Papal troops and an expeditionary force dispatched from France. A French military contingent again garrisoned the Eternal City. The new occupation lasted three years. In 1870 Napoleon III, involved in a war with Germany, recalled his troops. The Italian government no longer fearing foreign interference immediately profited by the opportunity to capture and annex Rome. The establishment of Italian unity was thus virtually completed, September 20, 1870.

Italy has since made considerable industrial progress and has risen to a high plane in economic development, especially in its northern provinces. Among the people, however, poverty and want have made themselves keenly felt owing to an expensive military establishment and exceedingly burdensome taxation. The country, lacking iron ore and coal deposits, has been unable to make itself economically independent, although it is ranked politically among the great powers.

**547. The Law of Guarantees.**—In order to calm the anxieties of the Catholic world concerning its interests and its Head after the suppression of the Pope's temporal power, the Italian government carried through parliament

a bill which became known as the "Law of Guarantees" (May 13, 1871). The principal stipulations of this law, which was abolished in 1929, were the following: (1) the Pope and Roman ecclesiastical authorities are guaranteed complete liberty of communication in spiritual matters with the Catholic world. Their letters, papers and all documents are free from all interference by the civil power. (2) The Pope's person is sacred and inviolable, that is, he cannot be brought before a court of law nor impeached. (3) Royal honors are to be paid to him; he enjoys the right attributed to sovereigns of maintaining a bodyguard; insult and injury to his person are punishable with the same penalties as insults or injuries to the king. (4) The Vatican and Lateran palaces and the Villa of Castel Gandolfo remain in the possession of the Holy See, whereas all the other papal property is confiscated. (5) An annual income of 3,225,000 lire (about 640,000 dollars according to the pre-war rate of exchange) is to be paid to the Pope for the needs of church administration and the maintenance of church buildings.

The papacy did not accept this law nor ever collect the sum allotted to it by the Italian government. It rightly considered that since it enjoyed sovereign rights the Italian state could not legislate for it nor guarantee privileges. The acceptance of the yearly income and of other provisions of the law would have been interpreted as an implicit recognition of the new state of things, as a renunciation of all temporal sovereignty and of the property confiscated by the Italian government. Finally the sum offered to the Holy See in compensation for the losses sustained was not only inadequate, but also utterly insufficient for the needs of Church government.

**548. The Catholic World and the Suppression of the Temporal Power.**—The Papal States were certainly under the lawful authority and control of the Popes. The seizure of Rome was a manifest injustice on the part of the Italian government. There could therefore be no obligation for the

papacy to accept the settlement imposed by the Law of Guarantees. It was a grievous mistake on the part of the Italian government, after its unjust seizure of Rome, to attempt to impose conditions on the Pope, instead of consulting and negotiating with him. It was similarly an egregious blunder on its part to consider the Roman question a purely domestic, Italian question, whereas it is in reality a universal, international issue. For Rome is not merely an Italian city, but the religious capital of the Catholic world. All Catholics have an interest in maintaining the independence of their supreme head and the freedom of their ecclesiastical government.

They were at one with the Holy See in rejecting the Law of Guarantees because: (1) it was an imposition and not a friendly agreement; (2) it did not sufficiently guarantee the independence and liberty of the Holy See, for what one Italian parliament can do, another can undo. Indeed the party of the "Left" always sought to abolish the law. (3) While it is true that the Papal States are not necessary today to the same extent as in the Middle Ages, it is equally true that the Pope in accepting the Law of Guarantees would have abandoned rights, the importance of which cannot be easily estimated, and would have accepted a sum insufficient for the government of the Church.

It may be added, however, that the Pope was not literally a prisoner in the Vatican. The Italian government placed no obstacle to his public appearance outside his palace; but for a considerable time it furnished no convincing proof of its sincere intention to protect the person of the Holy Father from molestation in the streets of Rome.

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## CHAPTER XXVI

### AUSTRIA-HUNGARY; RUSSIA, TURKEY AND THE BALKAN STATES (1815–1914)

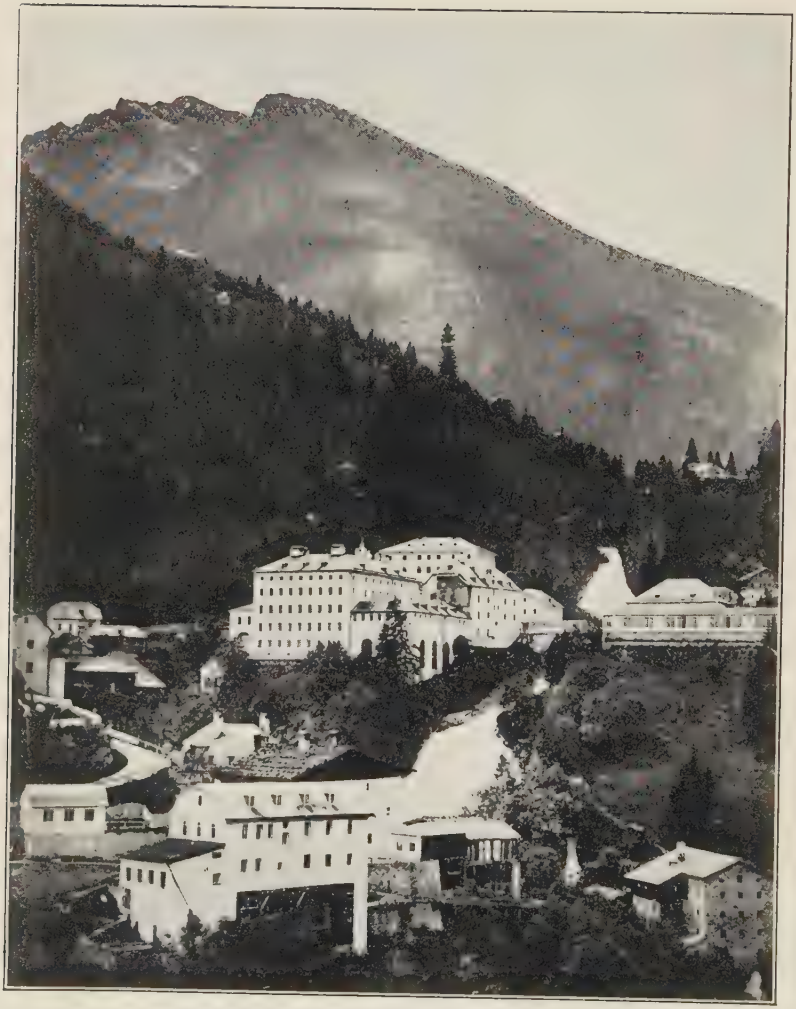
## I. Austria-Hungary (1815–1914)

**549. Austria-Hungary from 1815–1848.**—Austria was the leading power and her minister Metternich the leading statesman at the Congress of Vienna. The settlement agreed upon by the assembly safeguarded her interests and gratified her ambition. It made the Adriatic Sea an Austrian lake and Austria the predominant power in Italy. One-third of the Italian people were placed either directly or indirectly under Austrian jurisdiction.

Small wonder was it that the policy which the Austrian government carried out until 1848 was dominated by the cherished aim of keeping intact the work of the Congress. As war was likely to produce important changes in the political geography of Europe, the maintenance of peace was the guiding principle of the Austrian foreign office. In the internal administration of the empire reforms were necessary and their need realized even by Metternich. The emperor, however, was opposed to change and the chancellor lacked the political strength and personal inclination to break with a strongly established system based on privilege.

Conditions vividly recalling the old regime, in fact the old regime itself, endured in Austria-Hungary until 1848. The empire was intellectually and commercially isolated from the rest of the world. In the things of the mind a ridiculously severe censorship cut off the people from the literary productions and scientific progress of foreign countries. In commercial affairs the country was stagnant, shut off from the outside world and owing to a lack of means of communication making little industrial progress at home.

This unprogressive system led to the revolution of 1848



Bad Gastein (Austria)

which shook to its foundation that medley of languages, races and religions, the Austro-Hungarian empire.

**550. The Revolution of 1848 in Austria-Hungary.**—The many nationalities living in the Austro-Hungarian empire at that time may be divided into four principal groups: (1) the Germans; (2) the Hungarians or Magyars; (3) the Slavs; (4) the Italians.

All these groups took part in the revolution which swept over the Austrian dominions in 1848. But their demands were by no means identical. The Germans at Vienna insisted on the introduction of free political institutions. The Hungarians or Magyars rose first to secure self government under the Hapsburgs and later fought for the complete separation from Austria and its dynasty. The Italians rebelled against foreign rule and sought union with Sardinia. The Slavs of the north or Czechs were embittered against the Germans and demanded national recognition and augmented rights. The Slavs of the south or Croatians and Serbians were dissatisfied with the Vienna government, but became still more incensed against the domineering Magyars.

The revolutionists succeeded everywhere in extorting temporary concessions, but nowhere did they prove strong enough to establish a lasting constitutional government. In Italy they were easily defeated by Austrian troops; at Prague and at Vienna they were likewise forced to surrender to the imperial forces. The Croatians and Serbians soon joined the Vienna government against the Magyars, and in 1849 the Hungarian revolution, the most formidable of all, was stamped out with Russian military aid.

So far as immediate results were concerned the revolution was, from a constitutional point of view, an unmitigated failure. True, Austria was granted a constitution in 1848 when affairs were critical for the government. Hungary also received a considerable measure of self-government. But the Austrian constitution was never put in force and attempts were made almost immediately to withdraw the

concessions made Hungary. When the Magyars answered by a declaration of complete separation from Austria, their constitution was revoked.

The revolution produced only one lasting result and that of a social character. The peasants were freed from feudal burdens and became free owners of the soil. Compensation was paid to the landowners for the loss sustained through the change.

**551. Absolute Rule Maintained in Austria-Hungary.**—While the revolution was threatening the very existence of the Austro-Hungarian empire, the weak-minded Ferdinand I (1835–1848), abdicated and was succeeded by his nephew Francis Joseph I, a youth of eighteen (1848–1916). The latter in 1849 published a constitution, uniform in character, for all the states of the empire. Magyars and Czechs rejected it and continued to voice their demands for concessions consonant with their national ideals.

Under these circumstances the Vienna government reverted to the system of absolute rule and instead of seeking to know the popular will imposed its own. It sought its support in moral persuasion, represented by religion, and in material force, wielded by police and army. The military element was in favor at court and with the government because the army had saved the dynasty and restored order. To win over the clergy, a concordat with a generous recognition of the rights of the Catholic Church was concluded with Rome in 1855. It was observed until 1870, when the Austrian government profited by the definition of papal infallibility to abrogate it. This action was taken on the preposterous plea that the Pope, one of the contracting parties, having received from the definition a new character the agreement ceased to be binding. As for nationalism, it was everywhere ignored by the government, for it was easier to disregard the aspirations of the various races than to reconcile their conflicting demands.

**552. Austrian Defeats; Compromise of 1867.**—Two disas-

trous wars led to the establishment in Austria-Hungary of those free institutions and constitutional forms which the Revolution of 1848 failed to secure. The empire lost the war against France and Italy in 1859 and the war against Prussia in 1866.

After these defeats the government keenly felt the need of popular support, and in 1860 began the establishment of parliamentary institutions which received their definitive form in the Compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867.

The Compromise transformed the empire into the dual monarchy of Austria and Hungary. These two parts were given a single, central government for certain common interests, and separate governments for local interests. The common government comprised one sovereign, two parliamentary delegations and three ministries. The sovereign was the executive of both countries and was emperor at Vienna and king at Budapest. The ministries for common purposes were war, finance and foreign affairs. Two delegations of 60 members each were chosen annually from the two legislatures, that of Austria and that of Hungary, for the settlement of common affairs. They met alternately at Vienna and at Budapest, held separate sessions and exchanged written communications. If after three such interchanges they were still in disagreement the entire one-hundred and twenty met in joint session and decided the matter at issue by a majority vote.

The Compromise remained in force until the dissolution of the dual monarchy. While it did not effect a solution of all racial difficulties, it furnished a working basis for the essential cooperation between rival nationalities.

**553. Austria's Foreign Policy after 1815.**—In the course of the nineteenth century Austria-Hungary pursued a threefold aim in her foreign policy. She sought (1) to retain her ascendency in the German Confederation; (2) to hold her possessions and maintain her influence in Italy; (3) to expand in an easterly direction. It has already been seen in the

chapters dealing with Germany and Italy how the movements which culminated in the political unification of these two countries adversely affected Austrian interests. Austria lost her leadership in Germany as well as her possessions in Italy.

Aware of her need of foreign support rather than mindful of defeats inflicted by rival neighbors, she first concluded an alliance with Germany (1879) and then with Italy (1883). Thus secure from danger in the west she sought in the east compensation for loss of power and territory. This policy was crowned with temporary success. In 1878 the Congress of Berlin in its Balkan settlement placed Bosnia and Herzegovina, two Turkish provinces, under Austria-Hungary's administrative control.

Austria occupied and pacified the provinces just mentioned. She also took an active interest in all decisions affecting the political status and economic development of other parts of eastern Europe. The Balkans became a centre of agitation, unrest and intrigue where the rival interests of Austria and Russia frequently clashed. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the former particularly elicited a flurry of excitement in some European chancelleries (1908). In Russia it caused deep resentment but led to no immediate outbreak of hostilities against the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

## II. Russia (1815–1914)

**554. Czar Alexander I (1801–1825).**—Alexander I, who has already been mentioned frequently, was a strange composite of autocratic temperament and liberal tendencies. The former he owed to natural endowment and Russian environment; the latter were the result of the democratic teachings of a Swiss tutor. The conflicting elements in the emperor's make-up are well described in the condensed statement of a close associate: Alexander wished everyone to be free as long as everyone agreed with him. An autocrat

by nature, a liberal by training and a mystic in religion he loved mankind, but distrusted his people.

His reign, viewed from the standpoint of his political sentiments, falls into two distinct parts: (1) from 1801 to 1820 the emperor admired free institutions and constitutional government and made weak attempts to introduce them into Russia; (2) in 1820, he became a believer in ultra-conservative measures and from then until the end of his reign followed a reactionary policy.

**555. First Period of the Reign (1801–1820).**—Until 1820, Alexander I planned to execute reforms in his dominions and dreamt of extending greater freedom to his subjects. He entertained a sincere, but not clearly defined, desire to improve internal conditions in Russia, although for the first fourteen years of his reign he carried on more wars than any other Russian emperor during an equal period of time.[1] To relieve the country's financial distress, he established a National Bank and encouraged the exportation of corn. In an effort to promote the spread of western culture among his people he reorganized the old universities and established new ones. He even thought of freeing the Russian serfs who, forming more than one-half of his people, were still bought and sold with the land on which they lived. But his purpose to emancipate them was never carried out, and his establishment of military colonies in south and central Russia increased, instead of lightening their burdens. Soldiers were settled among them and military commanders were placed over them. The scheme was adopted to provide a less expensive but more numerous army, but its principal effect was to reduce the liberty, and to intensify the distress, of the people.

Alexander's plans were not exclusively concerned with economic and educational reforms. They comprised the concession of political and religious freedom. The political

[1] For the wars carried on by Russia in the nineteenth century see Nos. 414–431 572–577.

rights of the Baltic provinces were gradually extended and the Grand Duchy of Finland enjoyed a large measure of self-government. Poland, after the Congress of Vienna, was granted a constitution, and its own Polish army.

In ecclesiastical affairs also the czar evinced a more tolerant spirit than his predecessors. He extended favors to the English Protestant Bible Society and entered into diplomatic relations with Pope Pius VII. He seems to have contemplated the union of the Russian Church with the Catholic communion, but is said to have been deterred from this step by members of the Holy Synod.

**556. Second Period of Alexander's Reign (1820–1825).**— In 1820, Alexander I declared to Metternich that the liberal system followed by himself had proved a failure and that the reactionary policy adopted by the Austrian chancellor alone promised success. Several events led the czar to abandon his liberal aims and to change his policy. Revolutions were blazing out in foreign countries and were attributed by him to liberal agitation. His own people had shown but scant appreciation of his well-meant reforms. The religious-minded among them little relished the favor shown the Bible Societies and the Holy Synod resented the friendly relations with Rome. The progressive elements witnessed with jealousy the constitutional rights conceded to outlying provinces like Finland and Poland while such rights were withheld from Russia. In the army many officers had become imbued, during their protracted service in western Europe, with the new ideas of personal liberty and political rights. Conscious of the evils inherent in the Russian system, they sought remedy in the formation of secret societies. These organizations were then considered in continental Europe the almost exclusive solution of political difficulties. In Russia they spread rapidly and became in a short time very hostile to throne and dynasty.

Under these circumstances Alexander I abandoned all liberal aims and began to rule in autocratic fashion. Some

of the concessions already granted were withdrawn and many restrictions were introduced to prevent the spread of liberal ideas. In order to purify the teaching in universities strict supervision was exercised over professors and students, textbooks were rigorously controlled and the subject matter of lectures minutely scrutinized.

Amidst the difficulties which surrounded him Alexander's mind was at times prone to yield to despondency and to entertain the thought of abdication. He was released by death from the burden of government before any such plan could take practical shape. Stricken suddenly while on a journey to southern Russia, he was but forty-eight years old when he died (December 1, 1825). The claim that in his last moments he embraced the Catholic faith has never been conclusively substantiated.

**557. The Decembrist Revolution and the Accession of Nicholas I (1825).**—The death of Alexander I was followed by an unimportant rebellion called the Decembrist Revolution. As the name itself indicates, it occurred in December (1825). It was more the result of uncertainty regarding the identity of Alexander's successor than the work of anti-dynastic intrigue or constitutional aspirations. For several days the government and people of Russia were in the dark as to whether Alexander's elder brother Constantine, or his younger brother Nicholas, was to wear the crown. When it was disclosed that the deceased czar had pronounced in favor of Nicholas, the latter quickly seized power and promptly stamped out all opposition. How little the insurrectionists themselves, who clamored for Constantine and a Constitution, were educated to constitutional ideas is evident from the belief of many among them that Constitution was the wife of Constantine.

The circumstance that Nicholas assumed power amidst the tumult and bloodshed of a revolution partly accounts for the stern, reactionary course which he followed during his reign. His strong will, gloomy disposition and absolutist

instincts were thus afforded by tragic, external events a powerful incentive to despotic rule.

**558. Nicholas I (1825–1855) and Poland; the Polish Revolution of 1830–1831.**—The creation of an autonomous Poland with a constitutional government fell short of Polish national aspirations. Autonomy was considered a poor substitute for independence and the narrow limits of the new state but faintly resembled the boundaries of the former Polish domains. The Poles desired greater freedom and more extensive territory. Nicholas I, on the contrary, began to restrict their chartered rights and was in no mood to further their territorial designs. He was no lover of constitutional governments and was ready to seize upon the first opportunity to abrogate the Polish constitution.

This opportunity was furnished by the Poles themselves in 1830. The revolution which broke out in France in that year inflamed their patriotic ardor and stirred them into rebellion. They sought the establishment of a freer and more powerful Polish kingdom, but wavered in proclaiming their complete separation from Russia, and now, as in all their history, were hampered by divided counsels. Their only hope of success lay in resolute and quick action. Instead of adopting this course they gave the Russians ample time to throw superior forces into Poland. In the bloody encounters which followed the Poles proved themselves the dauntless fighters of old, won some initial successes and inflicted severe losses on their enemies.

During the struggle Asiatic cholera made its first appearance in Europe. It had been contracted by the Russians in fighting the Turks and was communicated by them to the Polish army. It delayed but did not alter the decision in the war. The conflict ended in the capture of Warsaw and the unconditional surrender of the Poles.

**559. Nicholas I Oppresses the Poles and Persecutes Catholics to the End of His Reign.**—When Poland was again pacified, Nicholas abrogated the Polish constitution, imposed

the Russian language on the Polish people, appointed Russians to high positions in the country and enacted repressive measures against Catholicism, the religion of the overwhelming majority.

He strove to impose on the Catholics separation from Rome and union with the Russian Orthodox (Schismatic) Church. The position of the Catholics was rendered so intolerable and the persecution became so violent that Pope Gregory XVI in a public allocution referred to the sufferings of the Catholics in the Russian empire and complained of the hostile attitude of Nicholas I (1842). When the latter visited Rome in 1845, the Pope in a personal interview again remonstrated with him. The meeting, however, produced no practical results. Though negotiations were begun between Russia and the Holy See and led to the conclusion of a concordat in 1847, the stipulations of the treaty remained a dead letter, and the persecution of the Catholics continued unabated.

The oppressor of the Catholics at home nevertheless played the part of defender of religious liberty abroad, at least so far as that liberty was to be enjoyed by the Orthodox Christians in Turkey. In championing the rights of this denomination, Nicholas I involved himself in the Crimean War. The unfortunate struggle was still in progress when broken-hearted he died in 1855.

**560. Alexander II (1855–1881); Foreign Affairs.**—The first and foremost task of Alexander II, Nicholas' son and successor, was to extricate Russia from the costly and disastrous Crimean War. This was accomplished by the treaty of peace concluded in Paris in 1856. The check which Russia had met in the south induced the new emperor to carry on with renewed vigor the conquests begun by his father in Asia and the Far East. The Russian troops, in slow but persevering stages, continued their advance toward the Pacific Ocean and in 1875 Sakhalin, an island of that sea, was ceded by Japan to Russia. A few years previously

Russia had sold Alaska, her only American possession, to the United States (1867).

Amidst his successes in Asia and his negotiations with the United States Alexander II did not lose sight of Russian interests in Turkey. Undeterred by his father's defeat in the Crimea, he waged a war against the Turks (1877–1878). His armies were victorious, but the diplomats of the Congress of Berlin deprived Russia of the fruit of her victories.

**561. Domestic Policy of Alexander II; Suppression of Serfdom in Russia (1861).**—In home affairs the new czar broke with the reactionary and despotic system which had resulted in internal revolution and military disaster during the preceding reign. He inaugurated a genuine era of reform which earned him the popular title of Czar Liberator, but he failed to placate the radical elements. The latter began to agitate and conspire for the destruction of all political institutions and, as a consequence, were in 1861 styled Nihilists (from the Latin *nihil*, nothing).

The most important reform executed during the reign was the abolition of serfdom. An imperial decree proclaimed in 1861 the freedom of 23,000,000 serfs. It dispossessed the wealthy landowners of a part of their estates and turned it over to the peasants. The latter were obliged to pay an annual sum of money to the former landlords. They did not become the real owners of the plot asssigned to them. The ownership rested with the village community or mir; the management and harvesting were in the hands of the peasant.

The imperial decree freed the peasant from feudal burdens; but it improved his material condition less than would be expected. His plot of ground was frequently too small to procure a livelihood even for the industrious peasant. His tenure was also rather uncertain, as the community carried through from time to time redistributions of land.

Alexander II strove to better the condition of his people in many respects. He abolished corporal punishment,

relaxed the censorship of the press and restored lost privileges to the universities. Local self-government was established and exercised by elected bodies or district legislatures (Zemstvos). The old judiciary system, in which poorly paid judges favored a litigant in direct proportion to the amount of the bribes he paid, was revised, and the execution of justice based upon the tried legal procedure of Europe and of the United States.

**562. Revolution in Poland (1863); Assassination of Alexander II (1881).**—During the early years of Alexander II's reign, Poland continued to groan under the Russian yoke. The czar contemplated a mitigation of its sufferings; but before he took any step in that direction, the country rose in rebellion to reconquer its lost liberties (1863). The insurrection was easily quelled and the Poles punished with inexorable severity. The weak remonstrances of Austria, France and England in favor of the unfortunate nation, were ignored. Thousands of Poles were executed, imprisoned or deported to Siberia. The last vestiges of Polish autonomy were suppressed and the country, like Russia, divided into provinces ruled from St. Petersburg.

The Russian secret societies, no less than the Polish nationalists, continued their agitation against the government under Alexander II. It became a fixed conviction with them that freedom, such as they desired, could come only by force and revolution. In 1873 they began to disseminate revolutionary and anarchistic doctrines among the rural and ignorant classes. The government put down the propaganda with a strong hand and the Nihilists retorted with political terrorism. Government officials and even the czar were trailed by assassins.

Despite these murderous designs and several unsuccessful attempts on his life Alexander II did not lose faith in reforms nor renounce his liberalism. He was planning to grant a constitution to his people when on March 13, 1881, he fell a victim to a Nihilist bomb thrown under his carriage in

the streets of St. Petersburg. The explosion shattered both his legs and death ensued a few hours afterwards.

**563. Alexander III (1881–1894).**—The tragic death of Alexander II strengthened the forces of reaction. The cry went up louder than ever that Russia was unsuited for reforms and its people unprepared for a liberal regime. Alexander III, never a friend of liberal ideas, reversed his father's policy. Autocracy, orthodoxy and nationality became the three guiding principles of his reign.

Aside from certain measures to better the condition of the rural classes, Alexander III executed no new reforms and even sought to set at nought some of his predecessor's concessions. The Russian Orthodox Church was continued in its privileged position and exclusively relied on for support. The other denominations were rigorously restricted in their religious observances. The Catholics particularly suffered severe persecution during the reigns of Alexander II and Alexander III. The abrogation by the former in 1866 of the concordat signed by his father and the conclusion by the latter in 1884 of a new one did not produce any essential change in the position of the Catholic Church, for a treaty can produce results only by the fulfilment of its clauses and the concordats were generally honored in Russia more in the breach than in the observance.

Under Alexander III a systematic effort was made to suppress national differences and to abolish local rights in the empire. National strength was aimed at through the establishment of uniformity in government, religion and language.

In his relations with other powers Alexander III was fortunate enough to avoid all war. The most portentous event of his reign in foreign affairs was the understanding with France which gradually developed into an alliance. The great military and economic development of Russia flowed as a consequence from these friendly relations with the western republic. French savings bought armament and

built railroads, chiefly the trans-Siberian railroad, for Russia. The Franco-Russian alliance endured until the World War.

**564. Nicholas II (1894–1917); First Part of the Reign (1894–1904).**—Nicholas II continued his predecessor's reactionary policy until disaster forced him to yield to popular demands. In disposition he was not unlike Alexander I. He carried on two great wars, one against Japan, the other against Germany, the last of which cost him his crown and life. At the same time he enjoys the distinction of having proposed in 1898 the holding of the first conference for international disarmament and universal peace.

At his solemn coronation virtually all foreign governments, including the papal, were represented (1896). The festivities were unfortunately saddened by the crushing to death of one thousand people by crowding. As time went on his internal government degenerated more and more into despotism. He appointed Von Plehve, a most tyrannical man, to high positions in the government and was dominated in religious matters by the uncompromising Pobiedonostseff, Procurator General of the Holy Synod. Under the inspiration of these two men a drastic policy of centralization and Russianization was carried out. Russian rule in Poland became still more oppressive, Finland was deprived of its special position in the empire and the religious Dissenters of various kinds were persecuted. The Jews suffered especially from this system of repression and from popular animosity and emigrated in large numbers from Russia.

The government's despotic rule resulted in a revival of terrorism and a renewal of political assassinations. Among the victims of these crimes was Von Plehve, who was blown to pieces by a bomb in 1904.

**565. Second Part of the Reign (1904–1914).**—In 1904 the Russo-Japanese war broke out and the defeats suffered by Russia caused a revolution in the country. The government for a time strove energetically to stop the revolutionary movement. In its efforts it did not shrink from shooting

down in January, 1905, striking laborers who attempted to place their grievances before the czar. As the revolutionary flood continued to rise, Nicholas II promised to summon a parliament, published a constitution, proclaimed liberty of conscience, granted freedom of the press and restored the ancient rights of Finland (1905).

The first Duma or parliament met in 1906. It was swayed by the constitutional democrats who from the first two letters of their name were styled "cadets." They stood for constitutional government based on popular sovereignty and were not content with the concessions of the czar. To the government they appeared dangerously liberal, and the Duma was dissolved after two months. A change was made in the electoral laws, but the second Duma was, none the less, more radical than the first. It lasted for a hundred days. The right of franchise was again reduced and the third Duma proved more to the government's liking. It met in 1907 and was largely composed of "Octobrists." This party declared its satisfaction with the October constitution of 1905 and rated the authority of the "divinely appointed" czar higher than popular rights or demands.

In 1907, the government had succeeded in suppressing the revolution and began at once to restrict the liberties granted and to revert to the process of Russianization. These aims were pursued until the outbreak of the World War. Finland was again deprived of its privileged position, Jews were persecuted and Catholics were restricted in the exercise of their rights.

However, a complete return to the old system was impossible. The Duma, such as it was, framed some laws which greatly improved social and economic conditions in the country. Nicholas extended the great railways begun by his predecessor, completed the trans-Siberian railroad and became the greatest railroad proprietor in the world.

## III. Turkey and the Balkans

**566. The Decadence of Turkey; Some of its Causes.**—The defeat of the Turks by the Christian fleet at Lepanto in 1571 reduced their strength at sea and inaugurated their decline as a naval power. Their defeat by the Polish King, John Sobieski before Vienna in 1683 marked the beginning of their loss of power on land. Germans and Hungarians continued to press them back until in 1699 the sultan signed a recognition of Hungarian independence. At this very time the offensive, in the historic struggle between Christianity and Mohammedanism, passed from the Turks to the Christians. The Turks, instead of adding new territories to their possessions, were compelled to defend their conquests. After a time they were unable to do even this with any degree of success. Slowly, but steadily their power declined and their territory decreased. The causes accounting for their double loss of prestige and land are not far to seek.

They had neither destroyed, nor absorbed the races which they had conquered. They had established a military despotism over them and drawn from them youths for the Turkish service and revenue for the Turkish treasury. They had destroyed the liberties and killed the industries of conquered provinces. In eastern Europe the Christian populations had never become reconciled to Turkish domination. They were ready to profit by the first opportunity to shake off the yoke of the hated Moslem who was an alien usurper among them.

**567. Russia and Turkey.**—Among the powers chiefly responsible for the weakening of Turkey, Russia occupies the foremost place. The antagonism between Muscovite and Turk began in the time of Peter the Great and increased in intensity with the lapse of years, the growth of Russian strength and the increasing signs of Turkish decay. Three chief reasons may be assigned in explanation of Russia's hostility toward her southern neighbor: (1) geographical location; (2) race; (3) religion.

For the agricultural prosperity and economic development of the land-locked empire of the czars, access to the sea was an absolute necessity. To meet this need the rulers of Russia aimed to obtain possession of a southern port and particularly Constantinople as a centre of communication by sea with the outside world. A second incentive attracting Russia southward was the identity of race between her people and the majority of the inhabitants of European Turkey. The latter like the former were Slavs and both professed the same Greek Orthodox religion. Russia sought to liberate all Slavs from Turkish misrule and to free all Greek Christians from Mohammedan oppression. In other words she became the great leader in that movement later called panslavism.

**568. The Great European Powers and Turkey.**—As her decadence was steady and irremediable, Turkey, formerly the terror of Europe, now became its embarrassment. The dismemberment of the Turkish dominions seemed to be the logical and obvious solution of the near eastern problem, but it was a solution impossible of execution owing to the covetousness and mutual jealousies of the European powers. No generally acceptable distribution of the spoils could be devised. The question regarding the disposition of Constantinople proved absolutely insoluble. England would not tolerate the presence of Russia in that commanding geographical position between east and west and Russia on her side refused to yield that magnificent harbor to any other power. Unable to find a common ground on which they could carry out the dismemberment of Turkey, the diplomats of Europe declared for the maintenance of the Ottoman empire. This formula was adopted in the name of the theory of the balance of power. It was not a remedy for existing evils, but a precautionary measure designed to prevent a clash among rival nations.

Russia never became a party to this scheme to prolong indefinitely the agony and prevent the happy death of the

Prayer in the Desert

"sick man of Europe." She continued to seek aggrandizement at Turkey's expense and as Catherine II had annexed the Crimea (1783) and Alexander I taken Bessarabia (1812), so their successors occupied other Turkish provinces, sometimes at the risk of a general European war.

**569. Southeastern Europe and Turkey.**—The countries of southeastern Europe which successively freed themselves from Turkish misrule were Montenegro, Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria and Rumania. In all these lands Turkish tyranny and exactions had for several centuries caused misery and unhappiness among the people. The Christians were hated by the ignorant and fanatical Moslems and oppressed by corrupt Turkish officials. There could be but little hope of improvement as long as the countries remained subject to Turkey. For the injustice from which they suffered was the result of a defective system and not the offense of a few irresponsible individuals. Most government officials, being poorly and irregularly paid, extorted in bribes from the people the sums left unpaid by the public treasury. The merits of a case or the justice of a cause were not considered; all settlements were made and all verdicts rendered in accordance with the amount of the bribes paid by an individual.

It is thus plain that the struggle in which the Christian nationalities of European Turkey engaged against their oppressor had deeper causes even than racial hatred and religious antagonism. In their fight for freedom they received the enthusiastic support of European public opinion and at times the material assistance of European governments. Among the countries carved out of the crumbling Turkish empire, the smallest, Montenegro, had throughout the centuries carried on incessant warfare against the Turks. Some of its mountain tribes had never been reduced to subjection and the country in 1697 set up a dynasty of its own. Its people continued to battle against the Turks either alone or in alliance with others. In the nineteenth century the

independence of Montenegro was formally acknowledged and its boundaries somewhat extended.

The Serbians, kinsmen of the Montenegrins, broke out in revolt in 1804, won numerous victories over the Turkish soldiers and were granted a measure of self-government in 1812. As the Porte did not keep its promises, a new revolt occurred in 1815. In 1829 Serbia was recognized as an autonomous principality, but was obliged to pay a fixed annual tribute to Turkey.

**570. The War for Greek Independence (1821–1829). Its Beginning.**—No conflict waged against the Turks in the early part of the nineteenth century attracted more universal attention than the war for Greek independence. Owing to its position in the history of ancient civilization and to its unequalled treasures of literature and art, Greece always excited higher admiration and attracted more visitors than any other country in eastern Europe. The Greeks, even in the darkest hours of Turkish domination, never gave up hope of freedom. Their acquaintance with the ideas of democracy and nationalism of the French Revolution raised their spirits to glowing patriotic fervor. In the revolution which followed, fighters sprang up not only in ancient Greece, but in all the Greek settlements scattered over the Turkish empire. Indeed, the organized movement for Greek freedom was begun by Greeks, but not in Greece.

In 1814 the secret society of the "Association of Friends" was founded at Odessa in Russia for the study of Greek letters and the conquest of Greek independence. Its head, Alexander Ypsilanti, a Greek prince and Russian general, raised the standard of revolt among his countrymen in Moldavia and Wallachia, two provinces of the present kingdom of Rumania (1821). In his rash adventure he confidently expected Russian aid, but Alexander I, who was then dominated by Metternich, refused to lend his support to any revolutionary movement. The Turks easily defeated the insurrectionists, Ypsilanti fled and crossed into Austrian

territory. Here he was kept for six years in close confinement by Metternich and died in extreme poverty.

The Turks, in reprisal, wreaked terrible vengance on the defenseless Greeks in various parts of the empire. At Constantinople a mob of soldiers and civilians burst into the cathedral during the Easter Sunday service, seized the patriarch, the acknowledged head of the Greek Church, at the altar, and hanged him together with three archbishops at the main portal of the edifice. Innumerable Greeks, men, women and children, were either killed, driven into exile or reduced to poverty and misery.

**571. The War for Greek Independence in the Morea.**—The rising in Moldavia was followed after a few weeks by a more general insurrection in the Morea. The seafaring population of the Greek islands also joined the insurrectionary movement and the Turks, chiefly dependent on these sailors for their fleet, were confronted with a serious revolution. The rebels scored a series of successes against their oppressors, but in many places disgraced their triumph by a general massacre of the Moslem population.

In Europe the Greek cause was warmly upheld by public opinion. The educated admired Greece for its literary glory, the liberals for its stand in defense of freedom, religious folk for its attack upon the infidel. Enthusiastic volunteers flocked from all parts of Europe to the Greek standards. The glories of Greece and the blessings of freedom were sung by poets like Lord Byron who offered his services in the fight for Greek independence.

So successful were the rebels in the war that the sultan, despairing of reducing them to subjection unassisted, appealed for reinforcements to the vassal pasha of Egypt. The latter dispatched his son Ibrahim with a powerful army to Greece. The arrival of the new troops turned the tide in favor of the Turks. The Greeks had to give ground before the Egyptian forces which frightfully devastated the Morea.

**572. Intervention of the Powers (1826); Naval Battle of**

**Navarino (1827); Treaty of Adrianople (1829).**—All the sacrifices of the Greeks seemed to have been made in vain when in 1826 England, Russia and France, after long diplomatic wrangling, agreed to intervene in the struggle. They called on the belligerents to sign an armistice and on Ibrahim to evacuate the Morea. The Egyptian commander having refused to obey the injunction, the powers, without issuing a formal declaration of war, proceeded to military measures. The naval battle of Navarino followed (October 20, 1827). In this action the combined fleets of England, Russia and France annihilated the Turkish and Egyptian fleets.

The defeat, decisive as it was, did not break the obstinacy of the Turks and Ibrahim continued to occupy the Morea, As England was less anxious to apply war measures than to preserve the integrity of Turkey, Russia in 1828 alone declared war against the sultan. The Russian armies attacking from the north met with stubborn resistance. but in 1829 they reached and occupied Adrianople where peace was signed the same year.

The Treaty of Adrianople (1829) established peace between Russia and Turkey, and settled the Greek question. It ceded to Russia some districts in Europe and Asia, granted her free navigation of the waters connecting the Black Sea with the Mediterranean and conferred autonomy, with the obligation to pay a tribute to Turkey, on Greece, Serbia, Wallachia and Moldavia. The latter two provinces were placed under the protectorate of Russia.

**573. Greece becomes Independent (1830).**—The newly created Greek state did not remain much longer under Turkish suzerainty. In 1830 it was declared completely independent under the protection of Great Britain, France and Russia. It was confined to the lower part of the Balkan peninsula and comprised only a portion of the Greek people. Its first ruler was Capodistria, a Greek, who had lived on intimate terms with Czar Alexander I and had occupied eminent positions in the Russian government.

Settled conditions did not return among the Greeks after the conclusion of peace. Frequently divided among themselves during their struggle for freedom, they now added the horrors of civil war to the desolation and suffering caused by that struggle. Their first President Capodistria fell a victim to assassination (1831)

His tragic death was followed by the institution of the kingship in Greece. The protecting powers chose Otto of Bavaria, a youth of seventeen whose father ardently sympathized with Greek aspirations, for the new throne. The choice was unanimously ratified by a Greek national assembly and in 1833 the prince took possession of his kingdom. Young and inexperienced he was accompanied by German counsellors who were thoroughly trained but suffered from inability to adapt themselves to new institutions and foreign peoples. Otto was driven from the country in 1862 and the following year a Danish prince, George I, was chosen King of Greece. This dynasty lasted until 1924, when a republic was established in the land of the Hellenes.

**574. The Crimean War (1853–1856).**—Russia gained in the war of 1828–1829 little territory, but high prestige in the Balkan peninsula. Slavs and Orthodox Christians began to look to her for protection in all parts of Turkey. The czar, on his part, daily considered it more and more his mission everywhere to defend the rights and safeguard the interests of his coreligionists. This religious zeal, not unmixed with selfish political motives, led in 1853 to a new war.

Russia's demand for the general right to protect the Orthodox Christians in the sultan's dominions having met with a firm refusal, she ordered her troops to occupy the Danubian Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. Despite this aggressive step, Turkey, strong in the support of Great Britain and France, persisted in her resistance. England was determined to resist any further Russian advance and to prevent any added reductions in Turkey's strength. In

France Napoleon III needed a military triumph to consolidate his power and resented the grudging manner in which he had been recognized as emperor by Nicholas I. In the spring of 1854 the two powers joined Turkey in the war and later Sardinia also took up arms against Russia.

The allies carried the war to the Crimea where they anticipated a speedy victory and centred their attack on Sebastopol. Their expectations of a short war and decisive victory remained unfulfilled. Though the victory at *Alma* opened the road to Sebastopol, they were forced to lay siege to this Russian stronghold. Its approaches were the scene of heroic attacks by land and sea and no less heroic resistance everywhere by the defenders. The principal battles, like that of *Balaklava*, in which occurred the charge of the Light Brigade immortalised by Tennyson, were allied victories but yielded few advantages. Sebastopol, defended by the resourceful Todleben and in uninterrupted communication with Russia, held out for eleven months against repeated and powerful attacks.

During the siege the allied armies suffered from the rigors of winter and were wasted by disease. Amidst their terrible suffering the French soldiers received the devoted care of the Sisters of Charity and the English troops were cheered by the heroic services of Florence Nightingale. Sebastopol was finally taken by storm on September 8, 1855. As both sides were weary of war, peace negotiations were initiated shortly afterward.

**575. The Congress of Paris (1856).**—A congress of the powers convened at Paris to lay down the definitive conditions of peace. The following countries were represented: Russia, Great Britain, France, Sardinia, Turkey, Austria and Prussia. In the treaty which they signed Turkey promised to execute reforms and to improve the condition of her Christian subjects. Russia renounced her pretensions to a protectorate over these people. Neither Russia nor Turkey was allowed to station warships in the Black Sea.

Navigation on the Danube was declared free to all countries and was placed under the control of an international commission. All the signatory powers agreed to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Turkish empire.

**576. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878.**—Neither Turkey nor Russia faithfully observed the conditions of the Peace of Paris. The former failed to introduce the pledged reforms, the latter ignored the stipulations regarding the Black Sea. The Balkans continued to seethe with unrest. In 1875, the peasants of Bosnia and Herzegovina rose against the Turks, and in 1876 the Bulgarians rebelled and attempted to free themselves from Turkish oppression. The "Bulgarian atrocities" or indiscriminate massacre of Bulgarian men, women and children by Turkish irregulars followed and sent a shudder of horror through the civilized world.

In Russia particularly, public opinion sympathized with the Bulgarians. As the great powers were divided in counsel and pursued their usual dilatory tactics, the czar declared war on the Turks in 1877, and the Russians fought ardently for the liberation of their "little Slav brothers." Among the outstanding military events was the siege of Plevna, during which Todleben, the hero of Sebastopol, directed the operations against the beleaguered fortress. After overcoming the stubborn resistance of the Turkish defenders and forcing the city to surrender, the Russian forces poured from all sides into European Turkey. Adrianople fell, and the sultan, fearing for Constantinople, sued for peace. It was concluded at San Stefano near Constantinople and its terms, had they been carried out, would virtually have ended Turkish rule in Europe and established Russian predominance in the Balkans. Great Britain and Austria stoutly opposed such an increase in Russia's power and the Congress of Berlin was called to confer on the new international situation

**577. The Congress of Berlin (1878).**—The congress revised the treaty of San Stefano and attempted a final settlement of the near eastern question. It was presided over by Prince

Bismarck, who, considering the whole near eastern question "not worth the bones of a Pomeranian grenadier," merely assumed "the role of an honest broker." In other words he worked to reconcile the conflicting aims of the rival powers. Disraeli represented Great Britain and some other illustrious statesmen were also present. Besides Germany and England, Russia, Austria, France, Italy and Turkey were represented.

The following settlement was agreed upon: (1) Turkey ceded to Russia a part of Armenia and consented to pay a war indemnity; (2) Bulgaria was erected into a self-governing principality tributary to Turkey; (3) Montenegro, Serbia and Rumania were acknowledged as states completely independent of Turkey; (4) Bosnia and Herzegovina, while remaining nominally dependent on Turkey, were to be occupied and governed by Austria; (5) Greece received an increase of territory by the acquisition of Thessaly and northeastern Epirus taken from Turkey.

England, the selfish defender of the integrity of the Turkish dominions, was granted no territory by the treaty, but just before the holding of the congress she had claimed and received the island of Cyprus for services rendered to the sultan.

**578. Turkey and the Balkans after the Congress of Berlin (1878–1914).**—The settlement agreed upon in Berlin did not fulfill the hopes its sponsors had placed in it. The Balkan peninsula continued to be the storm centre of European politics. The recent important changes in the political geography of that part of Europe dispense us from a detailed account of the events intervening between the Congress of Berlin and the World War.

The outstanding facts of that period were: (1) *a war between Greece and Turkey,* in which the former suffered defeat and loss of territory (1897); (2) *the paramount influence which Germany acquired* in the councils of the sultan and which she used to promote her commerce and to advance

the economic development of Asia Minor; (3) *the rise of the party of Young Turkey* among the sultan's subjects, which desired the introduction of fundamental reforms and of western methods in Turkey. In 1908 it carried through a revolution and forced the sultan to establish a constitutional government. It aimed at the elimination of foreign influence and the establishment of a really independent Turkish government. The new system, owing to its ardent Turkish nationalism and opposition to foreign interference, soon met with opposition among the Christians in Turkey and with disfavor among the powers. Instead of initiating the regeneration of Turkey, the Young Turks strengthened the forces of disintegration already at work. Profiting by the distracted state of the country, Bulgaria declared itself completely independent, Austria annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the island of Crete proclaimed its union with Greece (1908); (4) *the first Balkan War* in which the armies of the secret Balkan League (Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro) defeated the Turks and advanced to the last strong line of defense before Constantinople (1912–1913); (5) *the second Balkan War* between Bulgaria on the one side and her former allies and Rumania and Turkey on the other. The Bulgarians who had won the chief victories of the first Balkan War were in this second struggle utterly defeated by the overwhelming forces of their enemies.

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## CHAPTER XXVII

### THE RISE OF JAPAN

**579. Japan, the Country and the People.**—Japan, "the land of the Rising Sun," is the great Oriental archipelago of Asia. It is situated opposite China just as the British Isles rise, as it were, out of the sea beside the European continent. As England has controlled for centuries the seas in the west, so Japan has already become the great maritime power of the east. Again, as England has made her predominance felt frequently on the continent of Europe, so Japan seems to seek to control the destinies of the Asiatic continent in general and of China in particular. The area of the principal islands of the Japanese empire (146,000 square miles) is considerably greater than that of the British Isles (121,000 square miles). The population, also, with 56 million inhabitants, is much more numerous.

The inhabitants are intelligent, brave, and above all, loyal to the emperor. Individualism is almost unknown in Japan, and the inferior has few rights which his superior need respect. Loyalty to the emperor, whose divine origin is still assented to, at least in practice, is a religion with the Japanese, and this, together with the fatalism of Shintoism and Buddhism which the populace generally profess, helps to explain the recklessness with which they give their lives for their country. To these qualities must be added a remarkable facility of assimilation which alone can account for the wonderful national progress in so short a period of time.

**580. Japan and the Civilized Nations of the West until 1854.**—Japan was visited by western navigators in the sixteenth century. The Portuguese probably landed in the country in 1543. They were followed in 1549 by Catholic missionaries led by St. Francis Xavier, the companion of St. Ignatius. The missionaries met with such rapid success that

in 1585 a Japanese embassy came to Rome with a message of gratitude to the Holy Father. This period of success was soon followed, however, by persecution of the Christians and distrust of all foreigners.

In 1637 Japan was closed to all foreigners to an extent that has never been the case in China. Not only were foreigners excluded from the country under pain of death, but the Japanese were forbidden, under the same penalty, to leave it or to buy any foreign article whatever. The Dutch alone were permitted to take on board before Nagasaki, at an artificial island rigorously isolated from the mainland, the merchandise, silk, tea and other articles that the Japanese government agreed to sell them. Despite this separation from the outside world, Christianity did not completely disappear from Japan during the period extending from the preaching of St. Francis Xavier to the middle of the nineteenth century, when the country was again opened to outside influences.

**581. The Opening up of Japan (1854); the Reform Party Triumphs in the Country (1868).**—The opening up of Japan to western influences began in 1854 with the mission of Commodore Perry to the country. Matthew C. Perry, a brother of the victor of Lake Erie, opened, in the name of the United States, negotiations with Japan to secure commercial privileges for his country. The inclinations of the Shogun, who was then the real ruler of Japan while the Mikado was merely a figurehead, were to refuse any concessions to the Americans. But the sight by the Japanese envoys of the warships and guns at Perry's command produced convictions capable of overcoming any unfavorable dispositions, and Japan opened two ports to the commerce with the United States. Great Britain, France, Russia and other countries secured the same concessions. In 1858, permission was also granted to several powers to station diplomatic agents or envoys in Japan.

The concessions made to foreigners reacted on the domestic

affairs of the empire. They brought about an internal crisis and caused a civil war. One party, animated by fanatical hatred of all foreigners, considered the concessions treasonable and wished to maintain the policy of exclusion; the other approved the relations entered into with the western states and, whether through honest conviction or not, wished to extend them further. The latter party definitively triumphed in 1868 when the new Emperor Mutsu-Hito (1868–1912) defeated his opponents. The following year he left Kioto to take up his residence in the modern and present capital *Tokio*.

**582. The Era of Reform (1868–1889).**—With the year 1868 begins a new era in the internal history of Japan; it was an era of great progress and still greater reforms. The progress consisted in the introduction of the administrative, military, political, scientific and industrial institutions of the western nations. The feudal system in existence up to that time was abolished and equality of all before the law was proclaimed. Officers, bankers, scholars, engineers, jurists, professors were secured from civilized states and taught a nation eager to learn the best methods and the latest results in every branch of science. Railroads were built, telegraph lines established, a fleet created, and compulsory military service introduced.

In 1889 the emperor promulgated a constitution, according to which the executive power is vested in himself, and the legislative authority exercised by two houses: *the House of Peers* in majority named by the emperor and the *House of Representatives* elected by the people.

**583. The Chino-Japanese War (1894–1895); its Consequences.**—The importance of the transformations operated in Japan was suddenly brought home to the civilized world by her war with China. This war (1894–95) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) constitute the chief external events in her history before 1914.

The war between China and Japan was caused chiefly by

their mutual rivalry in Korea. This kingdom was for centuries a bone of contention between the two countries. Finally they conjointly exercised suzerainty over it by maintaining each a garrison in the capital Seoul. The difficulties in Korea increased in the nineteenth century when Japan encouraged and China opposed the introduction of western reforms in the country.

In 1894 the Chinese reenforced their garrison in Korea, the Japanese did likewise and war ensued. The Chinese were in summary fashion driven from Korea, their fleet was destroyed, Port Arthur was stormed and the province of Petchili invaded. Fearing for their capital Peking, they sued for peace and the treaty of *Shimonoseki* was concluded (1895). China recognized the independence of Korea and ceded to Japan *Formosa* and the two strategic points of *Port Arthur* and *Wei-Hai-Wei.*

The peace was no sooner concluded than Europe intervened. Russia coveted Port Arthur, an ice-free port in the east and was successful in enlisting in her intervention the support of France and Germany. The peace treaty was revised and Japan had to be satisfied with the acquisition of Formosa and a war indemnity.

Along with these advantages to Japan, the war yielded the following results: (1) It fostered in Europe the belief in a probable partition of China among the great powers. (2) It revealed Russia's designs on Port Arthur. Japan alarmed by this ambition which constituted a serious danger to her national security prepared for and fought the war against Russia.

**584. The Boxer Uprising (1900).**—After the Chino-Japanese War the European powers, Germany, Russia, England and France, convinced that the hour for the dismemberment of China had struck, secured territorial concessions in the country. Russia was granted the right to build her trans-Siberian railroad through the Chinese province of Manchuria and also obtained the lease of Port Arthur

for 99 years. The concessions to the various powers aroused the opposition of the Chinese nationalists and secret societies and caused in 1900 the *Boxer* uprising against foreigners. The name of the insurrection was derived from a secret organization which professed to exist for the promotion of athletic sports (boxing), but took a leading part in the outrages committed against foreigners.

The great powers, including the United States, intervened, sent expeditionary forces to China, restored order and signed a treaty guaranteeing the *integrity of China*. Russia, however, coveted Manchuria and had no intention of respecting this integrity. On the pretext of protecting the railroad lines then under construction she had concentrated important forces in the province during the Boxer rebellion. At the same time, she was strongly fortifying Port Arthur, creating a fleet in the Pacific and intriguing in Korea. She was obviously aiming at predominance in the Far East.

**585. The Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905).**—Japan considered herself menaced by Russian expansion and prepared for resistance. In 1902 she concluded an *entente* or agreement with Great Britain. At the same time she made extensive military preparations. When she considered herself ready for war she pertinently asked St. Petersburg at what date Russia intended to evacuate Manchuria where order and security now prevailed. Russia, in order to gain time and complete her armaments, endeavored to draw out the negotiations. Her efforts were frustrated by the Japanese who, without declaration of war, torpedoed during the night of February 8, 1904, part of the Russian fleet before Port Arthur, and straightway transported a large armed force into Korea.

The war lasted for a year and a half and was fought out chiefly on the sea and in Manchuria. The Japanese captured *Port Arthur* after a siege lasting ten months (January 1, 1905). In the open field also they defeated slow and poorly officered Russian armies, notably in the battle of

*Mukden* in which they captured 40,000 prisoners and much war material (March 6–10, 1905). A Russian fleet that proceeded from Europe to the Far East was almost completely destroyed at *Tsushima* in the Sea of Japan (May 27, 1905).

In the meantime an internal revolution had broken out in Russia and Japan's financial resources were almost exhausted. Both parties welcomed the good offices of President Roosevelt of the United States who sought to bring about a cessation of hostilities.

**586. The Peace of Portsmouth (1905); Significance of Japan's Success in the War.**—The negotiations for the restoration of peace were carried on at the small town of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and the treaty putting an end to the war was signed there by the belligerent powers on September 5, 1905. Russia recognized Japan's protectorate over Korea and ceded to her Port Arthur and part of the island of Sakhalin. Manchuria was to be restored to China.

Japan thus became the predominant power in the Far East. Her agreement of 1902 with Great Britain now became an alliance (1905) and her place among the great powers and in their councils was secure. No nation had effected in such a short time such a wonderful internal transformation and achieved such external success.

The triumph of Japan in the war also signified, so far as the history of the world was concerned, that China was no longer a field for European expansion and that Russia had again been foiled in her attempt to reach the sea. She once more turned her attention to the south of Europe, to the Balkans.

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## CHAPTER XXVIII

### LATIN AMERICA SINCE 1815

## I. The Spanish-American Republics

**587. Spain and Her Colonies at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century.**—At the beginning of the nineteenth century Spain still ruled over almost half of the western Hemisphere. Her dominions included on the North American continent Florida, Central America and a vast section of the western and southwestern part of the present United States. In South America they comprised the countries which later formed the states of Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay and the Argentine Republic. In less than thirty years she lost all these possessions, retaining only the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico which she held until 1898.

The loss of this immense colonial empire was caused to a large extent by the mercantile system then in vogue among colonial powers. Colonies were acquired and held in this false economic system for the direct benefit of the mother country. The independence of the United States also greatly influenced the secession of the Spanish colonies as the Declaration of American Independence became the political catechism of native leaders. The Spanish government, on the contrary, soon considered the document as a revolutionary pamphlet and forbade its circulation.

One of the leading principles of Spanish colonial administration was the exclusion of the natives, whether Indian or creole, from all share in the government. A creole or descendant of a Spaniard might rise to the highest positions in Spain, but he could never become Viceroy in the colonies. This system was adopted by the Spanish Crown to forestall all danger of secession or separation. The scheme defeated

its own purpose when the descendants of the Spaniards born in the colonies became numerous, wealthy and influential. No just cause existed in their eyes for their continued exclusion from the government of a country with which their whole life was identified. They looked about for a radical change of such a situation particularly after some of them became familiar with the ideas of liberty, equality and popular government which spread to all parts of the world at the end of the eighteenth, and the beginning of the nineteenth, century. This desire for more favorable conditions was increased by their lack of respect for Spanish officials. These were venal to a degree, bent on getting rich in the shortest possible time without regard to the means used.

The restrictions imposed for centuries on the commercial relations of the colonies were also a fruitful source of bitter discontent. These countries were obliged to trade exclusively with Spain. Such a prohibition had the twofold disadvantage of precluding all prosperity in the colonies and of exciting the jealousy of excluded foreign traders, particularly the British. British subjects, at an early date, entertained commercial relations with the Spanish dominions despite the existing restrictive laws. As for the British government, it favored the overthrow of Spanish rule in the colonies so as to secure free access to these markets.

Despite the above-mentioned administrative abuses and the alienation of the sympathies of the creoles, the Spaniards were undoubtedly more human in their treatment of the aborigines than other colonizing nations. Instead of exterminating, they converted the Indian and declared him a subject entitled to the protection of the crown. In the war for independence which followed, Spain not infrequently relied on this class for support against the insurrectionists.

**588. First Declaration of Mexican Independence (September 15, 1810).**—Napoleon's substitution of his brother for Ferdinand VII on the Spanish throne was an occasion of

confusion in the Spanish colonies. Were they to remain loyal to the former ruler, to submit to the new king, or to establish a government of their own? It was not long before they made their choice for independence. In Mexico the news of the dynastic change not only caused serious unrest, but also led to insurrection. A strong agitation in favor of independence was carried on, but affected at first only the provinces of the interior. Two Catholic priests appear as the leaders of the first two armies fighting for independence. One of these, Hidalgo, issued on September 15, 1810, the first declaration of Mexican independence. Both leaders were, after some initial successes, decisively defeated and shot by the Spaniards.

The restoration of Ferdinand VII to the Spanish throne tended to weaken the insurrectionary movement in Mexico and offered excellent opportunity for the restoration of Spanish power. But Ferdinand, instead of showing any readiness to grant greater freedom either at home or in the colonies, attempted to restore absolute rule in Spain and to enforce rigid control over her dependencies. His ill-advised policy caused Spain to strike for greater political liberty and the colonies to fight resolutely for national independence. When in 1820 a revolution against him broke out in Spain, it virtually sounded the death-knell of Spanish colonial power in America.

**589. General Augustine de Iturbide Proclaimed Emperor of Mexico (1822).**—An ambitious and faithless General, *Augustine de Iturbide*, assumed in 1821, the leadership of the forces working for Mexican emancipation. He had been for a time an ardent and savage supporter of the Spanish monarchy, but was now determined to work only for his personal advancement. He issued on February 24, 1821, his famous manifesto, which from three demands it contained regarding independence, religion and union became known as the "Three Guarantees." It proclaimed for Mexico: (1) national independence under the form of a limited monarchy;

Cathedral of the City of Mexico (16th Century)

(2) maintenance of the rights of the Catholic Church; (3) civil and political equality of Spaniards and Mexicans in the country. The very year of the promulgation of this manifesto a new Spanish Viceroy, O'Donoju, accepted and sanctioned it in the treaty of Cordova signed with Iturbide. The Spanish Cortes, however, refused to confirm the Viceroy's action, whereupon Iturbide had himself proclaimed Emperor of Mexico under the name of Augustine I (1822).

The republican party dissatisfied with this settlement rose against the ridiculous emperor, drove him from his throne and forced him to leave for Italy (1823). It called a congress which drew up a constitution modelled on that of the United States (1824). The country was organized as a federal republic on the model of the United States, and Victoria, one of the republican leaders, became its first president.

**590. Mexico Under Mexican Rule (1824–1860).**—Peace prevailed for a time in the Mexican Republic under its first president. Two factions, however, soon disputed for power. One of these was formed by the *conservatives* who in religion upheld the rights of the Catholic Church and in politics advocated restrictive measures to hold the radical elements in check. The other was composed of the so-called *liberals* who were bitterly hostile to the Catholic clergy, but declared themselves in favor of the maintenance and extension of the existing political liberties.

The intense opposition between the two parties soon developed into civil war, the chronic disease from which the Latin American Republics have not yet been completely cured. In Mexico internal strife not only caused disorder at home, it also led to the loss of territory. American citizens who had settled in Texas profited in 1836 by the disturbances to proclaim the independence of that state from Mexico. This independence was soon recognized by the United States and some European governments.

The Mexican efforts to reduce Texas again to subjection had only the result of driving it into the arms of the United

States. The formal agreement admitting the new territory into the Union was concluded in 1845, and led to war between the United States and Mexico. The Mexicans were unable to withstand the American forces, and, when their capital was captured, they signed the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (February 2, 1848). Through it not only Texas, but New Mexico and Upper California became part of the United States. Mexico thus lost two-fifths of its territory.

The restoration of external peace was followed only for a short time by an undisturbed internal development. Civil strife soon recommenced and led to the dictatorship of Santa Anna, one of the generals who had become famous during the war with the United States. He ruled more like an Oriental despot than a man imbued with democratic tendencies. The opposition to him became so strong that he secretly fled from the country and went into voluntary exile in 1855. Shortly afterwards a new constitution which ruled Mexico until our own day was adopted (1857). The instrument did not prove acceptable to the conservatives and civil war again ensued. It was not until 1860 that the liberal leader Juarez triumphed completely over his opponents and restored internal tranquillity.

**591. Foreign Intervention (1861–1867).**—The hard task of pacifying the country was no sooner accomplished than complications arose with foreign powers. England, Spain and France asked reparation for the losses sustained by their citizens in Mexico during the disturbances, disclaiming at the same time all intention of dismembering the country or of meddling in its internal affairs. They invited President Lincoln to join them in an armed expedition, but he declined and was apparently more favorably disposed toward Juarez than toward the powers leagued against him. The naval forces of the allies appeared in Mexican waters and occupied Vera Cruz. Juarez soon opened negotiations with Spain and England which led to a satisfactory conclusion and these two powers withdrew from the expedition.

The war now became a Franco-Mexican war, in which the French were supported by the Mexican conservatives against Juarez and the liberals. Juarez withdrew to the northern provinces to organize resistance against his enemies. The French after his departure occupied the capital (1863) and a Mexican assembly of 215 members chose as Emperor of Mexico, Archduke Maximilian, brother of Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria. The new sovereign arrived in May, 1864. A formidable resistance was organized against this foreign ruler, the United States threatened to intervene in support of the Monroe Doctrine, and it soon became obvious that Maximilian could not be imposed on the majority of the Mexicans by French troops.

In 1867, the French expeditionary force reembarked at Vera Cruz for Europe. Maximilian, however, refused to leave Mexico. He hoped to maintain his power with the support of some Austrian, Belgian and Mexican soldiers and by adopting a liberal policy. But he was captured at Queretaro, court-martialed and shot (1867). That same year Juarez was reelected President of the republic for four years. A new election held in 1871 was also decided in his favor, but his sudden death put an end to his career in the following year.

**592. Porfirio Diaz, President of Mexico (1876–1880 and 1884–1911).**—It seemed after the death of Juarez that civil strife was again to desolate the republic. Before long, however, another strong man took control of affairs. This was Porfirio Diaz, the ablest and most successful ruler Mexico has produced. With the exception of an interruption lasting four years (1880–1884), he controlled the destinies of Mexico from 1876 to 1911. From physician he had become general and had served under Juarez in the war against the French.

With his advent to the highest office in the republic began for Mexico a period of order, security and prosperity. Before him the country had had 52 presidents in 59 years. He alone

retained control of the government for 31 years, a period of internal tranquillity and external peace. Under these favorable conditions Mexico made enormous progress. The army was reduced to submission and subjected to a strict discipline; the bands of brigands were suppressed or used by the government to maintain order; commerce and agriculture were encouraged and education promoted.

Unfortunately an insurrection led by Madero put an end to this period of prosperity. The power of Diaz was overthrown and with his downfall civil war was renewed. Madero was not able to maintain himself long in power and, after his assassination, the accession of Huerta led to complications with the United States. President Wilson (died 1924) refused to recognize him and forced him out of office. Carranza became president of Mexico and more settled conditions prevailed for a while. Carranza's power, however was founded on violence and exercised with pronounced hostility to the interests of the Catholic Church. None of the successors of Diaz has been strong enough to give Mexico a firm and respected government.

**593. The Republics of Central America.**—With the exception of British Honduras, all Central America was, at the opening of the nineteenth century, ruled by a Spanish official known as the Captain General of Guatemala. In 1812, revolution spread to the country from Mexico, and Guatemala succeeded in winning its independence. For a very short space of time Central America united with Mexico and then formed the "Republic of the United States of Central America" (1823). This formation included the five small republics of Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua and Costa Rica. Their union came to an end in 1839, but several attempts were made at various times to reconstitute it. These efforts were never crowned with permanent or complete success. The five republics formed most of the time independent and separate states. To their number was added a sixth when in 1903 Panama de-

clared its independence from Colombia and maintained it with the support of the United States.

**594. Venezuela Declares Its Independence (1811).**—The adventurer Miranda, a native of Venezuela who had fought under Washington, organized the first expedition for the emancipation of his native land. In 1806 he sailed with three ships from New York for Venezuela, but was not able to effect a landing in face of the resistance of the Spanish authorities. Defeated at sea he withdrew to Jamaica where, with the help of the British, he created a new force with which he landed and established himself on the coast of Venezuela. But the indifference and hostility of the population again forced him to withdraw.

The confusion caused in the colony by the removal of Ferdinand VII from the Spanish throne advanced the cause of independence more than Miranda's armed expeditions. Unable further to obey Ferdinand and unwilling to acknowledge a Bonaparte, Venezuela declared itself independent on July 5, 1811. Miranda was placed in command of the troops of the new state, but had little success in the field. His army, however, numbered among its volunteers an officer, Simon Bolivar, who was to continue the struggle with greater success and merit the enviable title of "Liberator."

**595. Simon Bolivar (1783–1830) Fights for the Independence of Venezuela and Colombia.**—Born at Caracas, Bolivar was left an orphan and heir to immense estates at a very early age. He was educated in Spain, visited several European countries and after the outbreak of the Venzuelan revolution made its cause his own. He was a talented, arrogant and suspicious man who was deterred by no obstacles, and was more conspicuous by his brilliancy than remarkable for his steady common sense. Despite his many talents his first military enterprises were failures and he was forced repeatedly to leave Venezuela. Things took a different turn when in 1817 he was placed at the head of the united army of patriots. In the campaigns which he now under-

took he was ably seconded by the indefatigable Paez. The Liberator conquered the valley of the Orinoco River while his lieutenant carried on successful operations elsewhere. Even now the two revolutionary leaders were not invariably successful, but as the Spanish forces were constantly dwindling, while theirs unceasingly received reenforcements, there could be little doubt about the ultimate issue of the struggle.

Bolivar was able to convene in 1819 a national congress which proclaimed anew the independence of Venezuela. Thus strengthened in the pursuit of his aims, he resumed the offensive to destroy Spanish power not only in Venezuela but also in New Granada as Colombia was then called. Leaving for the defense of the former country some of his lieutenants, he crossed the Andes in the rainy season, suddenly appeared in New Granada and decisively defeated the Spaniards at Boyaca (August 7, 1819). This success was followed by the solemn proclamation of the union of New Granada and Venezuela as the Republic of Colombia (1819) While the interior of this republic was in the hands of the revolutionaries, the Spaniards were still in possession of part of the seaboard. They suffered another defeat at Carabobo which decided the fate of these districts (June 24, 1821).

**596. Ecuador Becomes Independent; Bolivar Becomes Unpopular.**—The revolutionaries immediately turned their attention to Ecuador. Their armies invaded the country and General Sucre, one of Bolivar's lieutenants, won the important victory of Pichincha (1822). Ecuador was incorporated in the Republic of Colombia of which Bolivar was president and military dictator. He even succeeded in wresting Peru from the Spaniards and in uniting it for a very short time with his new state.

While he was engaged in the conquest of Peru, he became more and more unpopular in his own country. His rule was dictatorial and he could be accused with very good reason of aiming at the establishment of a monarchy. A conspiracy was formed against his life and an insurrection organized

against his power. Both enterprises failed; but the United Republic which he had formed went to pieces before his death toward the end of 1830. The southern provinces organized themselves as the Republic of Ecuador, while the northeastern states formed the Republic of Venezuela. The name Colombia was retained by the independent northwestern part of the former union.

**597. Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador as Separate States.**—After this secession, *Venezuela* was ruled for a time by the above-mentioned General Paez. The country has since frequently been torn by internecine struggles for power which have impeded its progress. In 1870 a period of greater apparent tranquillity opened with the presidency of the liberal, Guzman Blanco. He retained power for twenty years and during this time he exercised a despotism greatly beneficial to himself but also, though in a lesser degree, to the country. At the beginning of the twentieth century General Castro came into power. His rule was marked by internal unrest and external complications with European powers. In 1902–1903 Great Britain, Germany and Italy blockaded the coast of Venezuela, and in 1906 difficulties with France led to the severance of diplomatic relations between the two countries. With the disappearance of Castro a more settled state of things followed.

*Colombia* seems to love change more than any other Spanish-American Republic. Since 1830 it has repeatedly changed its name and has been most violently disturbed by internal strife. Almost every presidential election witnessed one or more bloody revolutions. It is only since 1904 that conditions seem to have become more settled.

After 1830 *Ecuador* suffered from internal dissensions and was involved in foreign complications, particularly with Colombia and Peru. In Ecuador as in other Spanish-American Republics the conservatives or clericals and the anti-Catholic liberals fought for power. A staunch Catholic, ardent patriot and talented statesman, Garcia Moreno,

became president in 1861 and played a leading part in the affairs of the country until his assassination in 1875. He revised the constitution, reorganized the finances and transformed the administration. He concluded a concordat with Rome in 1862, and later guaranteed to the Holy See, robbed of its possessions by the Italian government, one tenth of the public revenue of Ecuador. After his assassination the power fell into the hands of the liberals who organized a series of persecutions against the Catholic Church.

**598. Peru Declares its Independence (1821).**—The country of the Andes, which went to form the Republics of Peru, Bolivia and Chile, had been less affected by the new ideas of liberty and equality than other parts of Spanish America. As a consequence its emancipation was effected from the outside by Argentina and Bolivar.

In 1820 an expedition armed in Argentina and commanded by San Martin attacked Peru and captured Lima its capital. The entry of the victorious troops into the city was followed by a declaration of independence (July 28, 1821). But San Martin was again forced to abandon his conquest to the Spaniards.

A campaign undertaken by Bolivar and Sucre produced more enduring results. Sucre won the decisive battle of Ayacucho (December 9, 1824) after which Bolivar was proclaimed President of Peru for life. The country, however, again withdrew almost immediately from his allegiance and was recognized as an independent state in 1829. It has enjoyed but little internal tranquillity during its independent existence. In 1865 the ill-treatment of some Spanish immigrants led to war with Spain. Chile made common cause with her sister republic and Spain soon withdrew from an unprofitable venture (1866).

**599. Bolivia Ceases to be Spanish (1825).**—It was only in 1825 that Bolivia was torn from the mother country by Generals Bolivar and Sucre. The new republic called itself Bolivar, a name later transformed into Bolivia, and chose

General Sucre as its first president for life. He was overthrown, however, in 1828, and was succeeded by Marshal Santa Cruz. The latter ably ruled the country for ten years and presided from 1836–1839 over a confederation comprising Bolivia and Peru. This union was again destroyed, with the support of Chile, by Peruvian malcontents. The years following the secession were years of contentions for the presidency of Bolivia. A dispute relative to the rich mineral deposits of the desert of Atacama caused war between Chile and Bolivia in 1879. Although Bolivia was helped by Peru in the struggle, she was defeated and in the peace treaty excluded from the seacoast (1884).

**600. Chilean Declaration of Independence (1810).**—Chile declared its independence on September 18, 1810. However, the patriot forces commanded by Bernard O'Higgins were defeated and this check seemed to have nipped in the bud the thought of emancipation. In 1815 Chile returned to the allegiance of Ferdinand VII. A new enemy to Spanish power in the colony soon arose from another quarter.

General San Martin in the service of the republican government of Argentina crossed the Andes, won the victory of Chacabuco and captured Santiago (February 14, 1817). Only now did the north of the country rise and offer him the presidency. San Martin abandoned this dignity to his Chilean friend O'Higgins, who on January 1, 1818, issued a second proclamation of independence. Another victory won at Maipu (April 5, 1818) over the Spanish troops delivered up south Chile to the liberators. With the enforced resignation of O'Higgins in 1823, the country entered a short period of most serious internal disturbances which shook it to its foundation.

After 1839 it was governed by a line of excellent rulers who made Chile the most respected of all free South American states. Serious boundary disputes between Chile and Argentina repeatedly brought the two states to the brink of war in recent years. The controversy was finally settled in 1902

by a decision of the British government to whose arbitration it had been submitted.

**601. The United Provinces of the River Plata Declare Their Independence (1816); Argentina.**—In the early years of the nineteenth century the British made two attempts to conquer the country of the River Plata. These attempts ended in failure. Equally unsuccessful were Napoleon's efforts to bring the territory under the authority of his brother Joseph. Instead of accepting a change of foreign masters, the inhabitants rose against the Spaniards and after a successful struggle of a few years duration, established their independence. A national Congress held at Tucuman in 1816 proclaimed the independence of "The United Provinces of the River Plata" which later formed the three Republics of Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay.

In these provinces as in other Spanish-American colonies, the inhabitants first united against Spain and then quarrelled among themselves about the form of government. From 1813 onward, the question of the constitution caused an armed conflict between the advocates of a strongly centralized government and the federalists or the supporters of a looser state organization. A period of anarchy resulted which came to an end only in 1829, the year in which we may conveniently begin to consider Argentina as a state separate from Uruguay and Paraguay. De Rosas, the cruel leader of the Federalists, then began his dictatorship in Argentina. He maintained himself in power until 1852 when he was overthrown, fled and took ship for Ireland.

After a few years of internal turmoil, the country, despite resistance to some presidents, became comparatively tranquil. Internal security and the encouragement of foreign immigration helped it to make considerable material progress. Boundary controversies frequently embittered its relations with Brazil; the last of these was definitively settled in 1895, by our President Grover Cleveland, of the United States, to whose arbitration it had been submitted.

**602. Uruguay.**—The territory which now forms the Republic of Uruguay was a bone of contention between Argentina and Brazil even during the emancipation period. It formed for several years a province of Brazil, but in 1825 raised the standard of revolt and with the help of Argentina won its independence. It was recognized as a free state in 1828 and in 1830 adopted a constitution. During its independent existence it was frequently disturbed by internal disorders and could seldom engage with any permanency in peaceful pursuits.

**603. Paraguay and Francia; the Elder and the Younger Lopez.**—Paraguay gained its independence from Spanish rule in 1811. It was able to maintain itself beside Argentina as a separate republic owing to the indefatigable energy and stern methods of the dictator *Francia*. This extraordinary man was, in the most complete sense of the expression, the government of Paraguay from 1814 to 1840. He relied on no cabinet, appointed neither ministers nor consuls to represent him abroad, tolerated no commercial intercourse with foreign nations, admitted no foreigners into Paraguay without a special permit, and, once admitted, allowed them to leave only in rare instances. At home he encouraged agriculture and Paraguay became a state in which luxuries were unknown, but food and clothing plentiful and cheap.

He was succeeded by his nephew, the Elder Lopez (died 1862), who transformed the country into a strong military state. The forces trained by him were led by his son and successor, the Younger Lopez in one of the bloodiest wars in the history of South America: a conflict of Paraguay against Brazil, Argentina and Uruguay. The war lasted for five years (1865–1870) and was disastrous to Paraguay. Not only was its material prosperity ruined, but it lost about two-thirds of its inhabitants and was shorn of some of its territory. The death of Lopez in an engagement brought about the cessation of hostilities.

The country was now organized on a democratic basis and

a constitution adopted. This instrument reproduces in its essential features the constitution of the United States. Paraguay, which was never afflicted to any great extent with the national disease of the South American Republics—internal revolutions—rapidly recovered from the wounds of the war and enjoyed a period of material progress and prosperity.

## II. Portuguese America

**604. Brazil begins to enjoy Greater Freedom (1808).**—The revolution of the vast Portuguese colony of Brazil was no less important than that of Spanish America. Like the latter it was brought about by the political changes imposed on Europe by Napoleon, but it was effected more easily and met with less resistance from the mother country.

Portugal had been neither wiser nor more fortunate in its colonial policy than Spain or any other European power. The system of unnecessary and even harmful prohibitions and stupid commercial restrictions was in vogue in Brazil as in other colonies. Brazil could entertain relations with the rest of the world only through Portugal and Portugal itself was now by no means a first-rate power.

A sudden and complete change came over the colony in 1808: it then acquired considerable importance and virtual independence. The Regent John, who was ruling in place of his insane mother, was forced to leave Portugal which was invaded by foreign armies and annexed to France. Placing himself under British protection he fled to Brazil. He could not but allow greater commercial and economic freedom to the colony which offered him a home and much needed resources.

In 1808 the Brazilian ports were opened to the vessels of all nations friendly to Portugal. Special agreements concluded with Great Britain, secured a privileged position for the British merchant marine and Brazil was soon an almost exclusively British market. The country made enormous material progress in a short time and its population increased

Longitude 60° West from 50° Greenwich
80°
70°
40°
CARIBBEAN SEA
Caracas
TRINIDAD
Colon
PANAMA
Panama
Carabobo
Orinoco R.
VENEZUELA
1811-1821
Georgetown
Paramaribo
BRITISH
Cayenne
Boyacá
Bogotá
GUIANA
DUTCH
FRENCH
COLOMBIA
1811-1819
Equator
Guayaquil
Pichincha
Quito
ECUADOR
1809-1822
Amazon R.
Para
Madeira R.
Rossevelt R.
Pernambuco
PERU
1821-1824
Lima
Ayacucho
BRAZIL
(Independent Empire, 1822, Republic, 1889)
Bahia
L. Titicaca
La Paz
TACNA AND ARICA DISTRICT
BOLIVIA
1809-1825
Potosi
Paraguay R.
Rio de Janeiro
Tropic of Capricorn
Antofagasta
PARAGUAY
1811
São Paulo
Asuncion
Tucuman
Porto Alegre
Uruguay
Parana R.
Cordoba
URUGUAY
1825
Valparaiso
Santiago
Chacabuco
Rosario
Montevideo
JUAN FERNANDEZ IS.
Maipu
Buenos Aires
Plata R.
1810-1815
1810-1816
La Plata
SOUTH AMERICA
Showing territory formerly held by
SPAIN and PORTUGAL
Scale of Statute Miles
0
500
1000
Territory lost by Spain
Territory lost by Portugal
NOTE: Where two dates are given, the first figures indicate the year when movement for independence was started, and the second, when independence was completed.
Boundaries of Countries are shown as in 1922.
Strait of Magellan
FALKLAND IS.
Punta Arenas
Cape Horn
90°
80°
70°
60°
50°
40°
30°
20°
10°
0°
50°

by one million in ten years. Such unheard-of prosperity and the example of the revolutionary Spanish colonies spread in the country the desire for independence.

**605. Brazil is proclaimed an Independent Empire (1822).**—The regent, in order better to control the country, remained, after Napoleon's downfall, in Brazil instead of returning to Portugal. He even erected it into a kingdom and ruled it as King John VI after his mother's death in 1816.

Ever since the transfer of the Portuguese court to Brazil, the colony had enjoyed practically all the freedom of an independent country. In 1821 when King John VI returned to Portugal a large number of Portuguese officials remained in Brazil and in Rio de Janeiro a very efficient government headed by Don Pedro, the king's eldest son, was running the country. The time for complete freedom was not far off, and it is worthy of note that independence was secured by diplomatic negotiations and not through revolution.

The independence of Brazil was proclaimed by the Portuguese element which had accompanied or followed the dynasty to the colony. There was no war, but merely a proclamation of independence and negotiations for the recognition by the mother country of the new sovereign state. In 1822 Dom Pedro I was proclaimed Emperor of Brazil and in 1825 the new empire was recognized by Portugal. The following year King John died and Emperor Pedro resigned all claims to the Portuguese throne to his daughter, while reserving Brazil for himself and his son. The separation of the two states was thus made definitive (1826.)

**606. Brazil as an Independent State.**—The recognition of its independence did not bring immediate internal peace to Brazil. No sentiment of national unity existed and Pedro I was rather arbitrary and to a certain degree unsuccessful in his rule. He soon became most unpopular and a strong agitation was inaugurated against him. An insurrection which broke out in the capital forced him to abdicate in

1831. A few days later he embarked for Europe whence he never returned.

He left the throne to his son Pedro II, then six years old. Under the new ruler insurrections continued to distract the country until toward the middle of the century. The emperor then became master of the situation and, in spite of bitter quarrels among the political parties, succeeded by his mild dispositions and conciliatory spirit in preserving peace for many years. The people engaged on a larger scale in the exploitation of the country's prodigious resources and Brazil proved an attraction for a large number of immigrants. Slavery was still in existence, but the emperor's attitude toward it was in harmony with his humanitarian dispositions. He gradually prepared the empire for the elimination of this degrading institution and completely suppressed it in 1888.

Order, tranquillity and contentment seemed to prevail in this immense state, when in 1889 the unexpected news was sent around the world that Pedro II had been forced to abdicate. This sudden turn of affairs was due to the presence in the empire of a small number of active republicans and determined malcontents. These secured control of the army, overthrew the government and experienced little difficulty in having Pedro II sign his own abdication. A provisional government was promptly organized and some important measures like the separation of Church and state immediately put in operation. A new constitution, adopted in 1891, organized the United States of Brazil. Several years elapsed, however, before the return of settled conditions. After some adjustment the country became a well-ordered commonwealth growing rapidly in power and prosperity.

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## CHAPTER XXIX

### LESSER EUROPEAN STATES; COLONIAL EXPANSION

### I. Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium and Scandinavia

**607. Spain from 1815 to 1868.**—After the collapse of the Napoleonic empire, the Bourbon dynasty was restored in Spain in the person of Ferdinand VII (1814–1833). He suppressed all the reforms inaugurated since 1808, set aside the ultra-liberal constitution framed by the Cortes in 1812, restored the absolute kingship and reestablished the Inquisition. Unmindful of the self-sacrificing devotion with which the liberals had defended his rights against Napoleon he ruthlessly used his regained power against them.

His unjust rule and tactless proceedings brought about the revolution of 1820 and led to foreign intervention (see nos. 441,442). The Holy Alliance called upon France to restore the absolute, "legitimate" rule of the king. This was accomplished, but just at this time the Spanish-American colonies were lost to the mother country.

The precarious internal situation was further complicated in Spain by an alteration of the law of succession. Ferdinand VII, without male issue, desired to leave the kingdom to his daughter Isabella. To effect his purpose he abrogated the Salic Law which, brought to Spain by the Bourbons in 1713, excluded females from the succession. Instead of leaving the crown to his younger brother Don Carlos (Charles), he bestowed it on his daughter Isabella. At his death in 1833, Isabella II was proclaimed queen (1833–1868).

The alteration in the law regulating the succession to the throne had most unfortunate consequences for the kingdom. The followers of Don Carlos (Carlists) took up arms to conquer the crown for their leader and a civil war of several years duration ensued. The dynastic quarrel was trans-

mitted as a baneful legacy from generation to generation and was the source of all the ills from which the country suffered in the nineteenth century. It undermined the strength of the nation and proved destructive of prosperity at home and of prestige abroad.

**608. Spain from 1868 to 1885.**—In 1868 Queen Isabella was dethroned by generals and admirals in her service and fled to France. The royal crown of Spain now went a begging. After being refused by two princes it was tendered to Leopold of Hohenzollern and became the occasion of the Franco-German war. It was finally accepted by the second son of King Victor Emmanuel of Italy, but after a short time proved an unendurable burden and was surrendered by him. His short reign (1870–1873) was followed by a still shorter republic which displayed greater ability in changing its presidents (there were four presidents in two years) than in establishing an orderly and enduring government.

In 1875 Alfonso XII, a son of former Queen Isabella, secured possession of the throne. His reign was brief and troubled (1875–1885). While internal discord divided the inhabitants, earthquakes, floods and cholera caused suffering and spread desolation among them.

**609. Spain from 1885 to 1914; the Spanish Constitution and Government.**—Alfonso XII's death was followed by the regency carried on by Queen-Mother Christina for her son Alfonso XIII. To the many internal difficulties with which she had to cope was added in 1895 a powerful insurrection in Cuba. The Spanish troops sent to the colony were unable to reduce the rebels to subjection. General Weyler, to reestablish Spanish authority, resorted to measures of such drastic character that they aroused the indignation of the American people and led to the forcible intervention of the United States (1898).

The Spanish-American war was short and decisive. The obsolete, wooden ships of Spain were no match for the armored battleships of America. The Spanish fleet was

destroyed in the battles of Santiago and Manila. The Treaty of Paris terminated the war and sealed the fate of that superb colonial empire reared by the Spaniards (1898). Cuba became a free and independent republic under American protection. Porto Rico and the Philippines were ceded to the United States. In 1899 Spain sold to Germany several groups of scattered islands in Asia and, though retaining certain districts in Africa, she who had so long held the leadership, now ceased even to have a place, among colonial powers.

After the loss of her colonies, she concentrated her efforts on internal development. The regency came to an end in 1902 and King Alfonso XIII took control of affairs. In 1906 he married Victoria, of Battenberg, an English princess converted from Protestantism. He has worked with energy, prudence and success for the welfare of his people.

His power is defined and limited by the constitution of 1876. According to it, king and ministers exercise the executive authority, king and parliament initiate and frame the laws. The parliament (Cortes) is formed by the senate and the congress. The former is partly, the latter entirely, elective. Universal manhood suffrage prevails.

The relations between Church and state are determined by the concordat of 1851. The Catholic religion is the religion of the state and its ministers are supported by the public treasury. Protestant denominations may freely practise their religion.

**610. Portugal (1815–1914).**—Portugal was, like Spain, disburbed by frequent and wearisome dynastic quarrels from which Church as well as state greatly suffered. Napoleon's interference in the country led to the removal of the royal court to Brazil. The transfer was the occasion for the separation of the colony from Portugal.

Already prior to the nineteenth century Great Britain exerted powerful influence in the country. The assistance which she furnished Portugal in the Napoleonic wars so

strengthened her dominant position that the Portuguese foreign policy has been completely subservient to British interests until our own time.

In 1910 a revolution abolished the monarchy and established a republic in Portugal. However, the change in the form of government failed to bring peace and tranquillity to the country.

Despite its small size Portugal still holds important colonial possessions in Africa and Asia. The most extensive of these are Guinea, Angola, Mozambique and the northern part of the island of Timor.

**611. Switzerland; Ecclesiastical Affairs.**—After its conquest by the French revolutionaries, Switzerland was divided by Napoleon into nineteen cantons or states and given the character of a federal republic dependent on France. The victorious allied powers did not destroy Napoleon's work, but used his state structure in Switzerland as in Germany in their reconstruction of Europe. Adding to the territory of the republic, they raised the number of cantons from nineteen to the present number of twenty-two, and established the independent and neutral Swiss Confederation. In the form of government as organized by the Diet of Zürich and approved by the Congress of Vienna, the individual cantons enjoyed very extensive freedom whereas the federal central government possessed little power.

Two questions of vital importance caused division among the Swiss people in the nineteenth century: (1) the question of religious liberty; (2) the problem of constitutional government.

The French occupation of the country had resulted at Geneva, the centre of Calvinism, in the restoration of Catholic worship after an interruption of over two and a half centuries. In subsequent years the Catholics were for a time throughout all Switzerland left in peaceful enjoyment of their rights. Some of the cantons were in majority Catholic, others, more numerous, chiefly Protestant; but

the local governments to which the settlement of religious matters was largely left, respected the rights of the minorities under their jurisdiction.

This religious peace was seriously disturbed in 1841 by the Protestants who suppressed most of the monasteries in the Canton of Aargau. Worse events were to follow in Lucerne in 1844. When this Canton admitted the Jesuits into its territory it was attacked by armed bands, but successfully defended itself against its enemies. As a measure of self-protection seven Catholic cantons formed the Sonderbund (separate league) for the defense of their sovereign rights and religious freedom. The animosity between this league and its non-Catholic opponents soon waxed so bitter that civil war broke out (Sonderbund War). The struggle cost few lives and ended in the defeat of the Catholics (1847). As a result, their religious rights were restricted and their political freedom interfered with. Some years later the publication of the decrees of the Vatican Council served as an added pretext for new persecutions. Many Catholic parishes were deprived of their pastors and some Catholic bishops sent into exile. The wave of bigotry subsided slowly and gradually and interference with the rights of the Catholic Church ceased entirely in 1891. Since then the Confederation and the various cantons have shown a more tolerant and fairer attitude toward their Catholic inhabitants.

**612. Constitutional Struggle; the Recent Federal Constitution.**—All the cantons entered the Confederation in 1815 on equal terms; but their respective local governments bore a varied character. In some cantons the higher classes still occupied a prominent position and a struggle for a wider recognition of popular rights was begun. These efforts were everywhere, though in different ways, crowned with success and the people were granted a larger influence in the government.

A movement for the revision of the Federal Constitution

Freiburg in Switzerland

also gradually gained ground and produced results in 1848. A new constitution was then drafted, only to be again altered in 1874. The present constitution is, apart from some slight modifications subsequently introduced, the instrument adopted in 1874. It contains some unusual and characteristic features, as may be seen from the following brief outline of its chief clauses.

Freedom of conscience and of worship is solemnly proclaimed, but despite this high-sounding declaration, Jesuits and affiliated orders are excluded from the country, the founding of new monasteries is forbidden and the erection of new dioceses is subject to the approval of the Federal government. These restrictive clauses are so much the more galling as they apply only to the Catholic minority.

In the organization of the central government the usual distinction into a legislative, a judicial and an executive department is carried out. The legislative authority is vested in the Federal Assembly composed of two chambers: the National Council and the Council of States. The latter represents the cantons, is composed of two delegates for each canton and has consequently a total membership of forty-four. The National Council is the real, popular assembly; its members are elected for three years by all Swiss citizens over twenty years of age. For certain purposes the two chambers meet in joint session as, for example, for the election of the federal judges who are chosen for six years by the Federal Assembly. The latter also chooses the seven members of the Federal Council which is simultaneously the cabinet and the supreme executive of the Confederation. Switzerland furnishes one of the rare instances of a well functioning plural executive. There is in reality no president of the Swiss republic, but only a president of the Federal Council who is elected for one year by the Federal Assembly and cannot hold office for two successive terms.

Two other distinctive elements of the Swiss government

are the *initiative* and the *referendum.* The people can initiate a revision of a definite clause in the constitution by presenting a petition signed by 50,000 voters in favor of such a change. They also have the right of the referendum. A federal law must be submitted to the sanction of the people, upon the demand of 30,000 voters or eight cantons, for a popular vote.

**613. Holland; Name, Country and Rulers.**—Holland is the conventional and usual name for a limited monarchy in northwestern Europe which is officially called the Kingdom of the Netherlands. It has been rather appropriately described as "a sort of transition between land and sea, the end of the earth and the beginning of the ocean, a measureless raft of mud and sand."

This exceptional nature of the country has profoundly influenced its history. The sea has been its menace ever present and never completely conquered. It has been its protection from foreign enemies, its training school and its source of prosperity. Situated below the level of the sea, Holland has to seek safety behind dykes and has to exercise constant watch over the waters washing her shores. A terrible calamity befell her in the thirteenth century when the sea penetrated inland and formed a new gulf, the Zuyder Zee. A fertile portion of the country was thus ruined and 80,000 people are believed to have been drowned. Since then the inhabitants have succeeded in better controlling the unruly waves, but all danger from floods cannot be eliminated. Sometimes these have been deliberately caused, as in the time of Louis XIV, for the purpose of defeating an invading army. Along with this powerful means of defense, Holland owed to her geographical position that maritime and commercial prosperity which placed her in the seventeenth century among the leading nations of the world.

The present kingdom of Holland was established in 1813 and has ever since been ruled by princes of the House of Orange. The monarchs have invariably borne the name of

William (I, II and III) which is used in its feminine form by the present ruler (Wilhelmine). In 1815 the great powers, in their frenzy for combinations, united Belgium with Holland in one state, but this ill-assorted union came to a violent end in 1830 (see no. 615). The kings of Holland from 1815 to 1890 were also Grand Dukes of Luxemburg. The union between Luxemburg and Holland was merely personal, however, not political; the two countries had the same rulers, but separate administrations. They were entirely separated at the extinction of the male line of the House of Orange; a woman then ascended the Dutch throne, but could not become Grand Duchess of Luxemburg because at that time females were still excluded from the succession in the latter country, a provision which no longer obtains today.

**614. Holland Since 1815; Her Colonies.**—After separating from Spain in the sixteenth century, Holland adopted Calvinism as her official religion and despoiled the Catholics of many civil and religious rights. This state of things endured until the revolutionary and Napoleonic era when the country was conquered by the French and first the Batavian Republic, later the kingdom of Holland established. At this time the Catholics were placed on a footing of equality with the Protestants. In Holland, as in Switzerland, French conquest improved the status of the true religion.

The Dutch constitution, promulgated in 1814, also proclaimed religious freedom, but the government was opposed to the Catholics. The discrimination in favor of Protestants was keenly felt by the Catholics and stirred them to energetic striving for greater freedom of religion. The Catholic hierarchy was restored in 1853. At the same time there was a widespread popular movement for the extension of political rights, and progress toward democracy was constant in the country. Men and women have today the right to vote on equal terms, and Holland is one of the freest among civilized nations.

She possesses, besides territory in Europe, a rich and

extensive colonial empire in the East and West Indies. Her colonies have a population of nearly fifty million inhabitants. They comprise in the East Indies chiefly Java, Sumatra and Borneo, in the West Indies, Dutch Guiana and Curacao.

**615. Belgium Revolts and forms an Independent State (1830).**—The union of Belgium with Holland, already referred to, was an ill-advised act of the great powers. In effecting it they annexed to Holland, a state with less than two million inhabitants, a country which had over three million souls. The unceremonious proceeding was likely to wound the national pride of the majority thus arbitrarily disposed of. In fact, serious difficulties immediately confronted the king and government of the united Kingdom of the Netherlands. These difficulties were due on the one hand to the differences in language, customs, religion and traditions between the Belgians and the Dutch, and on the other hand to the lack of prudence and tact which the king exhibited in governing this new state. Belgium was a seat of dissatisfaction and a centre of unrest and became in 1830 the scene of a lively revolutionary agitation. Before the year had run its course, Brussels, following the example of Paris, rose in insurrection. A provisional government was established, the independence of Belgium proclaimed and the country cleared in a very short time of Dutch troops.

The powers soon realized that further union between Belgium and Holland was impossible and acknowledged Belgium's right to independence. The acknowledgment could the more easily be made as Great Britain, at whose instigation Belgium and Holland had been united, was indifferent to a multiplication of states. Her policy was to keep any great power, particularly France, from the coast of the Low Countries and the creation of an additional small state was not incompatible with such an aim. Belgium was formally recognized as an independent country at the conference of London and Leopold I of Saxe-Coburg became her first king (1831).

Holland refused to abide by this settlement and began the reconquest of Belgium. Thereupon the English fleet blockaded the Dutch coast and a French army undertook the defense of Belgium (1832). The overwhelming strength of the two powers in a short time overcame Dutch resistance. It took several years, however, to straighten out all financial matters and settle all questions of detail between Holland and Belgium. Their respective rights were satisfactorily defined in 1839, when Belgium, under the guarantee of the five great powers, began its existence as an independent and neutral kingdom.

**616. Belgium since 1839.**—As long as the independence of Belgium was jeopardized by the active hostility of Holland her citizens remained united and pursued in common the exalted aim of freeing their country from Dutch misrule. The external danger once passed, the Belgian people drifted into two separate and antagonistic political parties: the Liberals and the Catholics. These two parties governed the country at different times until 1914. The Liberals first came into power, fell after a while under the sway of the Freemasons and sought to destroy religious or Catholic influence everywhere, notably in the schools. They became in the course of time and still are today bitterly hostile to the Catholic religion. Their high-handed violation of religious freedom forced the Catholics to organize for the defense of their most sacred rights. A vigorous agitation against the oppressive laws voted by the Liberals produced magnificent results and in 1884 an overwhelming majority at the polls swept the Catholics into office.

They used their victory with moderation and remained in power uninterruptedly until 1914. The Liberals in their day of triumph had resorted to artificial means and restrictive measures to maintain themselves in office; they had limited the right to vote and disfranchised whole classes of citizens. The Catholics on the contrary, in their revision of the constitution in 1893, introduced universal manhood suffrage.

Although denounced by the Liberals as incompetent to manage public affairs, they gave Belgium an excellent government and prosperous times. Their progressive spirit was evidenced not only by the extension of the franchise, but also by the enactment of excellent measures of social reform. They thus effectively checked the progress of the Socialists, who toward the end of the nineteenth century began, as a third party, to strive for political power in Belgium.

**617. Belgium and the Congo Free State.**—Belgium holds a valuable colony, known as the Congo Free State, in equatorial Africa. She owes the possession of this huge region to the initiative, ambition and shrewd business ability of King Leopold II. During his reign the Dark Continent was, owing to the explorations of Livingstone and Stanley, an object of lively interest in civilized countries. Leopold was not less interested than his contemporaries and more anxious to reap economic advantages from the newly explored territories. In 1876 he founded the International African Association for the exploration and civilization of central Africa. Shortly afterward he established the International Association of the Congo. This society took the famous Stanley into its service and sent him to Africa. He established numerous stations along the Congo River, entered into treaty relations with native chiefs and organized a government in the region explored by him. A new state was thus elaborated and the right of the International Association of the Congo to jurisdiction over it was acknowledged by the powers at a conference held in Berlin in 1884–1885.

Leopold II, probably apprehensive of complications, had so far remained in the background. He now considered it opportune to step forward, named the recognized possessions of the Association the Congo Free State and claimed personal sovereignty over it. The new state thus became a huge royal domain of the Belgian king; in 1908 it was with royal consent annexed by the Belgian state.

**618. Scandinavia; Denmark.**—All Scandinavia was in the past united in one state, then was split into two and is now divided into three separate kingdoms: Denmark, Sweden and Norway. All three states are constitutional and hereditary monarchies and are inhabited by people of the same Teutonic race. They have all adopted Lutheranism as their official religion and count among their inhabitants only an insignificant number of Catholics.

Their history in the last century was, to a great extent, shaped by their attitude in the Napoleonic wars. Denmark, during that period of violence and coercion, strove to preserve her neutrality and to protect her material interests. England, considering the Danish government too friendly to Napoleon and the Danish fleet too dangerous a potential enemy, dispatched in 1807, without previous intimation, a powerful squadron to Denmark. The Danish government, though at peace with England, was summoned to surrender at once the Danish fleet and naval stores which would be retained by England as a deposit until the end of the war. Upon Denmark's indignant refusal to comply with such an unheard-of demand, Copenhagen was bombarded for three days and the Danish fleet seized by force. Denmark answered this brutal act of aggression by entering into a close and lasting alliance with the French Emperor.

This loyalty cost her, after the latter's defeat, the possession of Norway, which was taken from her and annexed to Sweden. She lost more territory later in the century after the War of the Duchies against Austria and Prussia (see no. 520). In 1917 she sold the Danish West Indies to America; they are now the Virgin Islands of the United States. Denmark's only remaining colony is Greenland. Iceland, for centuries a Danish possession, became a sovereign state in 1918 and is at present joined to Denmark only through the identity of the sovereign.

**619. Sweden and Norway.**—Sweden in Napoleon's time more usually gave her support to the powers allied against

France, although she chose one of Napoleon's lieutenants, Marshal Bernadotte, as successor to the Swedish kings. Bernadotte, more appreciative of worldly advancement than spiritual treasures, exchanged his Catholic faith for Protestantism and renounced his native land for Sweden to secure a royal crown for himself and his descendants. So completely did he identify himself with his adopted country that shortly after his coming to Sweden he broke with Napoleon and joined the coalitions formed against his former master and imperial protector. The prospect of acquiring Norway, held out to him by Russia and England, served to confirm him in this course. After the battle of Leipzig he led his troops against the Danes and defeated them. They bought peace by ceding Norway to him and the Congress of Vienna confirmed the cession.

The Norwegians, though they were granted complete autonomy, only reluctantly submitted to Swedish rule. They were predominantly seafaring folk and were never completely reconciled to their union with an agricultural people like the Swedes. The union between the two countries was dissolved by mutual agreement in 1905. In recent times Sweden has sent a relatively large number of immigrants to the United States where they settled chiefly in Minnesota, a state not unlike their native country.

## II. Colonial Expansion

**620. Meaning of Imperialism.**—Imperialism, though of the same etymology as "empire," is not restricted in its application to imperial governments. It may flourish in modern democracies as vigorously as in imperial autocracies. It is used to designate excessive national ambition, an unhealthy striving of a country to expand, to promote its own interests abroad, to occupy new territory or to advance its trade.

Such ambitious designs cannot be pursued without the backing of considerable power. Consequently, imperialism, while it does not directly predicate, nevertheless indirectly

implies, reliance on force for the attainment of national ends. Furthermore, as force very frequently rests on military and naval strength, imperialism either presupposes or leads to excessive armament.

Imperialism is as old as the organization of the human race into tribes and nations. It was practised on an enormous scale by the Romans; it was in evidence in a small degree in the petty fights of the medieval nobility. In modern times European governments yielded to its allurements in the wars which they waged for provinces in Europe. Since 1870 it has manifested itself chiefly in rivalry for colonial possessions and in unhealthy competition for world trade.

Great Britain first ceased to fight for territory in Europe and looked for expansion to other parts of the world. The twofold aim of her foreign relations was: national security in Europe, territory in the rest of the world. Owing to her insular position she strove for control of the sea, and, owing to her limited resources at home, for rich and fertile colonies abroad. While other countries sought to effect changes in European boundaries, she showed little interest in bringing diminutive European principalities under her control. She strove in peace and in war to weaken contemporary rivals, reap commercial advantages and gather in colonial possessions.

**621. A New Imperialism.**—By the tenacious and unscrupulous pursuit of this policy, Great Britain had become in 1815 the undisputed leader in maritime and colonial enterprise. She had acquired a huge colonial empire when other countries, like Germany and Italy, had as yet no thought of colonial aspirations. These two peoples completed their national unification in 1870 and a new imperialism, as it were, made its appearance about that time.

Most European countries, no longer absorbed in domestic politics, began to look about for outlets for their surplus population and markets for their surplus products. Emigrants to foreign parts were increasing in number and trade

in distant markets was gathering volume. This was the natural result of the many practical inventions of the century; for railroad, steamship, telegraph and telephone virtually annihilated distances. The acquisition of colonies appeared more and more desirable and compelling to the leading nations. On the one hand, emigrants to such dependencies would conserve their national identity and become a source of added strength to the mother country. On the other hand, national trade would be promoted by the exchange of manufactured articles between the motherland and the colonies. National and economic reasons thus impelled the civilized nations to the acquisition of colonies.

Religion was another force tending in the same direction. The number of Christian missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, steadily increased in the course of the nineteenth century and the Gospel message was carried to the remotest corners of the earth. In some parts of the world these missionaries, while preaching a spiritual doctrine, also won for their homeland the friendship, alliance and submission of the native chiefs. In other parts their violent deaths at the hands of hostile natives were avenged by their home government by the seizure of territory. Such annexations at times threw discredit on religion, but they were carried out by governments not at the request of missionaries but spontaneously for the extension of national power.

The factors just indicated led to that scramble for colonies unprecedented in history which took place in recent times. Colonial expansion was hailed in all countries with keen satisfaction and every new annexation of territory was applauded as a distinct national triumph.

**622. English Colonial Expansion; the Opening up of China.**[1]—The most important territories conquered and occupied by England, prior to 1815, have already been cited

[1]For colonial details, see map of Africa facing p. 568 and map of Europe, Asia, Africa and Australia between p. 648–649. A complete enumeration of the colonies of the several nations is impossible here. Such an enumeration will be found with ample details about each colony in the Statesman's Year Book published annually, by the Macmillan Company of New York.

here and there in the preceding pages. After the Congress of Vienna she held outside of Europe the following possessions which were to grow into as many empires: India in Asia, Cape Colony in Africa, Canada in America, Australia in Australasia.

Explorations, treaties with native rulers, and colonial wars were instrumental in extending these possessions. The frontiers of the British domain in India were constantly moved further north and the traffic in opium carried on from this colony led to territorial acquisitions in the Far East and the opening up of China.

The latter country, if we except the admission of Catholic missionaries and the toleration of some foreign traders, was for a long time closed to European influences. The differences caused between Great Britain and China by the opium traffic were destined to bring about a relaxation in the rules enforcing exclusion. As, contrary to an edict prohibiting the importation of opium, British traders persisted in smuggling the commodity into China, the Opium War was waged by the two countries (1840–1842). The British fleet attacked the Chinese coast, captured several cities and forced the emperor to accept peace on the following terms: (1) the opening of five Chinese ports to foreign trade; (2) cession of the island of Hongkong to Great Britain; (3) payment of a war indemnity by China. As for the traffic in opium which had occasioned the war, it was left unsettled by the treaty.

The next breach was made in Chinese exclusiveness conjointly by Great Britain and France in the second Chinese War (1856–1860). In this combined attack on the *Celestial Empire*, Great Britain sought solace for an insult to her flag, France fought to avenge the death of a missionary. China was defeated and was compelled to open additional ports to foreign commerce, to admit European traders, to afford government protection to Christian missionaries and to give a foothold to England on the Chinese mainland.

These wars marked the beginning of a long period of interference in China on the part of European powers. Great Britain continued to make occasional demands for territorial grants and economic concessions. Russia, France, Japan and Germany pursued a similar course and extorted important privileges from a country whose chief offense was its self-sufficient isolation, military weakness, and defenseless condition.

**623. British Colonial Expansion; Africa.**—When Cape Colony became formally British by the settlement of Vienna in 1815, its Dutch settlers reluctantly transferred their allegiance from Holland to Great Britain. They were to be among the worst sufferers from the persistent advance of the British in South Africa. Many of them or of their descendants left, at various times, their settlements and moved to territory still free from British rule. They founded the Orange Free State and the republic of the Transvaal. Things went fairly well with them in these new commonwealths until gold was discovered in the Transvaal.

Johannesburg, the centre of the gold mining district, then attracted a large number of foreign adventurers. Many of the newcomers were British subjects who insistently demanded that they be conceded various rights, notably enfranchisement. The Transvaal government was slow in making concessions and on some points absolutely refused to yield. Some officials in the neighboring British territory interested themselves in the matter and attempted in various ways to get control of the Transvaal. A certain Dr. Jameson at the head of mounted police crossed into the little republic with the purpose of seizing its government (1895). The abortive raid only succeeded in covering with shame its unscrupulous perpetrators and in warning the little republic to prepare for defense.

After this armed irruption of an unscrupulous British adventurer into peaceful territory, the relations between England and the Transvaal grew steadily worse. The

latter formed an alliance with the Orange Free State and in the Boer War, which broke out in 1899, England fought to destroy the independence and appropriate the territory of these small nations.

The Boers, about 50,000 strong, for three years offered resistance to British armies of more than 300,000 men. Their hope of European intervention remained unfulfilled in spite of President Krüger's energetic efforts and diplomatic visits. Though commanders like Botha, Cronje and de Wet won notable victories and performed feats of great valor and daring they were ultimately overcome by superior numbers and unlimited resources. They did not surrender unconditionally, however, but won for their country the right of self-government, pledged by the treaty of peace.

The Transvaal and Orange Free State have since been united with other territory of the same region in the Union of South Africa (1910). Great Britain's ambition to link her possessions in South Africa with Egypt, her colony in the north, was realized in the World War by the conquest of German East Africa. The railroad from Cape Town to Cairo may now be completed and laid in one continuous stretch through British territory.

**624. Early British Colonial Government.**—In the latter part of the eighteenth century Great Britain attempted to subject her colonies to her Parliament and to administer them for her benefit. They were to be ruled from London for the profit of the British people. The system was de-denounced in the colonies, resulted in disaster, and was abandoned. The American colonies refused to submit to a Parliament in which they were not represented. They would not pay the taxes imposed on them for the benefit of the mother country. Their grievances led to the Revolutionary War and the declaration of the Independence of the United States.

The separation of the American colonies from Great Britain was for her an incalculable loss, but conveyed a

profitable lesson. It pointed the needed moral, that a colonial policy, to be successful, must aim to procure the contentment and prosperity of the colonies. This lesson was driven home to the British government by the happenings in Canada. There the settlers, originally French, obstinately clung, after the transfer of the country, to their own language and national peculiarities. Meanwhile British colonists established homes in Canada, and the two races fell to quarrelling among themselves and with the English officials set over them. An uprising against the colonial government took place in 1837. It was easily quelled, but alarmed the British government and reminded it of the American Revolution.

**625. Lord Durham's Report; Self-Governing Federations.**—Lord Durham was sent to Canada to examine into the situation and to suggest improvements. His report is the most famous document in British colonial history and forms, as it were, the Charter of Liberties of the British colonies. It owes this enviable distinction to two important recommendations regarding colonial administration. It advocated (1) *the establishment of responsible government;* (2) *the organization of all Canadian colonies in a Federal union.*

The two suggestions have since been carried into effect in several parts of the British dominions. Canada was granted responsible government in 1847 and twenty years later several Canadian colonies were united in a confederation called the *Dominion of Canada.* The Dominion includes today all British North America with the exception of New Foundland. Its component states enjoy considerable latitude in regulating their local affairs. In the central government, the legislative authority is exercised by the senate appointed by the governor-general and by a House of Commons elected by the people. The cabinet is responsible to the Commons just mentioned and the governor-general is appointed by the crown. Canada is the leading self-governing colony of the British empire.

Australia, which began as an insignificant convict settlement, grew into an important possession as exploration revealed its interior and settlers developed its resources. It forms today a self-governing state, the Commonwealth of Australia. The smaller Dominion of New Zealand and the Union of South Africa (treated above) have the same status.

The differences characterizing the most progressive types of government in the British colonies may be outlined in the following few words. The *self-governing* states have popular representation and a responsible cabinet; the *representative* colonies have popular representation but no responsible cabinet; the *crown colonies* have neither representation nor responsible ministers.

The British empire in pre-war days occupied one-sixth of the earth's surface and included one-fourth of the globe's inhabitants. These holdings were very materially increased by the acquisitions made as a result of the World War.

**626. French Colonies.**—The unfavorable position in which France found herself after Napoleon's defeat centred her attention on home affairs and Europe rather than on colonies and foreign continents. In 1830 she had sufficiently recovered from her losses and was forced by sheer self-respect to send an expeditionary force against Algiers. From this city and the surrounding territory, pirates sallied forth to terrorize shipping in the Mediterranean Sea. The United States had already won brilliant successes over them, exacted reparation for damage and released numerous Christian captives. However the north coast of Africa was still a centre from which raids were carried out against shipping. The country was nominally subject to the Turks, but virtually independent.

The Dey, as the ruler of Algiers was called, gave serious offence to France by unceremoniously striking the French consul during an interview and seriously molesting French citizens on various occasions. King Charles X, resolved

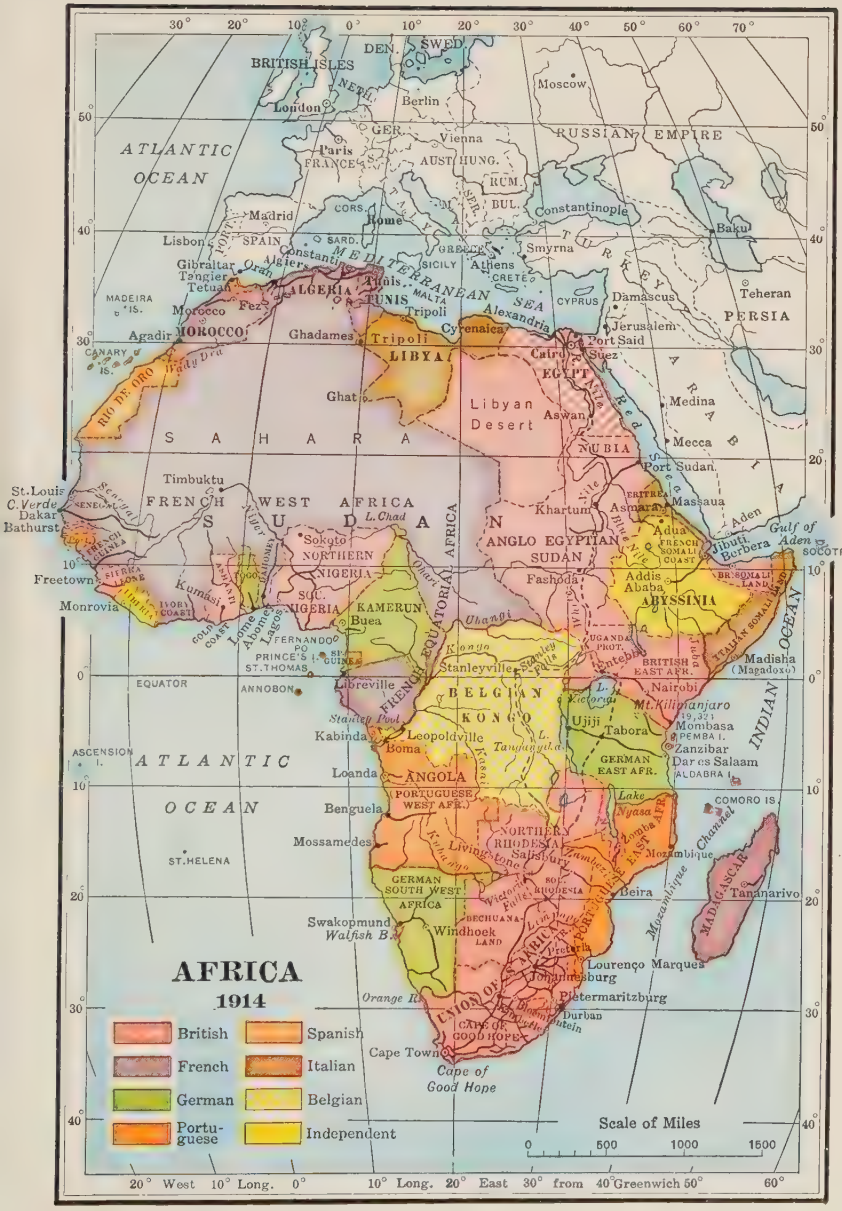
on putting an end to such indignities, sent a strong French expeditionary force to north Africa. Algiers was captured, French garrisons were stationed on the coast, piracy was suppressed and the foundation was laid of that immense colonial empire which France holds at present in northwest Africa.

Many years of war were necessary to subject Algeria to French rule, but in the course of time French influence and authority were extended eastward to Tunis and westward to Morocco. In central Africa France controls an extensive region in the Congo basin and on the east African coast she rules the beautiful island of Madagascar.

In Asia the French annexed Indochina and established a protectorate over Siam; in Australasia they colonized New Caledonia and other islands, in America they hold French Guiana, Martinique, Guadeloupe and the two islets of St. Pierre and Miquelon.

**627. Germany Acquires Colonies and Loses Them.**—The Germans became a nation of colonizers at a recent date (1884). The delay which they experienced in forming a united nation precluded the systematic pursuit of a purposeful colonial policy. After the establishment of the empire they occupied in Africa German West Africa, German East Africa, Togoland and the Cameroons.

In other parts of the world they purchased the Caroline and Marianne Islands from Spain, acquired political possession of Kiaochow and economic control of Shantung from China and took possession, in part, of New Guinea, Samoa and other islands. Guam, the largest of the Marianne group, never belonged to Germany, but was ceded by Spain to the United States after the Spanish-American War. Yap, one of the Caroline Islands, acquired, under German occupation, importance as a cable station. It was the object of a lively controversy between Japan and the United States after the World War. The matter in dispute has now been settled to the satisfaction of both countries.


AFRICA
1914
British
French
German
Portuguese
Spanish
Italian
Belgian
Independent
Scale of Miles
0 500 1000 1500
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RED SEA
SAHARA
Libyan Desert
ARABIA
PERSIA
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
BRITISH ISLES
FRENCH WEST AFRICA
FRENCH EQUATORIAL AFRICA
ANGLO EGYPTIAN SUDAN
BELGIAN KONGO
ABYSSINIA
ITALIAN SOMALILAND
BR. SOMALILAND
FRENCH SOMALI COAST
ANGOLA
PORTUGUESE WEST AFR.
GERMAN SOUTH WEST AFRICA
NORTHERN RHODESIA
SOUTHERN RHODESIA
BECHUANA LAND
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
GERMAN EAST AFR.
BRITISH EAST AFR.
UGANDA PROT.
Cape of Good Hope
Cape Town
Pretoria
Johannesburg
Durban
Lourenço Marques
Beira
Tananarivo
MADAGASCAR
Mozambique Channel
Zambesi R.
Orange R.
Nile
Niger
Congo
Kongo
Stanley Falls
Stanleyville
Leopoldville
Libreville
Loanda
Benguela
Mossamedes
Walfish B.
Swakopmund
Windhoek
Kabinda
Boma
Buea
Kumasi
Sokoto
Timbuktu
L. Chad
Tripoli
Ghadames
Ghat
Agadir
Fez
Tangier
Algiers
Tunis
Gibraltar
Lisbon
Madrid
Paris
London
Berlin
Vienna
Rome
Athens
Constantinople
Smyrna
Moscow
Baku
Damascus
Jerusalem
Port Said
Suez
Cairo
Alexandria
Cyrenaica
Aswan
Khartum
Fashoda
Asmara
Massaua
Adua
Addis Ababa
Port Sudan
Mecca
Medina
Aden
Gulf of Aden
Djibuti
Berbera
SOCOTRA
Nairobi
Mombasa
Zanzibar
Dar es Salaam
Tabora
Ujiji
Victoria Nyanza
Mt. Kilimanjaro
19,321
Lake Nyasa
Victoria Falls
Livingstone
Salisbury
Bulawayo
Kimberley
Durban
Port Elizabeth
Pietermaritzburg
Johannesburg
Pretoria
Lourenço Marques
Beira
Tananarivo
Monrovia
Freetown
Dakar
Bathurst
St. Louis
C. Verde
Accra
Lagos
Duala
Fernando Po
Prince's I.
St. Thomas
Annobon
Ascension I.
St. Helena
Madeira Is.
Canary Is.
Rio de Oro
Morocco
Algeria
Tunis
Tripoli
Malta
Sicily
Crete
Cyprus
Sardinia
Corsica
Balearic Is.
Gibraltar
Tangier
Tetuan
Oran
Algiers
Constantine
Fez
Agadir
Ghadames
Ghat
Timbuktu
Sokoto
Kumasi
Buea
Kamerun
Nigeria
Sierra Leone
Liberia
Ivory Coast
Gold Coast
Dahomey
Togo
Lagos
Niger
Benue

The Germans lost all their colonies in the World War.

**628. Italy Becomes a Colonial Power.**—Italy manifested colonial ambitions about the same time as the former German empire. She hoped to acquire Tunis, situated a short distance across the sea from her southern coast; but she was outwitted and forestalled by France in the colonial game. She attempted to secure control over Abyssinia, but her troops were defeated by the Abyssinians at the bloody battle of *Adua* and Abyssinia remained independent.

Debarred from Tunis by the French, Italy annexed, after her war with Turkey (1911–1912), Tripoli and all the territory between the French possessions in the west and Egypt in the east. This colony goes under the official name of Libya. Other Italian colonies are Eritrea and Somaliland in east Africa and the island of Rhodes on the coast of Asia Minor.

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## CHAPTER XXX

### NEW MOVEMENTS: SOCIALISM; ANARCHISM; FEMINISM; THE PEACE MOVEMENT

## I. Socialism

**629. Socialism; its Name and Causes.**—Socialism is a recent and widespread movement which has set itself the task of improving the economic condition of the working classes. It tries to attain this end not by reforming individual man nor by modifying existing institutions, but by effecting a radical change in the present social order. The movement derives its name of *socialism* and that of *social democracy* applied to it in some countries from the fact that the advocacy of a new *social* organization founded on a *democratic* basis forms the characteristic element of its scheme for economic betterment.

Socialism gained in a short time a large number of devotees. The success was partly due to the conditions resulting from the great industrial development of recent times. The factory system brought with it new evils and caused suffering chiefly among the workingmen. The feudal division of society into classes had received its death blow by the French Revolution, but a new system of classes developed and became daily more and more accentuated. The two industrial classes of *capitalists* and *laborers* were gradually formed. In this new division the former were the masters; the latter tended to become slaves, helpless tools. The French Revolution had of course proclaimed the equality and liberty of all, but under the new industrial system this proclamation seemed to mean for the workers nothing more than equality in misery and liberty to starve.

The suffering caused among the working classes by the wretched economic conditions was felt the more keenly as religion, formerly a source of hope and solace, had been destroyed in the hearts of many. Not a few writers and

schools had, by their teaching of materialism, weakened in the masses the belief in a spiritual soul and immortal life. As a result the laborer was expected to toil and suffer while others reveled in pleasure and luxury, and not even the hope of future retribution and just reward in a better world was held out to him.

It was under such conditions that socialism, in the sense in which it is generally understood at present, made its appearance. It appealed to the workers, promised them a better distribution of worldly goods, told them that they themselves had the power to inaugurate this new order of things and insisted that they could depend on prompt relief in the new socialist state.

Socialism thus spoke to the laborers, in their distress, not the language of religion which many of them no longer understood; but a language of deliverance which addressed itself to the stomach and promised food to a famished class. Under such circumstances it was bound to secure a following despite the extravagance of the promises it made and the revolutionary nature of the solution it offered.

**630. Nature of Socialism.**—Socialism works for the abolition of the present system of society which it claims has been tried and found wanting. It seeks to substitute a new order characterized by a radically different system of production and distribution of wealth. In its social scheme all the productive property such as lands, mines, factories, railroads, tools, machines would be taken over by the public authorities, the state, while all non-productive goods, clothes, books, houses with their furniture would remain the personal property of the individual citizens. The state would be the great employer. Its sole function, after taking over all the productive goods, would be to own and manage them on a democratic basis, to assign to everyone, so far as possible, work according to his taste and ability, and to pay its employees salaries fixed by the government.

Socialism does not advocate, as is popularly believed, the

confiscation of all private property and its redistribution, in equal shares, among the people. Neither should it be confused with *communism*, although in the days when a fixed terminology had not yet been adopted, the word communism was used for socialism. Karl Marx himself called his famous socialist programme the *Communist Manifesto*. Today, however, socialism stands exclusively for collective ownership of *productive* goods.

**631. Two Kinds of Socialism; the Utopians.**—Socialism may be divided into two kinds: (1) *Idealistic or Utopian;* (2) *Scientific or Marxian.*

The first socialist leaders are frequently referred to as Utopians from "Utopia," meaning an ideal commonwealth. They appealed for support less to the workers than to the humanitarianism of the propertied classes. Some of them supplemented their active propaganda of altruistic ideas by founding small socialist settlements or colonies. The Utopians carried on their agitation at the end of the eighteenth and in the first half of the nineteenth century; a few of them will now be individually considered.

The French Revolutionary Babeuf is looked upon as the first modern Socialist. He extended the principle of equality from the political to the economic field, and not only spread his socialist ideas, but formed a conspiracy to carry them into effect. The conspiracy was discovered and the guillotine put an end to Babeuf's career (1797). The socialist work thus forcibly stopped was resumed some years later by another Frenchman, Saint-Simon.

Count Henry of Saint-Simon (1760–1825) was a wealthy noble who in his youth fought under Washington and traveled in the United States. His mind reveled in grandiose schemes and, among other plans, busied itself with joining the Atlantic to the Pacific by a canal. Saint-Simon advocated the establishment of a new social order in which *labor* would be the standard of value, and workers, whether agricultural, industrial or intellectual, would occupy the

first social rank. Although he himself could not live peacefully with his own wife, he hoped for the general suppression of conflict in society by the formation of associations and the promotion of good will. As for the distribution of goods he laid down the principle that every member of the community was to contribute according to his means and to receive according to his needs. He succeeded only toward the end of his life in winning disciples and these established, after his death, the short-lived society of the Saint-Simonians. Some illustrious men belonged to the group, among others, Ferdinand de Lesseps, the engineer who built the Suez and began the Panama Canal.

**632. The Utopians Charles Fourier (1772–1837) and Robert Owen (1771–1858).**—Babeuf in seeking improvement in economic conditions planned chiefly to establish *equality;* Saint-Simon mainly extolled *labor;* another Utopian, Charles Fourier, aimed principally at *harmony* in his new society. Social antagonism, so prevalent under present conditions would, so he declared, grow gradually less pronounced and would disappear entirely if free play were allowed to human instincts and passions. Repression has so far caused friction, ill humor and antipathy; but liberty to change one's occupation until labor becomes a delight would, so he contended, result in harmony and happiness. Such liberty was to be granted to the communities of 2,000 members to the square mile which he planned to establish everywhere. So convinced was Fourier of the excellence of his scheme that for twelve years he waited at noon daily in his office for a wealthy philanthropist willing to finance his plan of world reform. Needless to add, he waited in vain.

He had, however, numerous admirers even in the United States. The Brook Farm Colony of Massachusetts attempted, with many other small American settlements, the practical realization of his fantastic principles. The various attempts all ended in failure in a short space of time.[1]

[1] On Louis Blanc, another French Utopian, see No. 461.

In Great Britain the Utopians were represented by the Welshman Robert Owen. He executed important social reforms at New Lanark in Scotland after his purchase of the cotton mills operated there. From a place where the workers lived in squalor and destitution New Lanark became a model town inhabited by a contented people. After this success Owen tried to form in various places socialist communities which, when sufficiently numerous, were to be federated in a universal republic. In these communities property was to be held in common and the profits were to be shared by all the members. A settlement of this sort was attempted at New Harmony in Indiana, but it was a dismal failure.

Robert Owen appreciably lost influence, after a while, owing to the failure of his ventures and his open attacks on religion. Before he died Utopian was already being replaced by scientific socialism.

**633. Karl Marx (1818–1883) the Founder of Scientific Socialism.**—The founder of scientific socialism was Karl Marx, who has been called by his followers the greatest teacher of the socialist parties in the world.

Marx was born of Jewish parents at Treves in Rhenish Prussia. At the age of six he renounced Judaism with the rest of the family and adopted the Lutheran faith. He received his classical training in his native city and then attended the universities of Bonn and Berlin. At the age of twenty-four he was editor of a newspaper which at once became noted for its radical opinions. It was presently suppressed by the censor and Marx, a radical but not yet a socialist, proceeded to Paris to study the theories of the Utopians. Before setting out for the French capital he married a young lady of the Prussian nobility, who thenceforward was his loving companion in poverty, exile and obloquy.

In Paris, Marx familiarized himself with the doctrines of the Saint-Simonians and became a socialist. He met *Frederic Engels* who, though the son of strictly conservative

Prussian parents, became his faithful collaborator and intimate friend. Marx spent the rest of his life almost entirely in Paris, Brussels or London, living at times in utter destitution. He acted for several years as correspondent for an American newspaper, the *New York Tribune.*

Marx' socialist activities may be briefly summed up in the following three facts: (1) the publication, in collaboration with Engels, of the *Communist* (*Socialist*) *Manifesto* (1848). This pamphlet contained a definite socialist programme and presented an outline of the Marxian system; (2) The publication of the more extensive work *Capital* (*Das Kapital*). This book, the last volumes of which were published by Engels after Marx's death, furnished a more ample statement of the socialist principles. No work, since Rousseau's Social Contract, has so changed the ideas and transformed the lives of men; (3) the establishment of the *International Workingmen's Association* or simply the *International* (1864). In this organization an attempt was made to put the Marxian theories into practice.

**634. The Marxian System.**—Marx, in elaborating his socialist system, started from the assumption that economic factors alone shape the course of history. The progress of the human race, he contended, is solely a product of material environment, of soil, of climate and of the production and distribution of wealth. Moral and religious forces were assigned no place in his system; they received no consideration in his purely economic or materialistic interpretation of history.

The history of mankind, he further maintained, was primarily, nay, exclusively, a history of struggles between opposing classes. "Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guildmaster and journeyman, in a word oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted conflict, now hidden, now open, a conflict that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstruction of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contesting classes."[1]

[1]Words of the Communist Manifesto.

In the present capitalist constitution of society, Marx continued, the rich constantly tend to grow richer and the poor to become poorer. This process cannot endure indefinitely, a time of crisis and of complete transformation of the social structure will arrive. This change may come either peacefully through the use of the ballot by the workingmen or violently by their recourse to armed attack upon their opponents. Whatever may be the method employed, a radical change in the constitution of society is inevitable. The laborers will inevitably take control of the economic forces and place themselves at the head of the community. This, according to Marx, will be the final revolution, executed not by the minority, but by the majority of the people; it will be carried out by the majority, because it will be the work of the laborers who always form the majority in every community.

Labor, according to Marx, is the sole source of economic value, and by labor he understands intellectual and material effort, the thinking power of the inventor as well as the manual work of the lowest operative. On the other hand he does not look upon the raw material out of which a finished article is produced as a source of value. In the present state of things, Marx held, the laborers are exploited by the capitalists. They are the real and only productive element in the state, but receive in fact inadequate compensation for their work. They are forced to work, say for eight hours, but receive wages only for five hours a day. The surplus value of the work, the value of three unpaid hours goes to the capitalist as unearned and unjust profit. In the present or capitalist state the laborer, says the Marxian theory, is thus robbed of part of his earnings by his employer; in the new or socialist state he will be compensated to the full value of his work. In the socialist community there will be no capitalists; the laborers will be their own employers.

**635. The International Workingmen's Association or "the First International."**—In speaking of the International Workingmen's Association two outstanding facts ought to be

noted. In the first place it was an association composed exclusively of workingmen. Marx addressed his appeal not to philanthropists like the Utopians, but to the laborers themselves. These were to be trained to win their own emancipation and were not to be left idle spectators of the fight for freedom carried on for them by others. They might need and were entitled to outside help, but they were to form the decisive factor in the struggle.

In the second place the Marxian appeal was international. It was not limited by national differences, but was addressed to the workingmen of all nations. "Workingmen," he said, "have no country." The First International founded in 1864 gave practical expression to this view and included workers from all nations. The intense nationalism of the nineteenth century, however, was poor soil for the growth of internationalism. After the Franco-German War of 1870 and the hatred it engendered between two leading races, the association began to disintegrate. It was formally dissolved at Philadelphia in 1876.

The failure of the First International showed that even among workingmen love of country exerted greater power than the fervent appeal for world union with which the Communist Manifesto concluded: "The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have the world to win. Workingmen unite."

The Second International formed in 1889 broke down during the World War and was revived after that conflict in a mutilated form.

The Third International, now frequently referred to, was formed in 1919 and is Communist or Bolshevist in character.

**636. Ferdinand Lassalle (1825–1864) and the Establishment of National Socialist Parties.**—Karl Marx thought out and published a socialist doctrine, but failed in his efforts to create an international socialist association. He laid down the principles of the socialist movement, but did not succeed in organizing its devotees in a powerful world

union. The forces he set in motion were successfully organized not by him, but by the famous Ferdinand Lassalle. The latter was a German Jew endowed with a charming personality, irresistible eloquence, extraordinary self-conceit and touching sympathy for the laboring man.

Leaving aside the international feature on which Marx tried in vain to build, Lassalle organized his followers on national lines and founded the Social Democratic Party in Germany. The party grew by leaps and bounds. The workingmen who heard Lassalle were fascinated by the charm of his personality and the persuasiveness of his words; others were attracted to socialism by the alluring prospects it held out to them in the new social order. The German Socialist Party grew to such proportions that it could muster after some years not only millions of members, but millions of voters. It was in 1914 the most numerous political party in the empire. Its prestige abroad was such that the socialist parties in other countries reproduced its organization and copied its methods. National socialist associations were established in all civilized countries, but no supreme world organization was devised. However, while the binding socialist authority was everywhere national, international cooperation and good feeling were fostered and international congresses were held from time to time.

**637. The Revisionists; the English Fabian Society.**—Karl Marx, in striving for the realization of his socialist programme, depended for success on the prospective control of parliaments by the workingmen and advocated persistent opposition to bourgeois political parties. He frowned on revolution and rejected cooperation with non-socialists in parliament. This method was adopted by his followers, but was not crowned with any appreciable success. Despite the growing number of socialists, the heralded socialist commonwealth seemed to lie in the distant future. The contemporary workingman might toil and hope; he did not seem to be destined to see the fulfillment of socialist promises.

Conscious of this absence of concrete results, some socialist leaders, the chief of whom was Edward Bernstein, began to agitate for a *revision* of the Marxian tactics and methods (*Revisionists*). Socialism, they declared, should aim at the attainment of immediate and practical results, and not fritter away its strength on a remote and sudden transformation of the whole social order. The present condition of the laborer should be improved by social reforms which socialism could help to introduce. The existing governments should be made more democratic by the enactment of popular constitutional laws. Instead of being an opposition party and nothing more the socialists should cooperate with other parties for the benefit of the workers. They could thus patiently prepare and slowly effect the gradual establishment of the socialist commonwealth.

Revisionism became popular at once and secured a large following. The world crisis of 1914 was attended by a landslide toward the new tactics. Even in countries where the socialists had until then refused to take part in the government, they accepted cabinet positions during the war. They have since pretty generally continued to sit in ministries with men of other parties.

The *Fabian Society* established in England in 1883 constitutes still another type of Socialist activity. It derives its name from the Roman General, Fabius the Delayer, who preferred the process of slowly wearing out the Carthaginians to the risk of a great and decisive battle against them. The Fabians accepted socialist principles and believed in socialist doctrines, but they formed no distinctive political party and affiliated with no existing political organization. Their object was to influence all parties by an active propaganda and to create a public sentiment favorable to socialism. English journalists, scholars and artists joined the society; they preferred an intellectual and emotional appeal to political and economic effort.

**638. Syndicalism.**—Karl Marx, as has been said, depre-

cated the use of violence and recourse to revolution to secure the triumph of socialist principles. The majority of socialists have adhered to this programme. Others, however, like the Bolshevists in Russia look upon revolution as the only efficacious means to establish a socialist state (see on Bolshevism nos. 692-701). Still others, like the *Syndicalists*, place their hope of socialist success in *direct action*, as they call their favorite tactics.

Socialism, the Syndicalists declare, cannot triumph by indirect political means, by securing a majority in parliamentary elections and using its power in parliament to dispossess the capitalists and to confiscate land and capital for the benefit of the community. This method is hopeless because the laborers in reality do not constitute the majority in the state. They are outnumbered by the capitalists, the middle class, the small landowners and the peasants combined. They can only achieve success by directly joining issue with their real opponents, the capitalists.

Some obscure French workingmen were the authors of this system and its name *syndicalism* was derived from the French word for trade union (*syndicat*). The Syndicalists rely on the following means for success: (1) organization of the trade unions along more comprehensive lines; (2) general strike; (3) sabotage.

Instead of organizing one single craft, like the carpenters, into a trade union, the syndicalists unite a whole industry, like the building trades, in one large association. They thus bring together in one union the carpenters, masons, bricklayers, painters and all those connected with the building industry. This system of labor organization places in the hands of the syndicalists a more effective weapon in a conflict with an employer, since all the men engaged in the same industry can be called out on a strike. Furthermore, under certain circumstances a general strike of all allied industries can be ordered all over the country.

The syndicalists also adopted the principle "Poor work

for poor pay" and used *sabotage* to secure satisfaction from employers. The strange word "sabotage" was formed from the French *sabot*, a wooden shoe pretty generally worn by French workingmen. On the declaration of a strike in a certain French factory the men are said to have thrown their sabots into the machinery and to have thus ruined it.

The word "sabotage" has since been applied to deliberate damage caused to the property of an employer or to the deliberate performance of poor and unsatisfactory work. "It might mean dropping petroleum into the kneading trough. It might mean a short circuit in the electric installation. It might mean a nail in the wood to be cut by the circular saw. It might even mean a gash in the capitalist's chin by the action of the syndical razor. But it did not in all cases mean the deterioration of tools or the infliction of actual damage. The builder might linger at his work in the effort to make the cornice a real work of art. The railwaymen might attempt to carry out to the letter all the rules and regulations which a bureaucratic staff had imposed on them. All this did not mean actual damage. It was the cleverest and subtlest kind of sabotage. But it showed what stores of resource and ingenuity were at the service of the new syndicalist movement."[1]

**639. Criticism of Socialism; some of its Historical and Economic Errors.**—Socialism has met with great success in its appeal to the masses. Its promise of fairer distribution of this world's goods and of substantial improvement in the laborer's condition proved an irresistible attraction to millions of human beings. Society is suffering from great evils and socialism promised an early solution of all social problems. The workingmen flocked in crowds to the socialist standard. Many of them did not advert to the chasm which separated in this instance promise from realization, theory from practice. Neither did they perceive the fundamental errors inherent in the socialist system.

[1] J. H. Harley, *Syndicalism*, p. 38.

They failed to realize in the first place that socialism, while it promises a solution for the evils of the body, plainly neglects the interests of the soul. It places before man as the chief end of his life and the primary object of his endeavors the possession of material goods and the enjoyment of earthly happiness. It thus sets aside the Christian concept of human life which teaches that man is composed of a principal, spiritual element, the soul, and of a secondary, material element, the body. It throws overboard the Christian teaching that we are but pilgrims here below journeying toward a heavenly home, that we are but soldiers fighting the good fight to be found worthy some day of the victor's crown. In short, with the socialist, material happiness on earth becomes the highest aim of human life; for the Christian, spiritual happiness in heaven is the supreme goal of his highest efforts.

Armed with its materialistic concept of man, socialism proceeded to interpret all history in a materialistic sense. Bodily needs and economic factors, it contends, played a decisive role in the history of the human race. But this contention is palpably false. The most important event in the history of mankind was the coming of Christ upon earth; the most important and salutary influence exerted since then on men has been the influence of the religious teaching He gave to the world. Furthermore, while it may be admitted in a sense that the history of mankind is a narrative of constant struggle, it is not true, as socialists would have it, that this struggle was essentially an economic war waged by one class against the other. The pages of history are replete with ennobling, sublime contests for high moral and religious ideals.

The economic theory of value propounded by Marx is just as false as his turgid generalities about historical development. Labor is not, as he maintains, the sole source of value. Value is due to labor, utility and scarcity. Water, for example, may frequently be procured with little labor; it

is nevertheless very useful and acquires increasing value in proportion, as, under peculiar circumstances, it becomes scarcer. Moreover, "we are asked to believe that the collective ownership and operation of the means of production would be more just and beneficial than the present plan of private ownership and operation. Yet the socialist party refuses to tell us how the scheme would bring about these results; refuses to give us, even in outline, a picture of the machine at work. As reasonably might we be expected to turn the direction of industry over to a Rockefeller or a Morgan, making an act of faith in their efficiency and fairness. We are in the position of a man who should be advised to demolish an unsatisfactory house, without receiving any solid assurance that the proposed new one would be as good. To our requests for specific information about the working of the new social order the Socialists, as a rule, answer in terms of prophesied results. They leave us in the dark concerning the causes by which these wonderful results are to be produced."[1]

**640. Socialism and Religion.**—Opposition to religion in general and to the Catholic Church in particular does not form an expressed and acknowledged part of the socialist programme. Socialism in its official declarations pronounces the practice of religion to be the private concern of every individual citizen. He may practise any religion he pleases or he may practise none if he so chooses. The socialist commonwealth will acknowledge no form of religious worship and its schools will tolerate, in their curriculum, no kind of religious instruction.

Principles, such as these, can of course not be accepted by Catholics. In the first place, man is a social being, he lives in society, and the community is bound as well as the individual to respect the rights and acknowledge the benefactions of its Creator. Religion, then, far from being merely a private concern, is also a social and public duty

[1] J. A. Ryan, *Distributive Justice*, pp. 152–153.

resulting from society's dependence on God. Secondly, the instruction imparted to the child in the school ought to include training in religion as an essential element. The special schools maintained for their children by the Catholics of the United States are eloquent proof of this truth.

In considering the attitude of socialism toward religion, the fact ought also to be recorded that many of the socialist leaders were men without religion and some were atheistic scoffers. It must be noted also that most socialists are strongly opposed to contemporary forms of Christianity. In palliation of their hostility, they allege that Christian institutions have degenerated and assumed a capitalistic character or they claim that Christian leaders have become the cringing tools of capitalism.

## II. Anarchism

**641. Name and Aims of Anarchism.**—Anarchism, from the Greek *anarche* without authority, advocates the suppression of all authority in church, state and family. Its object is the overthrow of all government and the inauguration of complete individual liberty among men. Under this regime of absolute freedom, the initiative, instincts and passions of individual man will freely develop and will, according to anarchists, naturally institute free associations adapted to human wants and inclinations. For there is, according to them, a twofold instinct in every man: the instinct of *self-preservation* and the instinct of *sociability*. The former impels him to safeguard his existence; the latter enables him to live in harmony with his fellow beings. The evils from which he has suffered in the course of time and to which he is still subject at present are due, anarchists claim, to the exercise of external authority by God or fellowman over him. They will vanish when he will be withdrawn from all outward restraint and freed from all social and moral bonds. He will then rise to an ever higher stage of perfection and will attain that degree of civilization in which each

human being will naturally seek its own improvement and spontaneously respect the rights of others.

To attain this ideal state of human development, anarchists hold, the fear of God must be destroyed, the government of the state must be overturned and the restrictions of family life suppressed. There must remain no binding organizations of any sort, but only free associations formed and dissolved at will. The capitalist system must be replaced by productive associations of workers; the state by mutual protective associations, and family life must give way to free love.

Though anarchism has historically been identified at times with the extreme tendencies of socialism, the two movements bear a different character. The object of both is to suppress capitalism and to reduce or eliminate private ownership. But socialism strives to accomplish this by excessive centralization, anarchism seeks to effect it by complete decentralization. Socialism transforms the state into a purely economic agency; anarchism destroys the state entirely. Socialism hopes by the formation of political parties to establish its new social order; anarchism seeks by abstention from all political activities to undermine the strength of the state. Socialism appeals chiefly to the workingman; anarchism addresses itself more particularly to the educated classes. Finally in socialism the state or economic commonwealth absorbs the individual; in anarchism the individual destroys the state and its functions.

**642. Peter Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865) the Father of Modern Anarchism.**—The Frenchman Proudhon was the father of the modern anarchist movement. Born of poor parents he managed by dint of energy to equip himself with considerable knowledge and became the author of numerous pamphlets. One of these, the *Philosophy of Poverty*, drew from Karl Marx a sarcastic answer under the suggestive title of the *Poverty of Philosophy*. Proudhon, despite his radical tendencies, remained throughout his life an opponent

of contemporary socialists. In 1840 he published his most famous work *What is Property?* To this short question he gave an equally short answer: *Property is Robbery.* He meant thereby that property reaps without work, consumes without producing and enables its owner to rob the laborer of his earnings. Proudhon also violently attacked the Church and advocated the gradual suppression of all existing social institutions.

His writings reveal him as an inconsistent thinker and contain no systematic plan of a new world order. They proclaim the duration of labor the sole measure of value, insist on the necessity of destroying all governments and look upon free associations as the sole means of procuring harmony and happiness among men. Proudhon planned to effect this revolution in human organization by peaceful means; he did not advocate recourse to violence and destruction.

**643. Michael Bakunin (1814–1876) the Founder of Destructive Anarchism.**—The aim to do away with all government and to inaugurate a social order of free associations was also pursued by the Russian nobleman Bakunin. The latter, though agreeing with Proudhon on the goal, differed from him on the method to reach it. Proudhon rejected, Bakunin advocated, the use of violence. With the latter's advent, the *propaganda of deed* as the anarchists themselves called it was inaugurated. It consisted in the assassination of rulers, the throwing of bombs in legislative halls and the killing of police. This was considered by anarchists as the quickest and surest method to achieve success; the representatives of authority were murdered so as to effect the destruction of authority itself.

Among the victims of anarchist crimes were King Humbert of Italy, Empress Elizabeth of Austria, Presidents Carnot of France and McKinley of the United States. The charge that anarchists murdered blindly and in cold blood persons against whom they had no grievance was answered in

characteristic fashion by one of them: "There are no innocent bourgeois." The horrible crimes which they perpetrated led to the enactment of drastic laws against anarchism. This legislation was the more effective as no compact organization bound anarchists together. It arrested the progress of their subversive principles and almost entirely stopped the crimes of anarchical fanatics.

## III. Feminism

**644. Meaning of Feminism; Position of Woman in Ancient Pagan Times.**—In modern times demands have been made with ever greater insistence for the concession of more extensive rights to women. The supporters of this movement, which is known as *Feminism*, advocated more or less complete equality of the two sexes in social position. Woman, they declared, had been kept too long in subjection and was entitled to more just treatment from a progressive modern world. A strong agitation in favor of woman's rights was carried on and met in some countries with remarkable success. The movement won fervent admirers, but it also met with strong opposition in many quarters. It will be better understood and more fairly judged, if the position of woman in the course of history be briefly considered.

The inferior and unworthy position of woman in ancient pagan times cannot be doubted. She was in those days generally looked upon not as a human person entitled to consideration and endowed with rights, but as a property or a slave used by man and necessary to the state. The Greek philosopher Pythagoras in his classification of beings into good and bad, goes so far as to list woman in the column of evil, with disorder, chaos and darkness. This was, to be sure, an extreme view which was not generally adopted among pagans; but it was put forward in a so-called scientific classification and proves at least that woman was rated very low even in the cultured circles of the time.

THE HOLY FAMILY (MURILLO)

**645. The Christian Religion Raises the Dignity of Womanhood by Word and Example.**—The Christian Religion improved the condition of the female sex by the teaching it inculcated and the change of treatment it inaugurated. Its sacred books boldly declared the absolute moral equality of both sexes before God: "For you are all the children of God by faith, in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized in Christ, have put on Christ. There is neither Jew nor Greek: there is neither bond nor free: there is neither *male nor female.* For you are all one in Christ Jesus."[1]

In practical life woman owed to Christianity the beginning of an independent existence. Before the time of Christ a woman was looked upon as useless if unmarried and had value only if she lived in dependence on man, in the married state. The Christian religion taught the nobility of freely chosen virginity and women as well as men were called to this state of perfection. Women were invited to consecrate their lives exclusively to God and were thus removed from the humiliating social position, which, among pagans, forced them to care for a husband or live in disgrace. Marriage itself was raised to the dignity of a sacrament by the reception of which mutual duties were imposed and mutual rights were conferred on both contracting parties.

**646. Mary, as Mother of God, Ennobles Womankind; Absolute Equality of Sexes is Impossible.**—In the Christian dispensation a member of the female sex was elevated to the most sublime position to which a mere creature could be raised: the Blessed Virgin Mary was chosen to become the Mother of God. The honors paid to her from the beginning in the Catholic Church are a sure guarantee that woman will always be held in respect as long as that Church exists—to the end of time. The exemplary life of the Holy Family, in which the Son of God Himself was obedient to a woman was to be the model of every Christian family. As long as family life was thoroughly Christian and based on mutual

[1] St. Paul to the Galatians, III, 26–28.

love and helpfulness, there was little need of legislation for the protection of woman. She might not enjoy any extensive legal rights; her position was, nevertheless, one of dignity. She even enjoyed the right of suffrage in certain cases, since religious could elect their own superioresses.

In discussing the social position of woman it must be remembered also that absolute equality of man and woman in the sense of indiscriminate admission to every employment is neither natural nor desirable. The two sexes have different tastes, inclinations and qualifications. This is shown early in life in the respective sports of the boy and the girl: the boy likes noise, space, the street; he delights in a rough-and-tumble sort of amusement. The girl prefers retirement, intimacy, quiet and gentle distractions. Whereas the boy plays at soldiers, she is happy with her dolls.

**647. The Industrial Revolution Leads to a Lively Agitation for Women's Rights.**—The French Revolution, which introduced so many innovations, also witnessed the beginning of the movement for the emancipation of woman. The Declaration of the Rights of Man was supplemented by a little book of a French woman which bore the unmistakable title, *Declaration of the Rights of Women* (1789). This work was addressed to the Queen of France. Its principles were shortly afterward propagated in England by Mary Wollstonecraft in her pamphlet *Vindication of the Rights of Women.* However these appeals for the extension of equality and freedom to the female sex fell on deaf ears and produced no immediate results.

It was to the Industrial Revolution with its profound change in the economic life and social position of woman that Feminism owed its importance and success. For the demands for increased rights made by women were prompted less by the extravagant pretensions of the female sex than by the dire necessity of making an honorable living. Before the Industrial Revolution, women were employed in certain industries, such as knitting, spinning and weaving; but this

work was performed at home. With the introduction of the factory system they were forced from the home into the factories and offices. They were dragged into public life, had to work among strangers and to live at greater expense. These social changes were attended by the spread of a more ardent desire for the possession of wealth, by an increasing love of comfort and pleasure and a wider diffusion of knowledge. As a result a reorganization of society, on a basis of greater equality, appeared urgent and was insistently demanded.

**648. The Four Points or Demands of Women; Concessions.**—The demands of the devotees of Feminism may be reduced to four chief points: (1) education; (2) labor; (3) law; (4) social endeavor.

In the field of education women desire to enjoy the same opportunities and facilities as are offered to men. In the matter of labor they ask for the right to choose any occupation and for equal remuneration for the same amount and quality of work. In point of law they demand the right of suffrage in all public and political questions and the removal of legal disabilities in property matters. In the social field they ask for appreciation of the high value of their domestic work and for the recognition of their helpful cooperation in all social relations.

While these demands have not all been fulfilled, numerous concessions have been made and important rights granted to women. Greater educational opportunities have been provided and more numerous occupations opened to them. In all civilized countries laws favorable to them have been voted and in several states their most important demands have been granted. Many Christian denominations have even admitted them to the ministry. Such concessions cannot be expected, however, in the Catholic Church, which declares them incapable of sacred orders and holds fast to the precept of St. Paul that "women keep silence in the

churches: for it is not permitted them to speak, but to be subject, as also the law saith."[1]

**649. The Right of Suffrage; the Suffragettes.**—The struggle for the emancipation of women was waged with particular fierceness around the question of suffrage. This demand is still unfulfilled in some European countries like France and Italy. In others, however, women enjoy equal suffrage with men. Finland and the Scandinavian countries were among the first to make important concessions on this point. Since 1906 women have had full parliamentary suffrage in Finland and some women have acted as members of the Finnish parliament. Norway and Denmark have extended the vote to them; and Sweden has also granted them full suffrage.

In England the progress of Feminism was slow and the increase in women's rights laborious and gradual. As early as 1869 the philosopher John Stuart Mill published an able presentation of the women's case in his book "*The Subjection of Women.*" The publication was soon followed by concessions to the female sex in the administration of local affairs, but parliamentary suffrage, while introduced in some British colonial possessions, as for instance, New Zealand, was for a long time obstinately refused in the mother country.

To wear down the opposition of the government militant methods were resorted to in recent years: the *suffragettes* made their appearance in 1903 under the leadership of Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst. They were determined to secure by violence rights that could not be obtained by peaceful means. They smashed windows, destroyed letter-boxes, broke up political meetings, heckled ministers of state and when arrested went on a hunger strike in prison. They thus caused no small annoyance to the British government until the beginning of the World War, when they abandoned these tactics.

[1] First Epistle to the Corinthians, XIV, 34.

**650. Recent Extensions of the Vote to Women.**—The patriotic work unselfishly performed by women during the World War produced better results than militancy in Great Britain. A bill granting suffrage to women was introduced and passed in the British Parliament in 1918. Among other provisions it enacted that any woman over thirty years of age was entitled to vote in parliamentary elections if either she or her husband had the right of suffrage in local affairs. This Act was superseded in 1928 by the so-called Flappers' Bill whereby British women enjoy the right to vote on the same conditions as men.

In the United States of America several western states had granted woman suffrage before the right was granted by any Federal Act. The state of Wyoming allowed women to vote as early as 1869 and the State of Montana sent the first woman to the National Congress during the legislative period of 1916–1918. In 1919 the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States adopted the following nineteenth amendment to the Federal Constitution: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

The amendment was subsequently ratified by the necessary three-quarters of the State Legislatures and was put in force for the first time in the elections of 1920. A new situation thus confronts the women of our country. With the new right that has been conferred, new responsibilities have been imposed on them. In these altered circumstances, our Catholic women particularly, whatever may have been their previous attitude, ought to remember that now that they have the vote, they ought to use it. The right of suffrage should not be lightly neglected. It is frequently a conscientious duty to vote because the good of the state and the welfare of religion require it.

In many other countries, notably Germany and Ireland, the right to vote has been extended to the female sex in

recent years.[1] In some other states, such as France and Italy, their political rights are either very restricted or non-existent. The Feminist movement, however, is so strong and has gained such momentum that the vote cannot be indefinitely withheld from the female element of the population.

## IV. The International Peace Movement

**651. Object and Aims of the Peace Movement.**—The Peace Movement, based on an ardent yearning for the abolition of war, strives to settle international controversies not by the arbitrament of the sword but by peaceful means. Its devotees, aware of the fact that difficulties will crop up among nations, seek to solve them by mediation and arbitration and not by armed force. They advocate not only the abolition of war, but work also for a system of universal peace firmly established on mutual understanding and good will among nations. The apparent peace maintained by huge standing armies they consider precarious because it rests on force and not on common accord.

In the pursuit of their peace ideal, the supporters of the movement strive to reduce and eliminate the sources and causes of international conflict. As a consequence they promote frequent economic and commercial relations among nations that war may appear increasingly unprofitable; they depict the issue of war as generally uncertain; they spread the view that the horrors of war are incompatible with the ideals of a civilized community; they foster the sentiment of right as opposed to might and encourage the practice of fair play and justice in international relations.

They likewise seek to promote personal and intellectual intercourse among nationals of different countries so as to

[1] Woman suffrage has been granted in the following states: New Zealand (1893); Australia (1902); Finland (1906); Norway (1907); Denmark (1915); Mexico (1917); Russia (1917); Austria (1918); Canada (1918); Czechoslovakia (1918); Germany (1918); Great Britain (1918); Hungary (1918); Ireland (1918); Poland (1918); Belgium (1919); Holland (1919); Iceland (1919); Luxemburg (1919); Sweden (1919); United States (1920); Costa Rica (1920); Roumania (1922); Jugoslavia (1922).

uproot prejudice and create confidence. With the increase of mutual trust and sincerity they hope to bring about a limitation of armaments, to reduce the burden of taxation and to effect, by international agreements and treaties of arbitration, the settlement of conflicts among the nations of the world.

**652. The Catholic Church, the Most Powerful Agency for Peace.**—In Christian times no institution has exerted more powerful influence for peace than the Catholic Church. Christ, her Founder, is the Prince of Peace and came to dispense peace and good will on earth. The doctrines of justice, charity, meekness and long-suffering which she constantly inculcates constitute the fundamental principles on which all true peace must be founded. From their observance harmony and concord will naturally flow and join in friendly union, individuals, classes and peoples. The Catholic Church is in virtue of the very doctrine she preaches and the assistance of divine grace she affords, a constant and permanent agent of peace on earth.

In the course of time her influence has been exerted to the same effect in a more signal and extraordinary manner. On certain occasions her pontiffs, prominent among whom may be mentioned Leo the Great, fearlessly stepped before cruel invaders to defend and save their people; her councils and bishops decreed and enforced the Peace and Truce of God;[1] institutions fostered by her, like chivalry, softened the manners of a barbarous nobility; papal guidance directed the irrepressible, warlike ardor of Christian noblemen against the enemy of all Christendom, the Turk, and papal diplomacy strove to put an end to the Hundred Years' and Thirty Years' War.

In more recent times Pius VII braved the wrath of Napoleon and Pius IX incurred the hatred of Italian nationalists rather than engage in war. Leo XIII was chosen by Bismarck, the Man of Blood and Iron, to arbitrate an intri-

[1] See vol. i of this work, nos. 199, 200.

cate colonial question between Germany and Spain. Benedict XV worked so unselfishly and constantly to end the World War that he has deservedly been called the Pope of Peace.

**653. Some Plans to establish Universal Peace formulated Prior to 1815.**—Numerous projects were formed in the course of centuries for the promotion of peace. Among the best known is the plan published about 1306 by Peter Dubois, a lawyer in the service of the French government. In his treatise on the *Recovery of the Holy Land* he pleaded for union among princes and the formation of a society of states. His plan was based on a Christian foundation and this society was not to be composed of all, but only of Christian, nations. His book is the oldest document suggesting a permanent court of arbitration like the Hague Tribunal established in 1899.

The society of states which Dubois proposed was to be formed by a general council of the Church for the recovery of the Holy Land. An international court of arbitration was to be created to maintain peace and settle all controversies among Christian nations. Governments resorting to war were to be compelled by force to keep the peace, all trade relations with them were to be broken off and their subjects were to be deported to the East as Christian colonists of the Holy Land. However no government was to be compelled to abide by the verdict of the court of arbitration; it could appeal from the latter to the Pope, whose decisions were to be final in any controversy.

Similar to the foregoing plan was the *Great Design of King Henry IV* of France. It also sought to promote peace in Europe by the organization of a union of peoples. The plan has been ascribed to Henry IV, but it is found in the memoirs of his minister Sully, and for this reason bears also the latter's name. No attempt was ever made to realize it in practise.

While the wars of Louis XIV were in progress William

Penn published an *Essay Toward the Present and Future Peace of Europe*, in which he proposed the creation of a permanent international congress for the solution of difficulties among nations. Like the statesmen who organized the League of Nations, Penn thought that an authoritative body, representing the united agreement of governments, would succeed in suppressing or at least reducing armed conflicts.

Still other persons submitted suggestions or offered proposals for the promotion of peace and the abolition of the horrors of war; but the time of Napoleon came and the world seemed to be farther than ever from the happy consummation of a lasting and universal peace.

**654. The Popular Modern Peace Movement.**—With the restoration of concord among nations in 1815, a strong sentiment in favor of peace manifested itself in civilized nations. Some thought that public opinion ought to resist attempts to plunge countries into war; some hoped that concerted action by national governments would prevent further conflicts. Peace societies were now formed first in the United States, then in England and later in other countries. The movement gradually gained ground, assumed an international character, regularly held congresses and established its general headquarters at Berne in Switzerland (1891). This international bureau forms the bond of union between the peace societies of the various countries and prepares the general peace congresses which are held annually.

Some munificent donations furthered the cause of peace; the best known are those of the Swede Alfred Nobel and of the American Andrew Carnegie. Nobel, the inventor of dynamite, instituted an annual prize to be awarded to the person or persons of any country who during the year had rendered the greatest services to the cause of peace. Carnegie donated ten million dollars to further the cause of peace and built the imposing Peace Palace at the Hague.

While the peace societies enkindled the love of peace

among the masses, the *Interparliamentary Union* sought to foster it among lawmakers and statesmen. This influential organization was founded in 1889 in Paris and was joined by parliamentarians of various countries. It held its own congresses and entertained close relations with governments. It furthered the codification and promoted the observance of international law and strove to prevent war by encouraging the signing of arbitration treaties. Many such treaties were in fact concluded by various governments.

The devotees of the Peace movement, conscious of their inability to establish at present an undisturbed peace, strove to circumscribe the theatre, and to mitigate the horrors, of war. It was partly through their influence that various restrictions were imposed on belligerents, that the rights of neutrals were proclaimed and that all attacks on the ambulance service of any army were prohibited. *The Red Cross Society*, that splendid organization which has in recent years done such conspicuous work in the service of suffering humanity, was also an outgrowth of the Peace movement. It owes its name to the standard, a red cross on a white field, which is its distinctive emblem. Its headquarters is at Geneva in Switzerland, where the convention was held to which it owes its origin (1864).

In paying tribute to the systematic organization of relief work by the Red Cross we must not forget that work of this kind was performed by the religious orders of the Catholic Church throughout the centuries. Such an angel of mercy as Florence Nightingale, who never accepted our faith, was a loving admirer of these Catholic institutions. Her example of heroism during the Crimean War stimulated her contemporaries to deeds of mercy under the Red Cross, but she herself drew her inspiration from the self-sacrificing lives of the Catholic Sisters of Charity.

**655. The Official Modern Peace Movement; Congresses.**— The yearning for peace among the peoples of Europe was shared by their governments after Napoleon's overthrow.

This is evident from the formation of the Holy Alliance which was signed to promote Christian charity and to establish a durable peace among rulers and peoples. How miserably the Alliance failed in its object has already been seen in the course of this history (see no. 439). The series of congresses held and the European Concert formed in the early part of the nineteenth century were also more remarkable for their pious resolutions than their solid achievements in the cause of peace.

However, international conferences and particular or general congresses were to be productive of important results at a later date. Such meetings held for the furtherance of international peace enjoyed the greatest popularity among the nations of the American hemisphere. But in several instances, even after the invitations to a congress were issued, the delegates, owing to unfortunate circumstances, never met; in other cases, even after coming together, they separated without accomplishing anything worth while. The most successful American congress was held in Washington in 1889. It was convened by the President of the United States and was attended by the representatives of eighteen American nations. It was notable for two things. In the first place it declared *arbitration* to be a principle of American International Law and to be obligatory in almost all differences arising among the nations represented at the congress. In the second place it decreed the establishment of the *Bureau of American Republics* for the advancement of commerce, friendship and good understanding among the countries of the Western Hemisphere. The institution is now known as the *Pan-American Union* and is handsomely housed in the capital of the United States.

**656. The First Hague Peace Conference (1899).**—The movement in favor of peace was given extraordinary prominence by the manifesto issued by Czar Nicholas II in 1898. He suggested the convening of an international conference to discuss the question of disarmament. The reduction of

excessive armaments and the maintenance of universal peace represented for him at that time the ideal toward which the efforts of all governments should be directed.

The proposed conference was called by Queen Wilhelmine and met at the Hague in 1899. Twenty-six independent states were represented by 101 delegates. The deliberations show (1) that the delegates endeavored to mitigate the horrors of war by prohibiting for five years the use of explosives from balloons, by proscribing projectiles diffusing poisonous gases and by forbidding the use of dumdum bullets which expand in the body; (2) that efforts were made to reduce the danger of war by encouraging recourse to negotiations and mediation; (3) that the conference earnestly favored international arbitration. Its chief work was the creation of a *Court of Arbitration* to which numerous controversies were subsequently referred for settlement. The first verdict was rendered by this court in a dispute between the United States and Mexico. The two countries, unable to agree regarding certain funds owed by Mexico to the Catholic Church in California, had the matter arbitrated by the Hague Tribunal (Pious Fund Decision, 1902).

**657. The Second Hague Conference (1907).**—At the instance of President Roosevelt of the United States a second Peace Conference met at the Hague in 1907. It was attended by two hundred and thirty delegates representing forty-seven states. Working along the lines laid down by the first conference, it further amended the rules of warfare. It improved the lot of prisoners and non-combatants and regulated the rights and duties of neutrals on land and sea. It went on record as opposed to the forcible collection of debts until arbitration had been used or refused. The rights of the Court of Arbitration were confirmed and extended. A resolution was also passed in favor of a reduction of the crushing burden of armaments, but no practical steps were taken to bring about this reduction so ardently desired by all nations.

The third conference was to meet in 1915; but the powers then met not in the peace halls of the Hague, but on the battle-fields of Flanders. The most destructive war in history thus demonstrated the futility of these peace efforts. The terrible calamity furnished added proof that peace to be permanent must be based on the immutable principles of Christian justice and not founded on the shifting sands of physical force or the uncertainties of the balance of power. The Hague Conferences had excluded the Holy Father, authoritative interpreter of the Christian principles of right, from their deliberations, and while the delegates present were discussing peace measures, their governments were acting upon

> "The good old plan
> That he should take who has the power,
> And he should keep who can."

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# CHAPTER XXXI

## THE CATHOLIC CHURCH[1]

## I. Internal Life of the Church

**658. Sad Straits of the Papacy in 1799; Reign of Pope Pius VII (1800–1823).**—In 1799 Pius VI died in exile a prisoner of the French government. Rome, the capital of the Christian world, was in the hands of his enemies. The Cardinals on whom devolved the election of a new Pope were scattered. There was little hope that they could freely assemble in Rome and elect a candidate who would be generally recognized as the lawful successor of St. Peter. The situation seemed so utterly hopeless for the papacy that its enemies congratulated themselves on having buried the last Pope. Pius VI, their adversary, had by them first been held in cruel captivity and then consigned to a seemingly ignominious grave. Furthermore the election of a successor appeared to be an impossible task.

These enemies of the true religion reckoned of course without the divine promise of permanent duration made to the papacy and without the constant protection extended to His Church by her Almighty Founder. Unable to meet in Rome after the death of Pius VI, the Cardinals held the conclave at Venice and raised Pius VII to the papal dignity. It has already been seen how this mild, but courageous, pontiff concluded a concordat with Napoleon and later resisted the insensate pretensions of the despotic emperor.

After the latter's banishment to St. Helena, Pius VII pleaded with the allies for milder treatment of the fallen conqueror and treated with kindness the hated members of the Bonaparte family. Some of these he welcomed to the Papal States when other countries refused to receive them.

In the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs, Pius VII enjoyed

[1] Ecclesiastical topics special to certain countries have already been discussed in the preceding chapters.

during the latter part of his reign the sincere cooperation of various governments. The latter, with the horrors of the recent wars fresh in their minds, displayed greater readiness to encourage religion and to respect religious authority. Profiting by this favorable circumstance the Pope concluded concordats with several German states, notably Bavaria and Prussia.

He strengthened religious life in the Church by restoring the Society of Jesus and warded off error by condemning the Bible Societies. Although these associations claimed to spread the word of God they met with declared opposition from him and his successors. Condemnations were pronounced against them because they disregard and deny in practice the teaching authority of the Church and rely not on an authoritative, but on the private interpretation of the Bible. They falsely assume that the general reader can derive from the Scriptures alone a sure knowledge of faith and morals and they cause confusion in the mind of Catholics by their distribution of Protestant translations of the Bible.

Pius VII prohibited the association of the Carbonari or Charcoal-burners, which borrowed its emblems from the coal trade as the Freemasons derived theirs from the building art. The society, originally formed for the expulsion of the French from Italy, later plotted against the lawful governments of the country. Like many other secret societies it became a centre of political and revolutionary agitation. The papacy, which condemned the Freemasons as early as 1738, also prohibited the Carbonari and all secret societies whatsoever. The prohibitions are due to the three following objectional features: (1) the oath of secrecy by which the members bind themselves not to reveal the doings of the Order even to the ecclesiastical and civil authorities which have a right to know what their subjects are doing; (2) the blind obedience which is exacted of the members and which is against all law human and divine; (3) the unchristian

and anti-christian principles which these societies inculcate in mattters of religion.

**659. Pope Pius IX (1846–1878) and the Definition of the Immaculate Conception.**—The energy of Pius VII's successors was absorbed to a great extent by the extraordinary difficulties caused by the political unrest and revolutionary agitation in the Papal States. However, important ecclesiastical events which have not yet been recorded occurred during the pontificate of Pius IX, the longest pontificate in papal history since St. Peter.[1] They are: (1) the definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1854; (2) the condemnation of modern errors in the famous *Syllabus* in 1864; (3) the holding of the Vatican Council in 1869–1870, at which the infallibility of the Pope was defined.

A strong sentiment favoring the definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary animated the Catholic clergy and people at the accession of Pius IX. Numerous petitions asking for such a pronouncement had reached his immediate predecessors. The new Pope noted with approval this pious sentiment and carefully ascertained its extent. From his exile at Gaëta he addressed a letter to the Catholic Episcopate asking them for their views regarding the doctrine and its definition.

All the answers contained a clear expression of a firm belief in the Immaculate Conception and most of them pleaded for its early definition. The Pope appointed a commission of theologians for the careful reading of the answers received and the study of the traditional teaching of the Church. When the commission, after completing its work, also pronounced for the solemn declaration of the dogma, Pius IX set December 8, 1854, as the date of the definition of the Immaculate Conception.

On the appointed day while the cannon of Sant' Angelo were thundering forth a salute and the innumerable bells

[1] St. Peter is popularly believed to have reigned in Rome twenty-five years, but he was Pope about thirty-three years.

of Rome were pealing forth their joyful strains, the Pope in presence of over 200 cardinals and bishops solemnly pronounced and defined that the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the first instant of her conception, by a singular grace of God, and in view of the merits of Jesus Christ, was preserved free from all stain of original sin.

The Catholic people hailed the news of the definition with joy and gladness, most non-Catholics received it with indifference, a few only treated it with scorn and disdain. Every year the eighth of December has since been celebrated as the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. The day is of special significance to American Catholics as the Immaculate Conception is the patronal feast of the United States.

**660. The Syllabus or Collection of Modern Errors (December 8, 1864).**—The disdainful superiority with which some unbelievers received the definition of the Immaculate Conception was changed ten years later into virulent hatred at the publication of the *Syllabus*. This Papal document contained under ten headings a catalogue or collection of eighty errors and pronounced their condemnation. It was simultaneously a bulwark of defense against hostile attack and a beacon light amidst reef and rock in the intellectual aberrations of the time. Pius IX by condemning contemporary errors effectively defended the inalienable rights of God and of His Church.

Her enemies had summoned the Church to adapt herself to a new environment by abandoning in the name of what they falsely called progress some of her essential doctrines. In the *Syllabus* Catholic doctrine was maintained in all its fulness by the rejection of propositions contradicting it and the Catholic Church was pointed out as the sole source of true progress. Her enemies had also insisted that the Church abdicate, in the name of *liberty* and *civilization*, some of her fundamental claims so as to meet the demands and sanction the usurpations of the modern state. The Pope likewise rejected the errors on which these pretensions

View in the Vatican Library

were based and thus asserted the authority of the Church over individuals and nations, over school and family. He unflinchingly maintained that the Catholic Church can at no time make concessions to the spirit or demands of an age by sacrificing part of the doctrine received from Christ. She has dealt in the course of centuries with many governments, hostile or friendly, but never has she sacrificed one point of doctrine to curry favor with the powerful or to win adherents among the lowly. Her course or policy has been well summed up by St. Augustine: "In essentials unity; in things doubtful liberty; in all things charity."

A storm of invective from non-Catholic writers greeted the publication of the *Syllabus* and of the encyclical issued on the same day. For years no papal utterance had met with such a hostile reception. The opposition was partly due to hatred of the Church and papacy, partly to unwillingness or inability to interpret correctly the condemned propositions. Unperturbed by this outcry against his person and pronouncements, Pius IX serenely weathered the storm and a few years later supplemented the condemnations of the *Syllabus* by the positive decisions of the Vatican Council.

**661. The Vatican Council (1869–1870); Convocation and Attendance.**—The most important ecclesiastical event of the reign of Pius IX was the celebration of the Vatican Council. For over 300 years—since the Council of Trent—no general council had met. That of the Vatican was the twentieth and one of the best attended general councils in the history of the Church. On the opening day 698 members were present; the attendance fluctuated, however, throughout the duration of the council. The oldest member was Archbishop McHale of Tuam, Ireland; the youngest, Bishop Gibbons, who was later raised to the archiepiscopal see of Baltimore and to the cardinalate.

Convoked on June 29, 1868, the council was solemnly opened on December 8, 1869, in St. Peter's basilica in Rome. Most of the work was done at the Vatican Palace,

which has given its name to the assembly; the few public sessions were held in St. Peter's Church. For the first time in the history of general councils no Christian government was represented, as no invitation had been extended to any of them. The bishops of the Oriental Schismatic churches were invited, but declined to attend. An appeal was also addressed to all Protestants to return to that Church to which their ancestors belonged in former ages. The appeal was received respectfully by some, jeered at by many and disregarded by all.

**662. Work of the Vatican Council; Definition of Papal Infallibility.**—The work of the council was prepared in commissions, voted on in general meetings and finally disposed of and promulgated in public sessions. The Pope in person presided at the public sessions, only four of which were held. Two of them were taken up with public prayers and formal proceedings; at the others the two dogmatic constitutions embodying the decisions of the council were promulgated. The first of these constitutions dealt with "Catholic faith" and stated authoritatively the doctrine of the Church on such questions as the existence and knowableness of God, the nature and necessity of supernatural faith and the necessity of harmony between faith and reason.

The other constitution "on the Church of Christ" treated of the institution, the perpetuity and the nature of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff and likewise of his extraordinary privilege of infallibility. The question of papal infallibility had become the burning issue of the day. It caused heated discussions before, during and after the council. Non-Catholics generally would have none of such a dogma, Catholics themselves were divided on the question.

Among Catholics it was not so much the doctrine, questioned by very few, as the timeliness of its definition which was in controversy. At the council itself not a few bishops opposed the definition, fearing from it a renewal of animosity and attacks against the Church. They were distinctly

outvoted in the general meeting which dealt with the matter and in which the council clearly pronounced for the definition. After a special interview of some representatives of the minority with the Pope had also proved fruitless, most of the opponents absented themselves from the fourth public session where final action was to be taken.

This session was held on July 18, 1870, and was attended by 535 members. All present, with only two exceptions, voted for the definition of papal infallibility. The two votes in the negative were cast by a bishop from Italy and by Bishop Fitzgerald of Little Rock, Arkansas. After the counting of the votes Pius IX defined it to be "a divinely revealed dogma" that "the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*—that is, when in the exercise of his office as pastor and teacher of all Christians he defines, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, a doctrine of faith or morals to be held by the whole Church—is, by reason of the divine assistance promised to him in Blessed Peter, possessed of that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer wished his Church to be endowed in defining doctrines of faith and morals and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of their own nature and not by reason of the Church's consent."

On the day following this last public session France declared war on Prussia and many of the French and German bishops left Rome. Two months later the Italian troops attacked and seized the City of the Popes. Under these circumstances the position of the council became increasingly difficult and on October 20, 1870, Pius IX indefinitely suspended its sessions. His successor, Pius XI, is considering at present the calling of a council to complete the unfinished work of the Vatican Assembly.

**663. Opposition to the Vatican Council; the Old Catholics.**—All the bishops who had opposed the definition accepted the decision of the council and published the dogma of papal infallibility in their dioceses. Some priests and laymen, however, refused to submit to the ruling of the

assembly and to believe in the infallibility of the Pope. This resistance, largely the work of university professors, nowhere assumed any considerable proportions. It was strongest in Germany, where Bismarck fostered it in his persecution of the Catholics, and in Switzerland, where the civil government also encouraged it. Its foremost leader was Dr. Ignatius Döllinger of the University of Munich.

Excommunicated by their respective bishops, the leaders of the movement proceeded, against the express wish of Dr. Döllinger, to organize a new religious denomination, the *Old Catholics*, and to choose Professor Reinkens as their bishop. The latter was consecrated by a Dutch Jansenist prelate and chose Bonn as his episcopal city. The sect subsequently admitted a married clergy, suppressed the obligation of auricular confession and used the vernacular in its services. It nowhere attained to any degree of prosperity, although it has in recent years succeeded in establishing some churches in the United States.

**664. Death of Pius IX; Pope Leo XIII and the Beginnings of the Catholic Social Movement.**—Pius IX, who contributed to the glory of the Virgin Mary by the definition of the Immaculate Conception, also promoted devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus by extending the feast celebrated in its honor to the whole world. He likewise paid tribute to the power of St. Joseph by proclaiming him Patron of the Universal Church. He died in 1878 and was succeeded by Leo XIII (1878–1903), frequently called the *Workingmen's Pope*. This enviable title draws attention to the Pontiff's interest in the welfare of the laboring classes and his earnest and solemn pleas for improvement in their economic condition. This was one of the most attractive aspects of his pontificate, but before enlarging on it, a brief account describing the beginnings of the Catholic Social Movement must be given.

It has been seen how the working people suffered from the changed industrial system in which the capitalists owned the means of production and the laborers were at the mercy of

their employers. A new problem, generally called the Labor Problem, thus made its appearance. To solve it socialism offered a solution absolutely unacceptable to the Catholic Church. The latter, however, now as ever the friend of the poor and protector of the weak, readily admitted that the harsh and degrading treatment of the laborer urgently called for a remedy. While the *social revolution* advocated by socialism was in her eyes worse than the evil it was designed to cure, *social reform* appeared to her most progressive thinkers as a necessity. This reform was to comprise the defense of the material and spiritual rights of the laborer, the improvement of his economic condition and the establishment of just and charitable relations between him and his employer. So far relief had been obtained from economic misery and social degradation by personal effort and private charity; it now became clear to Catholic leaders that public authority must supplement these means by suitable legislation; for the evil having assumed general proportions demanded a general remedy.

**665. Baron William Emmanuel von Ketteler (1811–1887) and Social Reform; the Knights of Labor.**—"The first and veritable initiator of the Catholic Social Movement" was Baron William Emmanuel von Ketteler. This impetuous nobleman, after spending a short time in the Prussian civil service, resigned his position and entered the priesthood. He subsequently became Bishop of Mainz and worked, with indefatigable energy until his death, to counteract the influence of socialism and to improve the condition of the laborer. Instead of seeking, like the Socialists, a solution of the Labor Problem outside of Christianity he declared that true social reform must be obtained from Christianity itself. It must proceed from the love of the common people preached and practised by Christ and his followers.

At the same time Ketteler insisted that while real social justice must be based on Christian principles, it is the duty of the state to afford relief from economic distress by laws

protecting the working classes. Among the protective measures he suggested as necessary were: (1) laws prohibiting or regulating the employment of children and married women; (2) a law making Sunday a day of rest; (3) a limitation of work hours; (4) satisfactory regulations concerning sanitary and moral conditions in the factories.

A group of Catholic social workers gradually rallied around the energetic and far-seeing Bishop of Mainz, defended his principles, spread his views and performed important social service. In Germany his programme formed the basis of the social legislation sponsored by the Centre Party. In other countries his writings became an inspiration to social workers, to men like Count de Mun of France, Baron Vogelsang of Austria and Father Decurtins of Switzerland.

In the United States, owing to greater opportunities for personal initiative, a more popular form of government and more democratic spirit, the labor problem assumed less serious proportions than among the older European nations. Nevertheless the bishops of the country were afforded, in the famous Knights of Labor episode, a splendid opportunity for showing their interest in social welfare and demonstrating their love for the workingman. The "Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor" was founded in 1869 by Uriah Stephens, a tailor of Philadelphia. Originally a secret society, it subsequently threw aside the cloak of secrecy and gained numerous Catholic members. Owing to its connection with strikes and boycotts it was denounced as a subversive organization and on the strength of the information then at hand was condemned by Rome. The sentence appeared to the bishops of the United States excessively severe and presumably based on unfounded charges. They held that the condemnation, if it were allowed to stand, would be unfair to the Knights, injurious to the Church and harmful to the workingman. The question was taken up at one of the meetings of the American bishops and Cardinal Gibbons went to Europe to present in person a memorial

on the question to the Roman authorities. His plea for the Knights of Labor was supported by Cardinal Manning, the democratic leader in England, and the condemnation was willingly revoked by Rome upon the presentation of full and authentic information concerning the statutes and activities of the Order.

**666. Leo XIII (1878–1903) and Social Reform.**—In this period of social unrest fell the pontificate of Leo XIII who, while insisting at all times on the strict acceptance of Catholic principles, labored in various directions to effect a reconciliation between Catholic Christianity and modern society. Perceiving that the old monarchical governments were slowly crumbling, he put his trust in democratic institutions and relied on popular influence in parliaments. Possessed of a conciliatory disposition and experienced in the art of diplomacy he gradually restored correct relations between the Holy See and hostile governments. In the interest of religious peace the French Catholics were frankly told to give up their dynastic preferences and to accept the republic as the established form of government.

In the literary and apologetic field he furnished an excellent practical refutation of the charge that the Church is opposed to progress and science, by making the sources of information stored up in the Vatican accessible to scholars. He opened the papal archives to historians of all nations and to students of all creeds and of no creed.

The most distinctive feature of his pontificate was its social side. In solemn pronouncement he proclaimed the Catholic doctrine regarding the sacrament of matrimony and condemned divorce as a source of discord and immorality. Having thus defended the family or domestic society he also raised his voice in defense of the state or civil society and upheld its authority. None of these important and needful pronouncements, however, attracted universal attention as his encyclical on the *Condition of Labor*. In this letter of unusual timeliness and absorbing interest the labor problem

is fully discussed, a Catholic solution offered and Socialism rejected.

"It is impossible," the Holy Father writes, "to reduce human society to a level. The Socialists may do their utmost, but all striving against nature is vain. There naturally exist among mankind innumerable differences of the most important kind; people differ in capability, in diligence, in health, and in strength; an unequal fortune is a necessary result of inequality in condition. Such inequality is far from being disadvantageous either to individuals or to the community; social and public life can only go on by the help of various kinds of capacity and the playing of many parts; and each man, as a rule, chooses the part which peculiarly suits his case.

"As regards bodily labor, even had man never fallen from the state of innocence, he would not have been wholly unoccupied; but that which would then have been his free choice and his delight, became afterwards compulsory, and the painful expiation of his sin. 'Cursed be the earth in thy work; in thy labor thou shalt eat of it all the days of thy life.' In like manner, the other pains and hardships of life will have no end or cessation on this earth; for the consequences of sin are bitter and hard to bear, and they must be with man as long as life lasts. To suffer and to endure, therefore, is the lot of humanity; let men try as they may, no strength and no artifice will ever succeed in banishing from human life the ills and troubles which beset it.

"If any there are who pretend differently—who hold out to a hard-pressed people freedom from pain and trouble, undisturbed repose, and constant enjoyment—they cheat the people and impose upon them, and their lying promises will only make the evil worse than before. There is nothing more useful than to look at the world as it really is—and at the same time to look elsewhere for a remedy to its troubles."

**667. Religion and the Labor Problem; Mutual Duties of Capitalist and Laborer.**—"The great mistake," so the Pope

continues, "that is made in the matter now under consideration, is to possess oneself of the idea that class is naturally hostile to class; that rich and poor are intended by nature to live at war with one another. So irrational and so false is this view, that the exact contrary is the truth. Just as the symmetry of the human body is the result of the disposition of the members of the body, so in a State it is ordained by nature that these two classes should exist in harmony and agreement, and should, as it were, fit into one another, so as to maintain the equilibrium of the body politic. Each requires the other; capital cannot do without labor nor labor without capital. Mutual agreement results in pleasantness and good order; perpetual conflict necessarily produces confusion and outrage.

"Now, in preventing such strife as this, and in making it impossible, the efficacy of Christianity is marvellous and manifold. First of all, there is nothing more powerful than Religion (of which the Church is the interpreter and guardian) in drawing rich and poor together, by reminding each class of its duties to the other, and especially of the duties of justice. Thus Religion teaches the laboring man and the workman to carry out honestly and well all equitable agreements freely made; never to injure capital, or to outrage the person of an employer; never to employ violence in representing his own cause, or to engage in riot or disorder; and to have nothing to do with men of evil principles, who work upon the people with artful promises, and raise foolish hopes which usually end in disaster and in repentance when too late.

"Religion teaches the rich man and the employer that their work-people are not their slaves; that they must respect in every man his dignity as a man and as a Christian; that labor is nothing to be ashamed of, if we listen to right reason, and to Christian philosophy, but is an honorable employment, enabling a man to sustain his life in an upright and creditable way; and that it is shameful and inhuman to

treat men like chattels to make money by, or to look upon them merely as so much muscle or physical power.

"Thus, again, Religion teaches that, as among the workman's concerns are Religion herself and things spiritual and mental, the employer is bound to see that he has time for the duties of piety; that he is not exposed to corrupting influences and dangerous occasions; and that he is not led away to neglect his home and family or to squander his wages.

"Then, again, the employer must never tax his workpeople beyond their strength, nor employ them in work unsuited to their sex or age. His great and principal obligation is to give to everyone that which is just. Doubtless before we can decide whether wages are adequate, many things have to be considered; but rich men and masters should remember this—that to exercise pressure for the sake of gain upon the indigent and the destitute, and to make one's profit out of the need of another, is condemned by all laws, human and divine.

"To defraud any one of wages that are his due is a crime which cries to the avenging anger of heaven. 'Behold the hire of the laborers. . .which by fraud hath been kept back by you, crieth; and the cry of them hath entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.' Finally the rich must religiously refrain from cutting down the workman's earnings, either by force, by fraud or by usurious dealing; and with the more reason because the poor man is weak and unprotected, and because his slender means should be sacred in proportion to their scantiness."

**668. Remedial Measures suggested by the Encyclical; Its Significance.**—As religion must form the basis of every true remedy of social evils, Leo XIII urged a return to genuine and practical Christianity. He pleaded further that the state use its laws and institutions to solve the labor problem, that the classes concerned in the present difficulties make every lawful effort to improve conditions and that the clergy work for the same end by all the energy

of their minds and all the strength of their endurance. Among the practical measures tending to a suitable settlement of existing evils he approved the formation of Catholic Labor Unions, factory legislation, regulation of working hours and an increase of small landowners.

The pontifical letter was a new incentive to Catholic social effort, a sanction and commendation of past endeavors and an authoritative guide for prospective undertakings. It was translated into the principal modern languages, circulated in large numbers among the Catholic workers and hailed as a convincing proof of the abiding love of the Church for the artisan and the laborer. A deal of the labor legislation, which has since been enacted in various countries, was framed with the approval of the Church and the cooperation of political parties or social reformers working under Catholic auspices.

**669. Reign of Pius X (1903–1914); Condemnation of Modernism.**—Unfortunately the safe and sound method successfully used and infallibly taught by Leo XIII, in meeting modern conditions, was not adopted by all Catholic thinkers. Some of these, more conspicuous by their ardor than guided by prudence, sacrificed religious truth to apparent expediency and to the so-called exigencies of a new age. They sought in new heresies the solution of the new problems. These men—known as *Modernists*—were condemned by Pope Pius X, the zealous successor of Leo XIII.

Modernism, according to Pius X, is a compendium and meeting-ground of all heresies. Its name is derived from the fact that these heresies appear in modern dress, not from any opposition on the part of the Church toward scientific progress. Three fundamental errors are discernible in Modernism: (1) the false notion that all truth transcending human experience, like the existence of God, the immortality of the soul and the fact of revelation cannot be known with certainty by the human mind. This error is commonly called agnosticism; (2) the equally false contention that the

Sacred Scriptures and Divine Tradition do not contain any communication from God to man, but record only the religious sentiments and experiences of certain privileged persons; (3) that Christ, far from founding a religious society with a complete constitution and precise teaching, only laid down a few general principles from which the Catholic Church, never the same, but constantly changing, was gradually evolved. Among the Modernist leaders were two priests, the Englishman Tyrrell, author of several books on religious subjects, and the French professor Loisy, a writer on Scriptural topics. The former has since died outside the Church; the latter is still active, but under sentence of personal excommunication.

A storm of criticism and invective raged for a short time around the pontiff who had so fearlessly rejected the most recent heresies. He was traduced as an enemy of modern science and of human progress. It is clear, however, that in rejecting modernism he imposed no fetters on human thought, but merely defended the traditional teaching of the Catholic Church. For the latter has always held that the existence of God can be known by human reason, that the Scriptures contain divinely revealed truth and that the deposit of faith left by Christ to His Church is definite, unchangeable and the same for ever.

By his condemnation of modernism, Pius X safeguarded Catholic doctrine; his influence on Catholic practice was no less noteworthy. Faithful to his motto "to restore all things in Christ" he endeavored to impress the stamp of religious fervor on the life of the Church. The natural fountainhead of this genuine piety was to be Our Lord Himself in the Blessed Eucharist which the faithful were encouraged to receive frequently and even daily and to which children were to be admitted at an early age. His religious zeal was also manifested in his prescription, at divine service, of devotional music to the exclusion of worldly and theatrical renditions.

Throughout his pontificate he was preeminently the pastor of souls insisting on the spiritual values so needful to the world during the Great War. The dreadful struggle had just begun when a merciful Providence called Pius X from the scene of strife to the abode of peace.

## II. External Expansion of the Church

**670. Institutions devoted to the Propagation of the Catholic Faith.**—Missionary zeal was at a low ebb at the beginning of the period under discussion. Eighteenth century infidelity, revolutionary propaganda, war and persecution had struck deep wounds to the religious life of the people and undermined the proselyting energy of the Church. Relatively few self-sacrificing souls were to be found willing to devote their lives to the preaching of the Gospel in foreign and heathen lands.

Despite this unfavorable beginning the nineteenth century was to become a period most fruitful in missionary enterprise. This success in the hard task of convert-making is accounted for by both secular and religious factors. The use of railroad and steamship rendered traveling to remote parts shorter, easier and less expensive. The progress of medical science enabled the missionaries to labor with less danger in unhealthy climates. A renewal of interior life and the activities of missionary institutes in the Catholic Church laid the foundation for the growth of the needed priestly and religious vocations.

The Roman Congregation of the Propaganda, founded in 1622 for the direction of Catholic missionary enterprise, but paralysed in its energies by the French occupation of Rome, was reorganized by Pope Pius VII and resumed the general supervision of Catholic missions. The Society of Jesus, well-known for its zealous preaching of the Gospel, was restored and its members immediately set themselves to propagate the true faith. The older religious orders, as the Benedictines, Dominicans and Franciscans, likewise profited

by the improved opportunities to spread the kingdom of Christ. In addition to this, new religious congregations were founded in the course of the century for the conversion of the heathen world. Among these were the Marists, dating from 1836 and working in New Zealand and the South Sea Islands; the Religious of the Holy Cross, so favorably known in the United States by their educational work at Notre Dame University; the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, founded in 1848 and engaged in missionary work in Australia and West Africa; the White Fathers, founded in 1868 by Cardinal Lavigerie, the first Archbishop of the restored see of ancient Carthage; the Fathers of the Divine Word who were established in 1875 and were chiefly occupied in the evangelization of the German colonies before the World War.

The secular like the regular clergy eagerly set itself to the propagation of the Catholic religion. Several societies of priests successfully carry on missionary work in infidel lands. The best known among them is the Paris Foreign Missionary Society; the closest to the American student are the Maryknoll Foreign Missionary Society with headquarters in New York and the Chinese Mission Society located in Nebraska.

Financial aid was furnished to the apostles of Christ in the foreign mission field by associations like the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, the Society of the Holy Childhood of Jesus and the Leopoldine Society. The first two organizations were founded in France; the last mentioned was first established in Austria. Many other associations, too numerous to mention, also contribute to the support of the Catholic missions.

**671. Spread of the Catholic Religion in English-Speaking Countries.**—Most notable progress was made by the Catholic faith in English-speaking lands. The chief cause for this advance is unquestionably to be sought in Irish immigration. The people of Ireland had remained untainted with that spirit of infidelity and irreligion which had wrought such havoc in other European countries. Owing to unfair

treatment and depressing conditions at home, many of these staunch Catholics emigrated to other lands. Some of them crossed over to England and Scotland; others more numerous settled in British colonies, while the greatest number found a new home in the United States. Wherever they settled the Irish Catholics remained loyal to their faith. They were in English-speaking countries the most successful propagators of Catholicism in the nineteenth century. The growth of the Catholic Church in England and Scotland was, in a large measure, due to them. Australia, owing to Irish immigration, grew from an insignificant penal settlement into a commonwealth in which the Catholic Church numbers at present one million members. New Zealand, without Catholics at the beginning of the nineteenth century, has today a well organized hierarchy consisting of one archbishop and three bishops.

In Canada the Catholic religion was already firmly established when the country was ceded by France to England (1763). The treaty of peace stipulated religious freedom for the colony. The clause was not observed at first, but, owing to the difficult position of England in America, the Catholics of Canada were gradually freed from unjust restrictions. So satisfactory was the growth and progress of the Church in the country, owing to the remarkable increase of the original French population and the numerous accessions through Irish immigration, that in 1908 Canada was no longer rated by Rome as a missionary country. It was removed from the jurisdiction of the Congregation of the Propaganda and placed under the control of the Papal Secretary of State.

**672. The Catholic Church in the United States to 1829.**— The outstanding and unparalleled fact in the history of Catholicity was the expansion of the Church in the United States. Spanish, French and English missionaries had spread the Gospel in the country before it became independent. In the thirteen original colonies the Catholics, subject

to Vicars Apostolic residing in England, numbered in 1785 about 30,000 souls. After the establishment of an independent civil government it seemed fitting that in ecclesiastical affairs also the country should have its own ecclesiastical superiors. This change seemed the more desirable as England was still uncompromisingly Protestant, whereas the constitution of the United States expressly stipulated that "no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." In the first amendment to the same instrument it was also provided that "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

The tolerant spirit which engendered these guarantees allayed the fear of persecution entertained by the Catholic clergy. They forwarded a petition to the Holy See requesting the appointment of a bishop and chose Father John Carroll as their candidate for the office. The Holy Father ratified the choice and in 1789 appointed John Carroll the first bishop of the United States with Baltimore as his episcopal city. This see, now an archbishopric, still possesses the primacy of honor in the hierarchy of the United States.

Bishop, later Archbishop Carroll (1735–1815) was born at Upper Marlboro, a place not far distant from the capital of the United States. He was educated by the Jesuits, first in his native Maryland, then in Europe and at an early date entered the Society of Jesus. After the suppression of the Jesuits he returned to his home in Maryland, resided with his mother and ministered to the spiritual needs of his Catholic fellow-citizens. Later he took an active part in public affairs and particularly urged upon his contemporaries the need of guaranteeing religious liberty in the fundamental law of the country. On the election of George Washington to the presidency of the United States, Bishop Carroll and four Catholic laymen presented him with an address of congratulation to which Washington replied expressing the

hope that the American people would never forget the patriotic part played by the Catholics in the Revolutionary War.

As head of the Church in America, Bishop Carroll sought to provide the means and institutions necessary for the training of the clergy, the education of youth and the care of his flock. Catholic clergy and people increased so rapidly under his leadership that in 1808 a division of administrative labors became necessary. Baltimore was then raised to the rank of an archiepiscopal see and four new dioceses were created at Philadelphia, New York, Boston and Bardstown. Meanwhile the diocese of New Orleans had also become American by the Louisiana Purchase. As a result, when Archbishop Carroll died in 1815 the Catholic Church was firmly established and well organized in the United States.

It continued after him to grow in membership and to increase in the number of dioceses and bishops. In 1829 the first Provincial Council was held in Baltimore. It considered ecclesiastical conditions in the territory under its jurisdiction, discussed questions relating to the administration of the sacraments, examined the problem of lay trusteeship in the management of church property and promoted the creation and propagation of Catholic literature. The number of Catholics present in the country was then about 350,000.

**673. Obstacles to the Progress of Catholicity in the United States.**—While the history of the Catholic Church in the United States is a record of gratifying spiritual progress, it is also true that serious obstacles hampered the growth of the true faith. These obstacles were either internal, that is, arising from conditions within the Church itself, or external, proceeding from outside, non-Catholic elements or influences.

Among her internal difficulties the Church had to face the evils of *Lay Trusteeism*. This danger threatened her in the first half of the nineteenth century and consisted in the usurpation of ecclesiastical rights by lay parochial trustees. These misguided men claimed in certain places the right to

manage ecclesiastical property and to dispose of churches, schools and cemeteries. They even attempted to control the nomination and to effect the removal of clergymen. They became involved in disputes with ecclesiastical authorities and, in many instances, their resistance to the bishops degenerated into open rebellion. The dioceses of New York and Philadelphia suffered seriously from the evil. In the former diocese Bishop John Hughes, clever and energetic, finally crushed lay trusteeism; in the latter, Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick, after a resolute struggle, also triumphed over the system. By the middle of the century lay trusteeism had been suppressed everywhere.

The external difficulties which the Church had to meet can be traced to an anti-Catholic movement which, in the course of time, appeared under divers aspects and received various names. First called *Native Americanism*, it was successively designated as *Knownothingism*, the *American Protective Association* (A. P. A.), the *Guardians of Liberty* and the *Ku Klux Klan*. As Native Americanism and Knownothingism the movement was at once anti-foreign and anti-Catholic; in its later manifestations it was anti-Catholic, but little characterized by opposition to the foreign element of our population. At all times its adherents brought grievous and unfounded charges against their Catholic fellow-citizens. The latter were unjustly denounced as "disloyal Americans," as "subjects of a foreign power" (the papacy), as "people incapable of appreciating the freedom and benefits of republican rule."

In Native Americanism religious bigotry and national jealousy combined to oppose immigration from Catholic Ireland. The centre of the hostile agitation was New England and the movement attained such proportions that in several places armed attacks were perpetrated on a peaceful Catholic population. In Charlestown, Massachusetts, the Ursuline convent was burned to the ground by a mob (1834). In Philadelphia two Catholic churches and one convent were

burned, numerous Catholic homes were pillaged and twenty Catholic citizens were done to death in anti-Catholic riots.

By the middle of the century Native Americanism had spent its strength and the anti-Catholic movement assumed the form of a secret society formally organized in New York City in 1852. This new association took the pretentious name of "National Council of the United States of North America." By the public it was called the *Knownothing Party*, because the members invariably returned the answer *I do not know* to public inquiries about its nature and aims. The party had considerable success in New England at local and state elections. In the presidential campaign of 1856 it put in the field its own ticket, but miserably failed at the polls.

With this failure its decline set in; it was replaced by the American Protective Association (A. P. A.). Instead of nominating its own candidates for election, this organization sought to control the Republican and Democratic primaries and conventions. It renounced hostility to foreign-born citizens and became influential chiefly in the Middle West, where its first council was established in 1887. It sought to prevent the nomination of William McKinley in 1896, but failed in the attempt and rapidly lost ground after this discomfiture.

Since then the spirit which animated the organizations just spoken of has cropped out anew here and there. Its most notorious manifestations were the formation of the *Guardians of Liberty* and the appearance of the *Ku Klux Klan*. The aim of these enemies of religious toleration and true freedom is to counteract the influence of the Catholic Church everywhere and to work for the exclusion of its adherents from all official positions. The Ku Klux Klan extends its system of discrimination and proscription to Jews and negroes.

**674. Growth of the Catholic Church in the United States since 1829.**—The above-mentioned obstacles retarded, but

did not prevent the growth of the Church in America. Its members became gradually more self-conscious and its leaders more self-reliant. The latter perfected its organization by the ecclesiastical legislation they framed in the plenary councils. Three of these, all held in Baltimore, stand out as so many landmarks in the history of the Church in the United States. The first met approximately a decade before the Civil War (1852); the second was held immediately after that fratricidal struggle (1866) and the last convened in 1884. These plenary councils representative, as is clear from the name, of all the Catholics in the United States, considered the contemporary problems confronting the Church. They framed the particular statutes which, under general ecclesiastical law, govern ecclesiastical affairs in this country.

While church organization was thus being perfected at home and the number of dioceses increased by the Holy See, the Catholic population was rapidly growing in numbers. It had reached the imposing figure of 1,600,000 in 1852 and has since continued to increase in a most gratifying manner. Three chief factors account for this growth: (1) natural increase; (2) conversion; (3) immigration. The conversions of adults to the Catholic faith were numerous especially after the Civil War. The fact that the Catholic body had not, owing to political divisions and sectional hatred, split into two hostile and independent sects, had made an excellent impression on thinking persons outside the Church. Even in time of supreme crisis this despised denomination, intent upon the advancement of spiritual interests, could maintain itself above partisanship and sectionalism. Then, too, the priests and nuns had shown such self-sacrifice and heroism among the sick, wounded and dying that many officers of the war considered it an honor to belong to a Church which had produced such devotion and magnanimity. The present number of conversions averages about 2,500 a year.

More than conversion, immigration contributed to the

progress of Catholicity in the United States. The oppressed and destitute, the political offender and religious outcast sought in ever-increasing numbers a haven of freedom and toleration in the great Republic of the West. Catholics from Ireland established flourishing congregations and implanted their love of religion and their respect for the clergy in the large number of their descendants; coreligionists from Germany spread their love for Catholic school and home; Frenchmen and Italians came as the traditional representatives of Catholic spirit and custom; Poles and other Slavs contributed their habits of obedience and their intense attachment to religious observances.

The Catholics thus came to form the leading denomination in the country, numbering in 1930 over 20,000,000 members, distributed over 15 archdioceses, 88 dioceses and one abbey *nullius* (Belmont, N. C.). At the same date there were in the entire world 325 million Catholics.

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# FIFTH EPOCH: CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

## CHAPTER XXXII

### THE WORLD WAR AND AFTER

### I. The War (1914-1918) and the Peace

**675. Triple Alliance and Triple Entente.**—At the opening of the twentieth century the great powers of Europe were, with the exception of Great Britain, grouped in two rival combinations, the *Triple Alliance* and the *Dual Alliance*. To the former belonged Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy, to the latter France and Russia. Great Britain had, until then, held aloof from both groups and had remained in the position of "splendid isolation." With the lapse of years, however, it had become increasingly clear to her responsible leaders that an understanding with one or the other combination would be advantageous to British interests. Colonial rivalry and commercial competition were becoming increasingly acute and were a fruitful source of friction among the leading nations of the world. The British navy was unquestionably a powerful instrument of national defense, but its strength could be immeasurably increased by an alliance with a country possessed of a powerful army. As a consequence friendly advances were first made to Germany with a view of arriving at an agreement with her. They were not reciprocated by a distrustful German government and nothing came of these one-sided attempts to effect an understanding between the two countries.

Meanwhile Edward VII came to the throne and soon after the Russo-Japanese War broke out. The English king favored the establishment of friendly relations with France, and the latter country, owing to the defeat of her Russian ally by the Japanese, stood in need of additional support. The ground was thus prepared for an Anglo-French agreement. In 1904 these century-old enemies signed a treaty of

friendship which put an end to their mutual disagreements. Its most important clause affected northern Africa. Egypt, although under British occupation since 1882, was still a Turkish possession in which the French claimed special rights. By the agreement of 1904 France allowed Great Britain a free hand in Egypt and received in return England's consent to the French occupation of Morocco. In the latter province the two powers were to enjoy equal commercial opportunities (policy of the open door).

The successful negotiations with France were followed by diplomatic exchanges between Great Britain and Russia. The interests of these two nations clashed chiefly in Central Asia, where Russia's steady advance was a growing menace to Great Britain's hold on India. The dangers arising from the constantly nearer mutual approach of their respective spheres of influence were discussed in a friendly spirit and eliminated by concessions on both sides. An Anglo-Russian treaty settling all outstanding difficulties was signed in 1907.

The Dual Alliance was thus transformed into the *Triple Entente* or friendly understanding among Great Britain, France and Russia. No formal and written alliance was signed by England with her associates, but definite and secret assurances of support in war were given them by the British government.

**676. Germany and Great Britain.**—As long as Bismarck had remained at the head of the German foreign office, the warm friendship which had existed for centuries between Germany and England was not seriously marred by any untoward incidents. Under William II things took a different turn. The German government continued to rely on Bismarck's principle of force without using his caution in dealing with foreign nations. It adopted an aggressive colonial policy, subsidized its flourishing merchant marine and laid the foundation of a powerful navy. Great Britain's economic interests suffered and her supremacy at sea seemed menaced. She viewed with suspicion and apprehension the

Tanks Going to the Battle-front

rise of a strong naval power near her shores and concentrated her fleet in the North Sea. As protective measures such as this multiplied and conflicting interests received greater prominence, considerable ill-feeling was engendered on both sides and the delicate thread still binding the two nations together was likely to be snapped asunder if put to the test.

**677. Germany and France.**—The news that Great Britian and France had settled the Moroccan question, without regard to German claims, real or fancied, evoked deep resentment in Germany. The relations between the latter and her French neighbor had been none too friendly since the war of 1870–1871, for while France smarted under the sting of defeat, Germany exulted in the overpowering strength of the victor. With the signing of the Anglo-French convention respecting Morocco this added disturbing factor helped to widen the breach between the two neighbors. Germany protested that her rights had been infringed by the conclusion of the agreement and insisted upon the holding of an international conference to settle the Moroccan question. The powers agreed to send delegates for such a meeting to Algeciras in southern Spain where a new convention respecting Morocco was signed. This international agreement provided: (1) that Morocco was to remain independent; (2) that two separate spheres of influence—one Spanish, the other French—were to be acknowledged in the country; (3) that all countries were to enjoy equal commercial rights in the colony.

As soon as this convention was signed the French sent officers, physicians and other specialists to the country, thus beginning what has been called the *peaceful penetration* of Morocco. Their nationals met with opposition in various places and several of them were massacred. These outrages led to the occupation by the French of several Moroccan towns, including the capital Fez. Germany construed this as a violation of the Algeciras Convention and sent the gunboat Panther to *Agadir*, a port on the Moroccan coast.

To the French declaration that the occupation of Fez was only temporary, Germany replied that the Panther would leave Agadir when the French left Fez. The Moroccan dispute had to be finally settled by a new treaty agreed to by France and Germany (1911). In this compromise the former made to the latter cessions of territory in Central Africa, but tightened her hold on Morocco. The two governments seemed to be satisfied with the agreement; the two nations, on the contrary, voiced their displeasure at the result. The mutual ill-feeling became more pronounced and was very openly expressed in the two countries.

**678. Austria, Russia and Serbia; Assassination of Arch-Duke Francis Ferdinand.**—We have seen how several unsuccessful attempts were made in the course of the nineteenth century to settle the near-eastern question. After the Congress of Berlin (1878), the rivalry between Austria and Russia in the Near East was intensified and the desire of the Balkan nations to shape their own destiny became more pronounced. The annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina carried out by Austria in 1908 caused bitter resentment in Russia and Serbia. It ran counter to Russia's dream of supremacy in the Balkans and to Serbia's desire to bring the two provinces under her sway. A strong anti-Austrian agitation was initiated in the annexed territory and actively carried on by sympathizers living in the Kingdom of Serbia. Meanwhile two successful wars were waged by the Balkan States against Turkey. They intensified on the one hand the antagonism existing between Russia and Austria and on the other hand the national sentiment in Serbia.

In 1914 the Austrian heir-apparent, Francis Ferdinand, accompanied by his wife, made a fateful visit to Sarajevo, the Capital of Bosnia. He and his consort were assassinated in the streets of the city (June 28, 1914). Those responsible for the crime were members of a secret society established in Serbia and some of them were connected in a minor capacity with the government of that state. The dastardly

crime precipitated a world crisis and occasioned the world war.

**679. Austrian Ultimatum to Serbia; Beginning of the War (July 28, 1914).**—After a searching investigation to place the responsibility for the crime, Austria-Hungary addressed a peremptory ultimatum to Serbia. The note denounced the anti-Austrian agitation carried on by Serbians, insisted on satisfaction for the past and demanded guarantees for the future. The Serbian government was summoned to publish an official condemnation of all anti-Austrian propaganda, to suppress, with the cooperation of Austro-Hungarian officials, the movement directed against the territorial integrity of the Dual Monarchy, to consent to similar cooperation in the judicial investigation of the plot to which the Archduke Francis Ferdinand had fallen a victim and to punish Serbian citizens implicated in the crime. A reply to this ultimatum was demanded within forty-eight hours, and no extension of time was granted even at Russia's request.

Serbia accepted some of the terms of the ultimatum and made reservations concerning others which seemed to infringe on her rights of sovereignty. She declared her readiness to submit the controverted points to the judgment of the great powers or to the Hague Tribunal. Austria-Hungary pronounced the Serbian note evasive and unacceptable, ordered the mobilization of part of her military forces and on July 28, 1914, formally declared war on Serbia.

**680. Germany declares War on Russia (August 1, 1914) and on France (August 3, 1914).**—The crisis which had arisen between Austria-Hungary and Serbia could not but affect the other powers. Obviously Russia would not stand idly by while a war was being waged in the Balkans. The partial mobilization of Austria-Hungary was immediately followed by a partial mobilization in Russia, whereupon Austria-Hungary called all her men of military age to the colors.

While the tension between these two nations had thus reached an acute stage, hurried exchanges of views were

actively going on among the other powers. The two political combinations into which Europe was divided—the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente—viewed the dispute from different standpoints. Their respective leaders, Great Britain and Germany, busily engaged in the controversy. They were agreed on one point, namely, that, as the extreme tension between Austria and Russia was likely to drag all Europe into war, remonstrances should be resorted to before it was too late. But they thoroughly disagreed as to where or by whom these remonstrances should be made. Great Britain held that they should be made at Vienna by Germany. The latter, on the contrary, was of opinion that they should be addressed to St. Petersburg by England.

Sir Edward Grey, the British foreign minister, then proposed the holding of a four-power conference—Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy—but the proposal was rejected by Germany on the ground that such a conference could be called only by either Russia or Austria, the two powers vitally interested in the matter. Grey then accepted the German proposal that Austria and Russia be asked to engage in direct conversations for the peaceful settlement of the dispute. This method was urged on Austria-Hungary by Germany and on Russia by England and was adopted both in Vienna and in St. Petersburg.

Meanwhile the Russian minister of war Soukhomlinoff issued, without the consent of Czar Nicholas II, an order for general mobilization. At the news of this step, Germany, on July 31, presented at St. Petersburg an ultimatum in which Russia was summoned to demobilize within twelve hours as otherwise Germany would mobilize. At an earlier date the latter had already clearly signified to Russia that German mobilization would certainly be followed by war. The time set by the ultimatum expired at noon on August 1. Germany waited for an answer until five o'clock of the afternoon and then issued an order of general mobilization and declared war on Russia.

In virtue of the Franco-Russian alliance, France was bound to support Russia in the war. In an effort to draw an expression of its intentions from the French government, Germany on the day on which she forwarded her ultimatum to Russia also dispatched a note to France asking whether the latter would remain neutral in a Russo-German war. The reply was that France would consult her own interests, whereupon Germany declared war on France (August 3, 1914).

**681. Germany invades Belgium; England at War with Germany (August 4, 1914).**—The German attack could be launched either from the southern or from the northern provinces of the empire. In the south the Vosges mountains and a strong line of French fortresses barred the road to an invader. In the north the neutral state of Belgium separated Germany from France, but the few isolated strongholds to be conquered there were not likely to hold up an advancing army for a considerable time. The German government chose to consider Belgium a convenient road rather than an independent and neutral country, and launched its attack in the north. On August 2, it addressed a note to the Belgian government declaring that France planned to pass through Belgium for an attack on the Rhine and that, in the face of this situation, Germany must use the same road to defend herself. It expressed the hope that Belgium would offer no resistance to the German advance, but bluntly added that, in case of opposition, its armies would march through Belgium despite the latter's objections. The Belgian Government replied that it had received the German note with painful surprise, that France, so it believed, could be relied on for the faithful fulfillment of her treaty obligations and that Belgium would resist "by every means in her power any attack upon her rights." Despite this firm Belgian answer, the Germans crossed the border into Belgium on August 4, 1914.

Great Britain, always opposed to the presence of any great

power on the Belgian coast, now became concerned about her own safety. On the day on which the German troops entered Belgium the British ambassador to Berlin delivered, in the name of his government, an ultimatum, placing before Germany the alternative of either respecting Belgian neutrality or accepting war with Great Britain. The German Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg received the document with evidences of anger and referred on this occasion to the treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium as a scrap of paper. "He said that the step taken by his (Britannic) Majesty's government was terrible to a degree; just for a word—*neutrality*—a word which in war time had so often been disregarded, just for a *scrap of paper*, Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her."

Germany left the ultimatum unanswered and a state of war existed between her and Great Britain at midnight August 4, 1914.

During the same month the diminutive Kingdom of Montenegro joined Serbia in the war against Austria-Hungary, and Japan, England's ally in the Pacific, summoned Germany to withdraw from the Far East. The summons was ignored and Japan issued a declaration of war.

Italy, the third partner in the Triple Alliance, promptly declared her neutrality at the outbreak of hostilities on the ground that the treaty of alliance was not binding under the circumstances and that Austria-Hungary and Germany had resorted to warlike measures without previous consultation with her. On the other hand, Turkey soon joined the Central Powers in their war against the Allies.

**682. The German Armies pour through Belgium into Northern France; they are thrown back at the Marne (September 5–10, 1914).**—Despite the vigorous resistance offered by Belgium, the German forces poured into the country, overwhelmed the Belgian army and with their huge siege guns battered down the Belgian fortresses. Liège was

stormed, Brussels occupied and Antwerp conquered. The small kingdom was after several weeks almost entirely in the hands of the invader and was placed under severe military dictatorship. During this period of suffering, relief was constantly sent to Belgium from America and ringing protests against foreign rule were frequently uttered by Belgium's patriotic Churchman, Cardinal Mercier.

The French army almost from the outset cooperated with the Belgians in resisting the Germans. The British also hurried troops to the continent to hold up the enemy's descent on Paris. However, so swift had been the attack and so overwhelming was the number of the Germans that their opponents had no other choice than to fall back from position to position until the Marne was reached There a battle lasting for several days stemmed the tide of the enemy's advance. Germany's military leadership broke down under the weight of the enormous masses it had placed in the field just as her diplomatic leadership collapsed under the strain of the momentous negotiations immediately preceding the war. Her armies converging on Paris at times lost contact among themselves and, owing to the distance of the general high command behind the lines, unity of direction became impossible. At the battle of the Marne a strong frontal attack and a flanking movement threatening the German right wing brought defeat seemingly so near that a retreat was ordered and executed on virtually the whole front. The Germans withdrew to the Aisne River where they dug themselves in. The two opposing armies settled down in defensive positions for trench warfare and faced each other for four years on a battle line extending over 600 miles from Switzerland to the sea.

The German commander-in-chief Von Moltke was shortly after superseded by Erich von Falkenhayn; Joffre, the great French leader, became an international hero and Viscount French won admiration for his leadership of the British forces.

**683. Russia invades Eastern Prussia; Russian Rout at Tannenberg (August 26 to September 1, 1914); Bulgaria sides with the Central Powers.**—The efforts of the Germans speedily to crush France had failed in the west; their calculations of the time necessary for a Russian mobilization proved untrustworthy in the east. They had figured on a slow concentration of Russian troops, whereas the latter were in a surprisingly short time ready for the attack. Austria-Hungary and Prussia were invaded and the capitals of the central empires were threatened by the millions of fighters under the czar's orders. At this critical time, Generals Von Hindenburg and Ludendorff, the most famous German commanders of the war, were placed at the head of the Kaiser's forces in the east. With an inferior number of men they defeated the Russians in the battle of *Tannenberg* or of the *Mazurian Lakes*, routed them and drove them from Prussia. Following up this success they advanced eastward and carried the war into Russia.

While Prussia was thus freed from foreign occupation, considerable parts of Austria-Hungary continued to be held by the Russians. The Austrian counter-offensives did not succeed in dislodging the enormous enemy effectives and the Russians spent the winter of 1914–15 in apparently secure possession of some Austrian lands.

A change was effected in this situation in May, 1915, when a resolute attack was delivered by the combined Austrians and Germans against the Russian positions in western Galicia. After careful artillery preparation, the Austro-Germans stormed the enemy lines and broke through the Russian front. With this piercing of their line began that long retreat of the Russians which ended only in September, 1915, after their evacuation of most of Galicia and their loss of Poland.

These successes against Russia were followed by the entrance of Bulgaria into the war on the side of the central powers. A double drive on Serbia immediately followed,

the Austro-Germans under General Von Mackensen, attacking in the north, the Bulgarians striking in the east. The campaign was crowned with success and resulted in the complete conquest of Serbia (December, 1915). The little kingdom had received no aid from the Allies, although the latter then gave up their ruinous Gallipoli expedition against Constantinople and landed troops at Saloniki in Greece. This expeditionary force was at first too small to accomplish anything, but it became important after Greece cast her lot with the Allies and it played in 1918 an important part in the war.

**684. Italy enters the War on the Side of the Allies; Capture of Gorizia (August, 1916); Invasion of Italy (October, 1917).**—Before Bulgaria joined the central powers in the conflict, Italy had thrown in her lot with the Allies. She had spent the first months of the war in watchful waiting and military preparations. In the spring of 1915, considering that the struggle was nearing a decision, she entered into negotiations with both contending sides, not yet having decided which she would support. Austria offered to cede to her certain Italian-speaking territories (Italia Irredenta) as a reward for her future neutrality, whereas the Allies endeavored to enlist her military assistance by promises of considerable Austrian and Turkish territory. In the negotiations the Allies had an obvious advantage over Austria, for the latter had to give of her own to placate Italy, while the former liberally distributed, without hurting themselves, territories belonging to enemy powers. As a result, Italy signed a secret agreement with Great Britain, France and Russia, denounced her treaty of alliance with the central powers and in May, 1915, declared war on Austria-Hungary.

The entrance of Italy into the war greatly strengthened the Allies in the prosecution of hostilities. Although the Italian army did not at once win brilliant victories, it kept numerous Austrian troops engaged on the Italian front and thus afforded indirect relief to the Allies both in east and

west. It was commanded by General Cadorna, the son of the Italian general who captured Rome in 1870. Its most noted advance, under his leadership, was made in the summer of 1916, when it captured the Austrian town of Gorizia and conquered the surrounding country. This territory, won after hard fighting and heavy sacrifices, was again lost the following year when the Austro-Germans broke through the defensive positions of the Italians, invaded Venetia and advanced as far as the Piave River. They held this line until toward the end of the war when an Italian offensive resulted not only in the disastrous rout, but the utter dissolution, of the Austrian armies.

**685. German Drive on Verdun is repulsed; Portugal and Rumania enter the War (1916).**—The year 1916 was marked by several drives undertaken either by the central powers or by the Allies. Early in the year the Germans delivered a powerful onslaught against Verdun and made at first appreciable progress in their efforts to capture this important stronghold. The French, however, soon recovered from the surprise of the attack, organized with the slogan "they shall not pass" a most stubborn resistance and, despite the enormous sacrifices brought by the enemy, remained in possession of the fortress.

In the summer of 1916 the British and French assumed the offensive on the western front, the Italians in the Gorizia sector, and the Russians in the east. The gains made in these allied drives were everywhere appreciable, but nowhere decisive. The different armies won some territory and penetrated deep into the enemy's lines of defense; but they were stopped as new troops were brought up against them.

The Allies were gratified in the same year by the decision of Portugal and Rumania to join them in the war. The former seized the German ships in its harbors and sent troops to the western front. The latter seemed at first an added burden rather than a positive gain. For she was at once attacked by powerful armies of the central powers, defeated

and conquered. In the winter of 1916–1917 Rumania was almost entirely in the hands of the Austro-Germans. In the following spring she signed the treaty of Bucharest and abandoned the struggle, later to take up arms under more favorable conditions.

**686. The Importance of Sea Power; the United States enters the War (April 6, 1917).**—Germany's inferiority at sea proved from the very beginning of the struggle a severe handicap to her in the prosecution of the war. She was at once cut off from all communication with her colonies and isolated from the neutral nations overseas. Her holdings in China were, after a short struggle, taken over by Japan; her possessions in the Pacific were occupied by Australia and New Zealand and her African colonies were attacked and conquered by the English and the French.

More important in its bearing on the issue of the conflict than these losses, was the naval blockade instituted against the German empire and maintained throughout the war and armistice period. It cut off the provisions and supplies which would have helped to feed the German people and equip the German army. The Kaiser's navy was not strong enough to cope with this situation. Although it dominated the restricted area of the Baltic and fought creditably off Jutland in the only great naval battle of the war, it could not maintain an open road at sea. True, the submarine, greatly developed and eventually mainly relied on by the Germans for success, seemed to be a new weapon in their hands capable of defeating the blockade. However, it did not produce the decisive results they expected from it, while it actually raised up new enemies for them.

The United States entered the war over the submarine issue. It suffered indeed from both contenders in the conflict, its rights being respected neither by the Allies nor by the central powers. However, the war measures of the Allies only interfered with American commerce and injured American property; whereas the ruthless use of the submarine by

the Germans caused, along with injury to American property, loss of American lives. The burning indignation caused at the beginning of the war by the brutal invasion of Belgium was aroused anew in the United States by the torpedoing of passenger steamers and merchantmen by the Germans. This was notably the case when the giant liner *Lusitania* was sunk by a submarine with a loss of more than one hundred American lives. Little by little Germany came to be looked upon in the United States as a militarist nation with whom it was impossible to live in peace, and an autocratic state whose existence threatened democratic institutions all over the world. The United States government long contented itself with notes of protest against German methods of warfare and against interference with American rights. But when in January, 1917, the German government issued a proclamation instituting a submarine blockade of the allied countries and suppressing American trade with Europe, President Wilson broke off diplomatic relations and the United States Congress declared war on Germany (April 6, 1917).

The example of the United States was imitated by most countries of the Western Hemisphere, with the only important exceptions of Argentina, Chile and Mexico. In other parts of the world, Liberia, China, Siam and Greece also joined the Allies in the same year, so that twenty-eight states were arrayed against the central powers.

**687. The United States in the War.**—In his message to Congress asking for a declaration of war, President Wilson declared that the United States entered the titanic struggle "to make the world safe for democracy." It would have been difficult to find a slogan better calculated to arouse the patriotic enthusiasm of the American people. Its use was the more appropriate as Russia, with whom the United States was to be associated in the war, had just then rid itself of its autocratic government. The czar had been forced to abdicate and a democratic government had taken his place. It did not seem at first that the revolution would

Cliff-dwellings of American Soldiers in the World War

mean the elimination of Russia from the war. Her withdrawal from the struggle occurred only after the Bolshevists had seized the government. They opened peace negotiations with the central powers and concluded the treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which was abrogated by the Allies after the defeat of the central powers.

The United States, after the declaration of war by Congress, was not ready to take an important and effective part in the fighting. Military preparations were necessary on an extensive scale before our armies could play in the struggle that decisive part which was to be theirs. The people generously responded to the appeal of its government for work, money and men. All classes, races and creeds "did their bit" for their country, whatever might have been their previous attitude toward the war. Within a surprisingly short time the United States equipped, armed and trained millions of soldiers. American genius for organization also performed the almost superhuman task of transporting, despite the submarine danger, most of the troops to the battle-fields of Europe.

**688. The Turning Point in the War; the Allies force a German Surrender.**—As long as the United States was unable to send large numbers of troops to the aid of the powers associated with it in the war, the Germans scored important successes in some of their drives. It was not until July, 1918, that the turning point came in the war. The Allies and associated powers had then unified their military command and pooled their resources. Field Marshal Ferdinand Foch was at the head of their combined armies, with Sir Douglas Haig in command of the British and General Pershing at the head of the American forces. In Italy General Cadorna had been superseded, after the disaster of 1917, by General Diaz. The enemy was commanded virtually to the end by Generals Von Hindenburg and Ludendorff, who had supplanted Von Falkenhayn in the high German command after the failure before Verdun.

The Allies, after launching their offensive in July, 1918, allowed the enemy no respite. Drive followed closely upon drive and soon the fighting was raging along almost the whole western front. The Germans were steadily pushed back by Marshal Foch's warriors, and their associates, the Bulgarians and the Turks, were defeated in the east. The former's resistance was broken in a surprisingly short time by an allied drive and on September 30 they surrendered unconditionally and signed an armistice at Saloniki. The latter's capital Constantinople was, by this defeat of the Bulgarians, exposed to allied attack while the Turkish armies were simultaneously suffering severe reverses in Syria. In this sector General Allenby was pushing northward from Jerusalem, which he had entered on December 10, 1917, after several centuries of Turkish occupation. Exactly one month after the signing of the armistice with Bulgaria, the Turks abandoned the central powers and surrendered to the Allies. When Turkey abandoned the struggle Austria-Hungary was already negotiating for terms. Her armies had been attacked by the Italians and had suffered irretrievable disaster. The military collapse was followed by political revolt; the Hapsburgs were deposed and an armistice was signed on November 3, 1918.

While Germany was thus abandoned by all her confederates, her forces were steadily losing ground in Belgium and France. In the fighting on this front the United States soldiers played an increasingly important role. After distinguishing themselves first by the capture of Cantigny, then in the defense of Château-Thierry and the attack at St. Mihiel, they fought in large numbers and with brilliant success in the Argonne Forest until the end of the war. In October, the German government initiated negotiations which led to the signing of an armistice. Before they were concluded a revolution broke out in Germany, the Kaiser abdicated and fled to Holland and the moderate socialists took control of the government. An armistice was signed

The Jordan

between Germany and the Allies in a railroad car near Compiègne on November 11, 1918. It went into effect on the same day.

**689. Meeting of the Delegates to the Peace Conference (January, 1919).**—The Peace Conference opened its sessions in Paris in January, 1919; but the treaty with Germany was signed in the Palace of Versailles, where the German empire had been proclaimed, and was, from this place, called the Treaty of Versailles.

The armistice preceding the peace was concluded by the Germans on the understanding that President Wilson's "Fourteen Points" would form the basis of the negotiations. One of these points stipulated the suppression of secret diplomacy; but the Peace Conference had no sooner assembled than it resorted to secret negotiations and threw the Fourteen Points into the discard. The five great powers, victors in the war, formulated and imposed the conditions of peace. Their representatives were: President Wilson for the United States, Lloyd George for Great Britain, Clémenceau for France, Orlando for Italy and Marquis Saionji for Japan. Russia, then in the hands of the Bolshevists, was not represented. As Japan's interests were affected only in a limited way by the negotiations, the representatives of the four remaining powers, ("the Big Four"), exerted a wider influence in the settlement. Among them President Wilson was, owing to his official position and his country's overwhelming power, the commanding figure. He magnanimously declared, in the name of the United States, that he had come to Paris neither to get territory nor to ask for indemnities. Personally he was perhaps still animated by that high idealism he had so solemnly professed during the war; but associated with astute politicians in the conference he yielded to their imperialistic designs and, in the end, the settlement squared but little with his solemn promises and high-sounding proclamations of former days.

**690. The Treaty of Versailles establishes Peace between**

**Germany and the Allies (June 28, 1919).**—The Conference undertook the performance of two important tasks: (1) the formation of a *League of Nations* which was to eliminate, as much as possible, all danger of future war; (2) the establishment of peace with Germany and her confederates.

The covenant of the League of Nations was after several weeks of negotiations agreed upon by the allied statesmen and later placed at the head of the treaty handed to the Germans. It will be treated more at length in another subdivision of this chapter.

Some of the clauses of the voluminous treaty imposed on the Germans may be classified under the following three important heads. I. *Territorial Cessions:* II. *Economic Reparations:* III. *Military and Naval Guarantees.*

I. *Territorial Clauses.*—These include: (1) cession of the German colonies to the victors, some to be held under a mandate of the League of Nations, but all to be ceded without any sort of compensation or credit; (2) cession of Alsace-Lorraine to France. The people of these provinces were not consulted as to whether they preferred independence to either French or German nationality; (3) cession of a considerable part of eastern Prussia to Poland; (4) cession of the city of Danzig and the territory of Memel to the Allies; the territory of Memel has since been occupied by Lithuania and placed by the Allies under Lithuanian suzerainty; (5) plebiscites in Upper Silesia and in certain districts of Schleswig, and of eastern and western Prussia to determine their political allegiance; (6) cession of the coal mines situated in the Saar Basin to France in compensation for the destruction of French coal mines during the war. The district is to be administered for fifteen years by the League of Nations and is then to be allowed to determine its political fate by popular vote; (7) occupation by the Allies at Germany's expense of the left bank of the Rhine for fifteen years. American troops occupied the city of Coblenz until 1923 when the last American soldiers were withdrawn from Germany.

II. *Economic Conditions.*—Among these are (1) payment of a war indemnity in gold, the amount of which was fixed in 1921 at 132 billion marks to be paid in annual installments spread over many years; (2) replacement, ton for ton, of all merchant ships and fishing boats destroyed by Germany during the war; (3) delivery to France and Belgium of large quantities of livestock, machinery, building material, tools and coal; (4) international control of the principal German rivers. To secure the fulfillment of these obligations a *Reparations Commission* is created with almost unlimited power over Germany's financial and taxation system.

III. *Military and Naval Guarantees.*—(1) Compulsory military service is abolished in Germany and the General Staff of the German army dissolved. An army not to exceed 100,000 men may be recruited by long voluntary enlistments for the maintenance of internal order. (2) The German navy is reduced to proportions so small as to be a negligible quantity. The building of airships for military purposes is forbidden; also the construction of submarines whether for naval or commercial uses. (3) Manufacture of munitions is restricted and all fortifications on the western frontiers are to be dismantled. Interallied commissions will supervise the execution of these clauses and will enjoy full power of investigation in Germany.

This treaty can of course not be looked upon as an instrument establishing a peace of reconciliation; for it robs Germany in many instances of her rights of sovereignty and condemns her people to forced labor for years to come. It was never ratified by the United States Senate and has been superseded, so far as the United States is concerned, by the treaty of Berlin (1921).

**691. Treaties establishing Peace with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey.**—The treaties restoring peace between the Allied and Associated Powers on the one side and Austria and Hungary on the other side were modelled on the treaty concluded with Germany. They contain, like the Treaty

of Versailles, clauses regarding reparations and disarmament; but their outstanding feature is the new territorial settlement made in the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

The treaty concluded with Austria was signed at *St. Germain* near Paris. It reduced the country's area from 115,000 to about 6,000 square miles and its population from thirty million to six million inhabitants. Two new states, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia, the official title of the latter being the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, were carved out of the former Hapsburg dominions, and cessions of territory were made by Austria to Poland, Rumania and Italy. Political union of the Austrian Republic with Germany was forbidden by the treaty.

In Hungary, Bolshevism triumphed for a short time after the war, and delayed the conclusion of peace. In 1920 the Treaty of *Trianon* was signed with the Allies. It exacted reparations, reduced the Hungarian army to 35,000 men and imposed the handing over of large slices of territory to Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Jugoslavia. Hungary was reduced in territory to about one-third of its former size and in population to about nine million souls.

The treaty with Bulgaria was signed at *Neuilly* at the end of 1919. It imposed a heavy indemnity, considerable loss of territory and a reduction of the Bulgarian army to 20,000 men.

In the summer of 1920 the Turkish government accepted the onerous conditions imposed by the victors and signed the treaty of Sèvres. The Turkish National Assembly, however, sitting at Angora under the leadership of Mustapha Kemal Pasha, refused to ratify the instrument. The rejection led to war between Greece and the Turkish Nationalists. The Greeks, at first successful, were eventually crushed by the Turks and a new treaty was negotiated at *Lausanne* by the belligerents and the European powers (1923). The Turks renounced all rights to Hejaz (Arabia), Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia but retained Adrianople, Constantinople and

COUNTRIES with Possessions
British
French
Spanish
Portuguese
Italian
Belgian
Dutch
Russian
Japanese
Chinese
U.S.
Scale along the Equator
Longitude
EUROPE AND ASIA
AFRICA
ARCTIC OCEAN
ATLANTIC OCEAN
INDIAN OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
ARABIAN SEA
RUSSIA
Principal Capitals:
Mandated Areas are

100°
120°
140°
160°
180°
WRANGEL I.
Lena R.
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Yenisei R.
East Cape
Bering Strait
I B E R I A
ST. LAWRENCE I.
Yakutsk
Okhotsk
BERING SEA
SEA OF OKHOTSK
L. Baikal
FAR EASTERN REPUBLIC
Irkutsk
Chita
Kyakhta
Amur R.
Nikolaevsk
SAKHALIN I.
ALEUTIAN ISLANDS
Maimachin
S I A
Mongolia
Manchuria
Urga
Harbin
Sungari R.
Khabarovsk
KURIL IS.
Inner Mongolia
Vladivostok
Mukden
JAPAN SEA
Hakodate
Peking
Tientsin
CHOSEN (KOREA)
Darien
Port Arthur
Keijo
JAPAN
Tokyo
CHINESE REPUBLIC
Weihaiwei
Kiauchow
Hwang R.
YELLOW SEA
Yokohama
Tibet
Sianfu
China
Osaka
Nagasaki
P A C I F I C
OCEAN I.
MIDWAY I.
Yangtze R.
Hankow
Shanghai
NANSEI IS.
BONIN IS.
BHUTAN
Foochow
Canton
MARCUS I.
Mandalay
Hongkong (Br.)
TAIWAN
TROPIC OF CANCER
BURMA
Hanoi
Rangoon
Hue
LUZON
Manila
WAKE I. (U.S.)
MARIANAS IS.
SIAM
FRENCH INDO-CHINA
PHILIPPINE
Bangkok
SAMAR
GUAM (U.S.)
MARSHALL IS.
PALAWAN
ISLANDS (U.S.)
Saigon
MINDANAO
YAP I.
SOUTH CHINA SEA
Brunei
PELEW IS.
CAROLINE ISLANDS
Japanese Mandate
Strait of Malacca
FEDERATED MALAY STATES
SULU IS.
HOWLAND I.
BAKER I.
BORNEO
Padang
Singapore
CELEBES
MOLUCCAS
ADMIRALTY IS.
Australian Mandate
Br. Mdt.
GILBERT IS. (Br.)
N
SUMATRA
Dutch East Indies
CERAM
BISMARCK ARCH.
NEW BRITAIN
NEW IRELAND
PHOENIX IS. (Br.)
Batavia
Sunda Str.
NEW GUINEA
SOLOMON IS.
ELLICE IS. (Br.)
JAVA
(Port.)
TIMOR
Torres Str.
SANTA CRUZ IS.
SAMOA IS.
KEELING IS.
Darwin
THURSDAY I.
Cooktown
New Zealand Mandate
NEW HEBRIDES (Fr. & Br.)
FIJI IS.
Broome
Northern Territory
Suva
TROPIC OF CAPRICORN
Queensland
NEW CALEDONIA
LOYALTY IS.
AUSTRALIA
Brisbane
Western Australia
South Australia
NORFOLK I.
Perth
Fremantle
New South Wales
Sydney
KERMADEC IS. (Br.)
Albany
Adelaide
Canberra
Victoria
Melbourne
NORTH I.
Auckland
NEW ZEALAND
Bass Str.
TASMANIA
Hobart
SOUTH I.
Wellington
Canals:
Greenwich
100°
120°
140°
160°
180°

all Asia Minor. The treaty established peace between Greece and Turkey; it included a clause providing for the compulsory exchange of Greek inhabitants in Turkey and Turkish inhabitants in Greece. This is the first stipulation in history imposing such a migration of populations.

**692. Losses and Important Results of the War.**—According to reliable estimates, nearly thirteen million persons lost their lives in the war. More than seven million of these were combatants killed in action; the others, whether combatants or non-combatants, lost their lives from various causes. The amount of property is simply incalculable. The enormous losses in lives and goods and the depreciation of some national currencies account for the world-wide economic problems and the unrest from which the nations suffer today.

From an international point of view the war has increased mutual distrust and intensified racial hatred. It has resulted in the enforced disarmament of the vanquished nations, but has not led to the suppression of militarism among the victors. Huge sums are expended now, as in 1914, for military preparations on land and sea. Despite these measures of various governments an ardent, but impotent love of peace pervades the masses. A feeling of solidarity and mutual dependence also animates the peoples of the world. Under these circumstances the United States, despite its traditional avoidance of foreign entanglements, finds it more and more difficult to steer clear of European difficulties and international settlements.

As regards questions of government, the war has developed a democratic spirit and increased the love of popular institutions. Monarchical sentiment has plainly decreased since 1914 and the republican form of government has been established in many countries. In Russia, autocracy has been replaced by the opposite extreme, Bolshevism, and in Germany and Austria, the monarchy has been superseded by an orderly republican government. Republican rule has

likewise been established in the new states reared on the ruins of the Hapsburg and Romanoff dominions, in Czechoslovakia, Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and other new creations.

In religion the war put an end to the official position of the Evangelical Church in Germany and eliminated the King of Prussia as the official protector of Protestantism at home and its unofficial leader abroad. In Russia a similar result followed: the Established Schismatic Church was refused official recognition and denied all assistance from the public treasury. The official existence of the two anti-Catholic state churches—the Evangelical Church of Prussia and the Schismatic Church of Russia—has ceased, and separation of Church and state has been introduced in both countries. In Germany the free exercise of religion is guaranteed by the constitution and placed under the protection of the state. In Russia the religious question has been settled by the Bolshevists in a manner which will be described in the following subdivision.

## II. Bolshevism

**693. Origin of Bolshevism.**—In the course of the nineteenth century socialistic ideas spread in Russia. From 1893 forward these principles made very rapid progress. This success was due to the substitution of the definite socialist program of Karl Marx for the vague revolutionary theories of former days. Socialist groups sprang into being and gave themselves local organizations. In 1898 a congress of these various associations was held and formed the "Workmen's Social Democratic Party." About the same time the "Socialist Revolutionary Party" was also established. Both these parties were socialist in character. Russian socialism was thus divided into two great movements: the Social Democratic movement and the Socialist Revolutionary movement.

The Socialist Revolutionary Party was Russian in origin

and character. As Russia was preeminently an agricultural state, this party ignored the workingmen in the factories and gave all its attention to the peasants. It had no fixed general theory or program, but aimed at suppressing the abuses prevalent in a period of misgovernment. As the peasants suffered particularly from the evils of the time it was among them that the party sought its recruits and planned to introduce its reforms. It advocated the expropriation of the great landowners and the distribution of the land among the poorer peasants. As a means of remedying existing evils it employed, or at least allowed, assassination of officials and of persons held responsible for prevalent abuses. Animated by national sentiment it admired Russian customs and extolled Russian institutions. It neither gave rise to Bolshevism nor engineered the Bolshevist Revolution.

The Social Democratic Party was based on foreign teaching, catered chiefly to the laborer in the factories and had a definite program, namely the introduction of the Socialist state. Its members, like Karl Marx, whose doctrines they followed, were uncertain as to the method to be employed to accomplish their end. This uncertainty resulted at the party's second congress (1903) in a split into two wings:

| I. The Moderates | II. The Radicals |
|---|---|
| or | or |
| Mensheviki | Bolsheviki |
| (Minimalists) | (Maximalists) |
| or | or |
| Minority Men | Majority Men |

Both Bolsheviki and Mensheviki contemplated the establishment of the Socialist state. But the former demanded the immediate realization of all or at least a maximum (hence "Maximalists", "majority men") of their demands if necessary by violent revolutionary means. The latter were content to proceed slowly, to use elections and parliamentary tactics to attain the desired end. The periodic realization of a minimum of their demands ("Minimalists", "minority men")

thus gradually leading to the inauguration of their complete program would satisfy them. Revolution was not considered by them as either necessary or suitable for the triumph of socialism in the state.

**694. Revolution in Russia (1917).**—On March 15, 1917, the czar abdicated and a provisional government was organized in Russia. The revolution was due to a desire for peace in the empire. The Provisional government comprised, with others, three representatives of the Mensheviki and three men chosen from the Socialist Revolutionary party. The Bolsheviki, on the contrary were not represented in it, in the first place because they were not offered any position on account of their radicalism and secondly because their principles forbade them to hold office in any "bourgeois" government.

Not being officially connected with the new regime they retained complete freedom of action in any circumstances that might arise. Led by the nobleman Nicholas Lenine (died 1924) and the Jew Leo Trotzky, they vehemently criticized the provisional Kerensky government, as it soon came to be called from its most prominent leader. In their campaign of invective they received help from the revolutionaries recently returned from foreign or Siberian exile.

The Provisional government tried to consolidate its power by efforts to achieve some military success and by endeavors to induce the Allies to restate their war aims. A victory, however slight, would, it was hoped, reconcile some of the militarists with the revolution and an official declaration that the Allies were not waging a war of conquest would give satisfaction to the democratic elements in Russia. Kerensky failed in both these schemes. The Russian armies assumed the offensive and for several days were very successful. But, when their initial ardor was spent, the disintegration of the Russian military establishment became manifest to friend and foe and the Austro-Germans advanced further into Russia. The solicited declaration of unimperialistic war

aims was never issued: the Allies refused to heed Kerensky's appeals and repeated their former utterances. The result of this double failure was that the Bolsheviki loudly accused Kerensky of being able to make neither war nor peace. Simultaneously they promised the masses peace, bread and land under Bolshevik rule.

**695. The Soviets captured by the Bolsheviki.**—With the downfall of czardom, associations of soldiers, peasants and workingmen had been formed. These organizations or *soviets* as they were called were established on an economic, rather than a political basis. They represented different classes of people according to their trade or occupation. In politics they might be conservative or radical, menshevik or bolshevik according to circumstances.

In the Bolshevist programme published by Lenine and Trotzky in the spring of 1917, the soviets of soldiers, workingmen and peasants were relied upon for the formation of a new government and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Shortly after the promulgation of this programme the Bolshevists secured the majority of the delegates in the election for the Congress of Soviets which was to open in Petrograd on November 7, 1917.

**696. The Bolshevists seize the Government in Russia (November, 1917).**—Meanwhile the Bolshevist Trotzky became president of the local Petrograd soviet. The party was thus in control of the provisional organization in the capital. It used this advantageous position to put itself in possession of the national government. Trotzky created the Military Revolutionary Committee which was to coordinate everywhere, in military as well as in civil life, the Bolshevist elements and establish bands of "Red Guards." Within a short time an army was created ready to operate under Bolshevist orders. The opportunity for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat seemed to have arrived.

In November, 1917, the Bolshevists struck the final blow.

The Congress of Soviets was to convene on November 7. During the night, a few hours before it met, Red Guards occupied the principal government buildings in Petrograd, the local guards either cooperating with the Bolshevists or remaining indifferent to the proceedings. On the morning of November 7, the members of the provisional government were arrested. Kerensky alone managed to effect his escape.

On November 8, the General Congress of Soviets, representing all parts of Russia, sanctioned the seizure of power by the Bolshevists. It instituted the Council of People's Commissioners or Commissars, a committee which was to carry on the government. In this body, Lenine was chief commissioner or premier, Trotzky commissioner for foreign affairs and General Krylenko commander-in-chief of the army.

**697. Aims of Bolshevism.**—Bolshevism seeks to realize as its ultimate aim the establishment of an international Socialist Bolshevist state or what it also calls a genuine Social Democracy. In this prospective creation no distinction of nationalities will obtain, there will be only one universal state or federation of states in which the most complete equality, identity of interests and community of goods will prevail. Force will neither be used nor necessary in its administration, since, as Lenine says, "people will grow accustomed to observing the elementary conditions of social existence without force and without subjection."

In the present organization of states, Bolshevists contend, either the majority rules an unwilling minority as in the bourgeois democracy or the minority rules the majority as frequently happens in the bourgeois monarchy. In the universal Bolshevist state, the proletariat will, in kindly and unobtrusive fashion, rule all the inhabitants. There will be neither majority, nor minority, neither force nor subjection, but all the inhabitants will observe willingly and freely all the directions and customs governing social existence. These happy conditions, which will obtain in the

Bolshevist state, cannot be realized without a universal revolution and without previous dictatorship of the proletariat. All existing governments, except that of Bolshevist Russia, are capitalist governments. They are evil and must be overthrown. Their methods are bad and must be rejected. Their administrative machinery is bad and must be destroyed.

Moreover the existence of such capitalist states is a permanent danger to the Russian Soviet Republic. The latter must constantly work for their destruction. For this purpose and as a matter of self-preservation, Bolshevist Russia must maintain a powerful Red Army. This instrument of force will repel the force of bourgeois democracy or the capitalist state.

A period of transition must, according to the Bolshevists, precede the establishment of a genuine workingmen's democracy. During this time of preparation, called by them from its character the dictatorship of the proletariat, the workers, so far exploited by the capitalists, will exercise power and rule over the other classes. In the governing element of the proletarians, Lenine included only the urban workingmen and the rural hired laborers; many Russian peasants were excluded from it. The workers will impose their will on the other classes until the people are sufficiently educated in Bolshevist principles and ready to submit voluntarily to Bolshevist rule.

The foregoing paragraphs constitute a brief summary of the Bolshevist program as set forth in their official documents. It seems almost unthinkable that such wild theories should be put forward as a scheme of practical politics by any person of sound mind. These very theories are, however, the natural deductions from Rousseau's false teaching regarding the state. If, as Rousseau intimates,[1] man was born free, but was enslaved by the state, the conclusion follows naturally that the existing states or social organizations

[1] See no. 325.

ought to be destroyed. Unfortunately many modern politicians worship at the shrine of Rousseau, although they rightly abominate the doctrine and works of Bolshevism. They ought first to condemn Rousseau and they would thus undermine the very foundations of the Bolshevist superstructure.

**698. The Present Government of Bolshevist Russia.**[1]— The official name of the present Russian state is the "Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic."[2] The entire power within its boundaries belongs in theory to all the working people of Russia united in urban and rural soviets. The soviets are unions or associations of workingmen, soldiers, or peasants which elect and send representatives either to provincial assemblies or to the central all-Russian Soviet Congress. The name "soviet" may designate either the association itself or its representatives. The supreme power in the Republic belongs to the all-Russian Congress of Soviets which meets at least twice a year. During the periods in which it is not in session the supreme power resides in the all-Russian Central Executive Committee. The latter is elected by and responsible to the all-Russian Congress of Soviets and cannot exceed the number of two hundred members. It appoints a council of seventeen People's Commissars or Commissioners. This council corresponds in some sense to our cabinet, whereas the committee takes the place of our president and the Congress of Soviets occupies the position of our Congress. It must be observed, however, that this comparison is merely for the sake of illustration. There is an essentially wide divergence between the Russian Soviet government and the governmental system of the United States. A commissar is at the head of a commissariat like the navy or army, as with us a secretary is at the head of the navy or war department.

[1] In this account of the Bolshevist government the constitution and proclamations of Soviet Russia as translated and published by the New York *Nation* are in many instances literally reproduced. *Decrees and Constitutions of Soviet Russia.* (*The Nation*, New York.)

[2] Seven other Bolshevist states are at present united with Russia proper in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The seven are: White Russia, the Ukraine, the Trans-Caucasian Republic, the Turkmen Republic, the Uzbek Republic, the Jadjik Republic and the Moldavian Republic.

The state has for its motto: "He shall not eat who does not work," and is essentially a state of workers. Work, which is chiefly the work of the laborer and poorest peasant, is the standard by which an individual's usefulness to the community is gaged. Nationality is no hindrance to the enjoyment of complete freedom in the Russian Soviet Republic. In consequence of the solidarity of the workers of all nations, the soviet constitution grants all political rights, including the franchise to foreigners who live in Russia, belong to the working class and are engaged in work. On the contrary, some Russians are restricted in their rights. Such is the case particularly with those whom the Bolshevists call exploiters. In this class are included all "persons who have an income without doing any work" or "who employ hired labor in order to obtain from it an increase in profits." These persons, as well as the monks and clergy of all denominations, "enjoy neither the right to vote nor to be voted for." Women may vote or be candidates for election under the same condition as men. For the purpose of defending the Bolshevist Revolution, universal military training is introduced. But the workers alone are called upon to defend the revolution with arms, the non-working elements are charged with the performance of other military duties. As a political organization, only the Communist or Bolshevist party is allowed in Russia.

**699. Land Laws.**—The Bolshevist government listed, among its fundamental duties and problems, the abolition of the exploitation of men by men, the suppression of exploiters, the nationalization of land and industry and the establishment of Bolshevism in all lands. To solve these problems, so far as Russia was concerned, it created a Board of National Economy to which it gave virtually unlimited power, including the right of confiscation, over the various branches of industry and commerce. Most factories have been taken over by the state and are managed in its name for the benefit of the community and the workers.

Complete nationalization has not taken place, however, either in industry or in agriculture. The policy to pay identical wages to all has also been temporarily abandoned. In the matter of wages the workers are divided into twenty-seven different classes. The obligation to work is universal and was introduced, it is declared, for the purpose of eliminating the parasitic strata of society. Women are considered able to work from the age of twelve to fifty, men from the age of twelve to sixty years.

As already stated the process of nationalization or socialization of land has not yet been completed. The Constitution, however, emphatically declared that for the purpose of attaining it, all private property in land is abolished, and the entire land is declared to be national property and is to be apportioned among agriculturists without any compensation to the former owners, in the measure of each one's ability to till it.

The loans made to the czar's government are repudiated and the creditors are refused all compensation.

**700. People's Courts.**—To take the place of former legal institutions, the People's Courts are created. All former law-courts are abolished and, under Bolshevist rule, the judges are elected by the people. All citizens of moral integrity, of either sex, who enjoy civil rights, are allowed to perform the functions of prosecutor, solicitor, or counsel for defense.

For the protection of the Bolshevist revolution from its opponents a revolutionary tribunal is created. It has jurisdiction over certain kinds of offenses and fixes the prescribed penalty according to the circumstances of the case and in conformity with the dictates of the revolutionary conscience. Unfortunately the revolutionary conscience is a rather uncertain and elastic element, and by the adoption of this guiding principle the door is opened to high-handed and arbitrary decisions.

**701. Church and State; Education.**—In matters of religion the Constitution of the Russian Soviet Republic is definite and radical. It declares that for the purpose of securing to

the workers real freedom of conscience, the church is separated from the State and the school from the church, and the right of religious and anti-religious propaganda is accorded to every citizen.

All the properties of the existing church and religious societies in Russia are declared national property. Buildings and articles specially designated for religious services are, by special decisions of the local or central state authorities, given for the free use of corresponding religious societies. No church or religious society has the right to own property, or any other rights of a juridical person.

Every citizen may profess any religion or none at all. Any legal disabilities connected with the profession of any religion or of none are abolished. From all official acts any indication of the religious affiliation or non-affiliation of citizens is to be omitted. Religious or judicial oaths are abolished. In necessary cases a solemn promise only is given.

Church marriage is a private affair of those contracting it, while civil marriage is obligatory and alone recognized. Divorce is obtained by the petition of both parties or even of one of them.

The school is separated from the church. The teaching of religious doctrines in all state and public, as well as in private, educational institutions in which general subjects are taught, is forbidden. Citizens may teach and study religion privately. All schools and educational institutions are required to teach the basic principles of the Soviet Constitution.

Despite its official declaration in favor of private religious liberty, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics imposes the teaching of communism in the schools, publicly professes and strenuously propagates atheism and has carried out numerous executions of bishops and priests for no other reason than their religious activity.

**702. Criticism.**—Bolshevism as taught in the declarations of its devotees and realized in the constitution of the Soviet Republics can only result in calamity and ruin. It promises for the future an ideal society in which force will not be used

and subjection will not be required. But all past experience and the present nature of man prove the impossibility of ever realizing such a fantastic state of society.

If its present policies and measures be considered, Bolshevism must be rejected for numerous and weighty reasons. The dictatorship of the proletariat is nothing else than the tyranny of the labor element over the other classes of society. It is not popular, but class, rule and cannot be reconciled with truly democratic principles. The abolition of private property is opposed to both natural law and Catholic doctrine. Pope Leo XIII expressly condemned as unjust and pernicious this very design of the socialists. The expropriation of landowners and the confiscation of industries cannot be carried out without inflicting severe injustice on millions of persons, for many agricultural and industrial owners hold as their own what they justly acquired by honest effort.

Bolshevism unduly exaggerates the value of manual labor, the industry of the laborer; it depreciates intellectual endeavor and pays no attention to spiritual effort. It emphasizes the animal, muscular talent in man, thinks slightingly of his intellectual faculties and entirely neglects the soul.

The Bolshevist state usurps the rights of the individual, destroys authority in the family and subjects the Church to a subordinate, unworthy position. The state is all-powerful, its authority has no limits in any sphere. The individual's ownership of private property is practically suppressed; even his right of residence in the locality of his choice is curtailed. The family ties are loosened to such an extent that free love is almost sanctioned. The Church is completely dependent on the state for the exercise of its power and the use of buildings for religious purposes. Religious teaching is banned from all schools, public and private, and our Catholic school system is an impossibility in the Soviet Republics.

In brief, Bolshevism rests on palpable falsehood, results in crying injustice, introduces class tyranny and enthrones social atheism.

## III. Sinn Fein

**703. Beginnings of the Contemporary National Movement in Ireland; the Gaelic League (1893).**—The Gaelic name Sinn Fein, meaning "Ourselves," similar to our motto "America first," describes in an accurate and fitting manner the aims of the movement to which it is applied. The term owes its origin to the spirit of initiative and self-reliance, to the ideals and purposes of the supporters of the movement. Sinn Fein not only seeks the political transformation of Ireland, it aims at the complete reconstruction of Irish life on an Irish basis "from Irish materials according to Irish designs."

The contemporary Irish National Movement began with the revival of the Irish language in 1893. This rebirth of the Irish tongue was inaugurated by Dr. Douglas Hyde with an address on "The Necessity for de-anglicising Ireland." Up to that time Gaelic had been studied almost exclusively as a dead language, as a subject for scholarship, and not as a living, national tongue capable of influencing a people. With the year 1893 this attitude toward it changed completely. The Gaelic League was then organized with the following twofold object: (1) the preservation of Irish as the National language and its spread as a spoken tongue in Ireland; (2) the preservation and study of old Irish literary treasures and the creation of a modern Irish literature. Those who favored the use and spread of Gaelic as the national language of Ireland, looked at the same time upon English as an alien tongue prevalent in the country. They considered the use of English as a danger to the existence of a distinctly Irish sentiment and an obstacle to the creation of an independent Irish state. For a distinctive language, so they contended, is the most certain sign of a distinctive civilization and nationality.

The Gaelic League met, in its national and linguistic efforts, with immediate and pronounced success. Ten years after its organization, it was the centre of a general movement in favor of a reconstruction of Irish social life. It had aroused the people to such a degree that the creation of an Irish

nation was thought of and the movement was frequently labeled "the Irish-Ireland movement". One of its leaders was Mr. Arthur Griffith, who, to advance the cause of "Irish Ireland," founded in 1899 a weekly journal, the *United Irishman*, of which he became the editor.

**704. Arthur Griffith (1872–1922); His Tract "The Resurrection of Hungary"; the Beginning and General Programme of Sinn Fein.**—Ten years after the formation of the Gaelic League, the Sinn Fein movement was started by Mr. Arthur Griffith. This Irish leader published in 1903 the historical tract *The Resurrection of Hungary* which contained the Sinn Fein programme. The essay was written with ardor and enthusiasm and first published in the *United Irishman*. In 1904, it was given out in pamphlet form and in the following year the Sinn Fein movement assumed an organized character by the establishment of the Sinn Fein Society. In his tract, Mr. Griffith compared the connection between Ireland and England with the former connection between Hungary and Austria, and advocated for Ireland the policy pursued in Hungary by the constitutionalist Francis Deak (1803–1875).

Deak's attitude toward Austria may be summed up in the following essential points: (1) He insisted that Hungary had been given a modern constitution in 1848 and that the first condition of cooperation with Austria was the observance of this suppressed instrument. (2) He acted as if this constitution had already been reestablished and recognized no Austrian measures which were not in harmony with it. (3) He relied on constitutional means of opposition and did not resort to armed resistance because of the danger involved in the use of force. (4) Briefly, *passive resistance* and *boycott* were the means he used against Austria and they were crowned with success in 1867.

Reproducing Deak's attitude and policy, Mr. Griffith gave out a constructive programme to be adopted by all Irishmen: (1) He declared that Ireland had a constitution, that of 1783,

which must be observed by England before any cooperation can take place between Ireland and the English government. (2) Ireland must act as if this constitution had already been reestablished and recognize no English measures which are not in harmony with it. Irishmen must even, in fact must first, refrain from sitting in the English parliament, as such an act would imply a recognition of English authority and a condemnation of the constitution of 1783. (3) Constitutional means of opposition are to be used and not armed resistance. (4) *Passive resistance* and *boycott* must bring England to terms. It is plain that this programme did not demand complete and immediate independence. There were, however, even at this date groups in Ireland who were in favor of separation from England and the establishment of an Irish Republic.

**705. The Sinn Fein Programme applied to the Government of Ireland.**—Mr. Griffith's pamphlet had a wide circulation; the Sinn Fein movement spread rapidly and at an early date produced its effect on the country. But, although the people were thoroughly aroused, and although it seemed that some satisfaction ought to be given to Irish demands, the Irish Parliamentary Party in the British House of Commons was powerless in its work for the country. It was indeed united under the leadership of Mr. John Redmond, but the conservative party then in control in London was opposed to concessions to Ireland and refused to consider the demands of the Irish representatives. No hope of any improvement from that side could reasonably be entertained. But neither was the tendency of the Sinn Fein movement in favor of negotiations with the British government. Its whole character and policy were opposed to parliamentary agitation. Its watchword was "Irish Ireland," and what had Ireland to do with the debates, measures and bills of the British House of Commons? Instead of sending representatives to London, Irishmen should, as their first duty, so Sinn Fein contended, insist on

the withdrawal of their delegation from the House of Commons.

The government of Ireland should be carried on by bodies, assemblies and institutions different from those heretofore recognized. The country had a beginning of a new organization in its local councils. These should choose a general delegation which would carry on the central administration of the country. Thus a Provisional Government would be set up, consisting of the general delegation and the machinery it would consider advisable to create. The executive and legislative branches of the new government would be in its hands. The judicial department would also become to some extent at least independent of England by the recourse of Irishmen to Arbitration Courts and not to the Law courts set up and maintained by British authority. Finally the country would be made economically independent by agricultural and industrial cooperation.

By this process applied to all departments of life, Sinn Fein planned to create an Ireland owned by Irishmen (land), ruled by Irishmen (government), administered for Irishmen (industries), known by Irishmen (education), loved by Irishmen and respected by other nations. English tyranny would at last come to an end in the country.

**706. Sinn Fein and Education.**—The Sinn Fein programme contained among its chief demands educational reform. All departments of education—primary, secondary, and university—were at the time under the authority of Boards, the members of which were appointed by the British government. The results of this educational system were in direct opposition to Irish rights and interests. The language, history, resources of Ireland were ignored in the curriculum and the pupil was taught not esteem and love of his country, but a high regard for Anglo-Saxon superiority and a deep sense of Irish inferiority.

According to Sinn Fein, this faulty and unpatriotic system should be suppressed. As immediate and complete suppres-

sion was impossible, gradual elimination was to be aimed at and accomplished. In primary education, an Irish national system was already in existence under the direction of religious congregations of men and women. This system had only limited influence and received no public grant. Attendance at these Catholic Irish schools should be encouraged and provision should be made for the establishment of new institutions. In this fashion the Irish people would gradually secure control of their primary educational system. Greater difficulty would be experienced in taking over secondary education, because the country, owing to the lack of buildings, funds and teachers, was much less prepared for the introduction of its own national system. The difficulties, however, would be overcome by the cooperation of the clergy, religious congregations, Gaelic League and Irish people. As to university education, it would be given by a National University controlled by the Irish nation. The university question has in fact received a solution along the lines advocated by the Sinn Feiners in the passage in 1908 of the Irish University Act by the British Parliament.

**707. A Liberal Government in power; A New Home Rule Bill.**—While the Sinn Fein movement was making rapid progress the conservatives lost control of the British government and a Liberal cabinet came into power. The new administration owed its success to the election of 1906 in which it had been supported by the Irish Nationalist Party led by John Redmond. Its victory at the polls was so sweeping that the Liberal members in the House of Commons outnumbered those of all the other parties combined. It did not need Irish support in Parliament and as it had nothing to ask of Ireland, it intended to give nothing. The Irish Parliamentarians continued to reiterate their demands for Home Rule; but they were completely ignored by the government they had helped to bring into power.

This situation was changed by the result of a new election

held in 1910. The Liberal majority in the Commons was so reduced that the cabinet needed Irish support to remain in power. The Prime minister, Mr. Asquith, now reverted to Gladstone's policy of making concessions to Ireland, when he needed Ireland. As the House of Lords was likely to be an obstacle to the passage of a Home Rule Bill, he first destroyed its legislative power (1911) and then introduced a Home Rule Bill in Parliament (April 11, 1912). This measure provided for limited self-government. The island was to be governed by a lord-lieutenant, representing the king. It was to send forty-two members to the British House of Commons as a representation in the general royal Parliament. It was to have for its own affairs a parliament at Dublin consisting of two houses, a House of Lords and a House of Commons. The lord-lieutenant was to be assisted in the government by ministers responsible to the Parliament at Dublin.

**708. Ireland's Attitude Toward the New Home Rule Bill; the Arming of Ulster; the Irish Volunteers and the Citizen Army.**—In Ireland the attitude toward the bill differed according to party. John Redmond and the Nationalists were satisfied with its provisions. The Sinn Feiners were willing to accept them as a step in the right direction and as a pledge of further concessions. As for the Scotch-Irish and the English-Irish inhabitants of Ulster, they voiced their uncompromising opposition to self-government even in the limited form in which it was offered in the bill. This opposition was based on traditional, racial, industrial and religious reasons. They had so long ruled the native Irish that they were loath to yield power to them. They were accustomed to look upon them as an inferior race. Self-government would almost necessarily bring with it the imposition of higher taxes on the industrial concerns of Belfast, which were better able to pay than the Irish peasants. In spite of the fact that the bill forbade the endowment of a religion or the imposition of religious disabilities,

the Protestant minority which had so long oppressed the Catholic majority pretended to fear that the Catholics would suppress religious freedom and that *Home Rule* might mean *Rome Rule.*

From declarations, Ulster, or rather northeast Ulster (for only a small part of the province was decidedly opposed to Home Rule), passed to acts. A body of volunteers was organized and armed under the direction of Sir Edward Carson and openly proclaimed its intention of resisting Home Rule by force of arms. These rebels were encouraged in their design by English conservative politicians, like Mr. Arthur Balfour and Mr. Bonar Law (died 1923).

A part of Ulster was thus arming, with the approval of English conservatives for the destruction of a constitutional measure, for resistance against a law to be enacted by the British Parliament. Their threats and preparations for civil war produced the desired effect on politicians in England and their rebellious resistance was likely to be crowned with success. It was inevitable that the Nationalists would arm also in defense of a parliamentary act to be passed in favor of Ireland. In November, 1913, the *Irish Volunteers* were formed in Dublin and were soon represented by bodies organized in the greater part of the country. These Volunteers included members of all Irish parties; they were not by any means exclusively Sinn Feiners. Shortly before they made their appearance, but also subsequently to the arming of Ulster, another organized force had been created in Dublin as a result of a local strike in 1913. The employers had prevailed on the government to use the police to crush the strikers and the latter in self-defense had established the *Citizen Army.*

The situation became still more threatening when in March, 1914, a group of English military officers declared to the world that they would not obey orders, if they were sent to disarm the Ulster Volunteers. In other words they would not do their duty against the rebellious Ulstermen who

were bent on wrecking a government set up in Ireland by King, Lords and Commons. The declaration brought, of course, numerous recruits to the Irish Volunteers. Obviously the country was on the brink of civil war owing to the rebellious resistance to a constitutional measure by persons who claimed to be the most loyal patriots in the United Kingdom.

**709. The Home Rule Act of 1914.**—Despite the real danger which the situation in Ireland now presented, the Asquith government resolutely proceeded to the enactment of the Home Rule bill. It was passed for the third time by the House of Commons in July, 1914, and although not yet accepted by the Lords, was signed by the king on September 18, 1914. It thus became a law according to the Parliament Act of 1911. In the meantime, however, the World War had broken out and, with the consent of John Redmond and the Irish Nationalists, the law was not put in operation. A second bill was passed, postponing until the end of the war the enforcement of the law granting self-government to Ireland.

**710. Increasing Distrust between England and Ireland.**—The majority of the Irish people seemed to approve Mr. Redmond's attitude toward the British government and his promises of support during the war. Nevertheless England and Ireland did not possess complete confidence in each other and the feeling of distrust became more and more pronounced during the terrible conflict until it developed into antagonism and sullen discontent in Ireland. In spite of very definite assurances, England continued to doubt the loyalty of her Irish subjects and, while she ardently desired that they should shed their blood for the British empire, was not prepared to give anything in return. On the other hand, Ireland could never bring herself to believe that England was fighting a disinterested war for the small nations and the liberties of mankind when she had only yielded to the force of circumstances in making concessions

to Ireland and did not grant liberty where she could do it without bloodshed.

The Irish people were soon alarmed at the results which the gigantic and protracted World War was likely to have for them. They feared chiefly three things: (1) *famine*, remembering too well the disastrous results of the Famine of 1847; (2) *conscription*, which was at times spoken of and which would drain the country of her young manhood and deliver her up helpless into the hands of England; (3) *the Coalition Government*. The cabinet which had passed the Home Rule Act completed itself on May 25, 1915, by the addition of new members, among them such men as Mr. Arthur J. Balfour, who had used coercive measures against the Irish people, A. Bonar Law, who had encouraged and promised help to rebellious Ulster, and even Sir Edward Carson, the leader of the armed resistance against Home Rule. Obviously self-government was again a dead issue and not the Irish people, but the rebels, had triumphed.

**711. The Easter Rebellion of 1916.**—Meantime Mr. Redmond had gone through the country on a recruiting tour, calling upon Irishmen to defend Irish interests where they were being attacked, namely in France and in Flanders. His appeal caused a division among the Volunteers in Ireland. Some responded to his call and signified their willingness to go to the front; they were the *National Volunteers;* others in much smaller number contended that Irish interests should be defended in Ireland and not in fighting an English war on the continent; they were called the *Irish Volunteers*. These Irish Volunteers were led by Professor McNeill, but were viewed with suspicion and disfavor by the English government; with suspicion, because, it was feared, they would cause trouble in Ireland, with disfavor, because they refused to go to the front. As time went on they became more and more uncompromising in their attitude toward the administration and many of their higher officers entered a secret revolutionary body, *the Irish Republican Brotherhood*.

The plans were made for armed revolt and the preparations for it included the securing of help from Germany. Sir Roger Casement, then in that country, worked for Irish interests. In April, 1916, the crisis seemed to have arrived in the affairs of the island and an immediate insurrection was decided on. Before it began an attempt made by Germany to bring arms and ammunition to Ireland was foiled. The British admiralty announced that an attempt had been made between P. M. April 20 and P. M. April 21, by a German auxiliary to land arms and ammunition in Ireland, that the auxliary sank and that among the prisoners made was Sir Roger Casement.

With the failure of this ship to deliver its cargo, the Irish Revolutionaries were confronted with the alternative of either going through with the insurrection and suffering certain defeat or abandoning the enterprise and submitting to imprisonment. The minority, incuding Professor McNeill, voted against rebellion; the majoriy decided to fight in spite of the humanly insuperable difficulties they would have to face. Shortly after noon on Easter Monday April 24, 1916, the Republic of Ireland was proclaimed in Dublin and Mr. Padraic Pearse recognized as head of the new Irish government.

Owing to the division among the Irish Volunteers and the consequent confusion, no general uprising took place. The insurrection was confined to Dublin and a few counties. It was after some sharp fighting suppressed by the English authorities. Sir Roger Casement was tried and executed; Padraic Pearse and James Connolly, the chief leaders, suffered the same fate.

**712. An Irish Convention to settle the Home Rule Question; New Elections in Ireland.**—About a year after the Easter rebellion, Mr. Lloyd George, as prime minister, again took up the Home Rule question in the name of the British Government. On May 21, 1917, he announced that the government would summon a convention of Irishmen repre-

senting all parties and interests for the purpose of solving the problem of the government of the island to the satisfaction of Irishmen. The Sinn Feiners, in accordance with their program, refused to send delegates, but all the other parties were represented. The convention's report was published April 13, 1918, and contained an outline of self-government approved by a majority of 44 to 29. Nineteen Ulster Unionists handed in a separate report repudiating the convention's work and twenty-two Nationalists added separate recommendations regarding financial matters. The convention's work produced no practical result.

In the month in which the report was made public Mr. Lloyd George also announced his intention of applying conscription to Ireland and of doing it quite independently of the fact as to whether Home Rule were granted or withheld. But, in face of the unanimous opposition of the Irish people, the conscription law, though passed by Parliament and signed by the king, was never enforced.

After the conclusion of the armistice with Germany (November 11, 1918), a new election was held in the United Kingdom. So far as Ireland was concerned, it resulted in an astounding and overwhelming victory for Sinn Fein. The country exercised, under adverse conditions, its right to self-determination and by electing 73 Sinn Feiners as against 7 Nationalists clearly declared that, so far as an expression of popular will can decide the question, English rule had come to an end in Ireland. The Sinn Fein delegation did not take its place in the British Parliament, but worked in Ireland independently of the English government. It elected Eamonn De Valera as the first president of the Independent Irish Republic and Arthur Griffith, the author of Sinn Fein, as its first vice-president.

**713. Treaty of December 6, 1921, establishing the Irish Free State.**—The determination of the English government to continue its occupation of Ireland despite the expressed will of the Irish people resulted for some time in warfare

between British government troops and the Irish Republican Army. In 1921, a conference was arranged between delegates of the Irish Republic and representatives of the British crown to settle the Irish problem. The negotiations led, on December 6, 1921, to the signing of a treaty respecting the status of Ireland in the British Empire.

This treaty, subsequently ratified by the British Parliament and the Dail Eireann (Irish Parliament), provides for the creation of the Irish Free State with the same constitutional status as the Dominion of Canada. Ireland is granted her own Parliament with a cabinet responsible to that Parliament; she may maintain her own army within specified limits, and must assume a fair proportion of the public debt of the United Kingdom. A commission was to determine the boundary between Ulster and the Irish Free State. This question has since been settled by treaty between the government of the Free State and that of North Ireland.

A representative of the British crown shall be appointed for Ireland in the same manner as the governor general of Canada and the British naval forces shall enjoy extensive harbor facilities in the new Free State.

A considerable minority (the vote stood 64–57) opposed the ratification of this treaty in the Dail Eireann, but the Irish people, in a general election, held in June, 1922, accepted this new regime in Ireland. The treaty definitively went into effect on December 6, 1922, exactly one year after it was signed by the two contracting parties. The republicans, led by De Valera, for some time engaged in desultory fighting against the new government, but they have long since abandoned their armed resistance. In 1927 they entered the Dail as an opposition party. As early as 1923 the Irish Free State was admitted to membership in the League of Nations.

## IV. The League of Nations and Other Peace Efforts; Contemporary Events

**714. The League of Nations; its Constitution and Membership.**—The horrors of the World War produced an ardent yearning for the establishment of a permanent and undisturbed peace. Various efforts have been made since 1914 to achieve this result. The League of Nations was the most pretentious creation established with this end in view. It was formed by the powers victorious in the war under the leadership of President Wilson. The covenant of the League, placed at the beginning of the Treaty of Versailles, went into force with this instrument on January 10, 1920.

The League includes among its constituent parts: (1) *a permanent secretariat;* (2) *an executive council;* (3) *an assembly of delegates.*

The *secretariat* is located at Geneva, the capital of the League. It comprises a secretary general appointed by the executive council and a staff of assistants chosen by the secretary general and confirmed by the council. The secretariat prepares the work for the council and the assembly of the League and carries out their decisions.

As the President of the United States was, according to the Covenant, to set the League in operation, Mr. Wilson appointed the first secretary general in the person of Sir Eric Drummond, a British subject.

The *executive council* was to be composed of nine members, five of whom were to be the permanent representatives of the great powers, the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan, while the four others were to be chosen by the assembly of delegates. At present four only of the great powers just mentioned are represented in the council, the United States having refused to become a member of the League. In 1926, however, Germany obtained admission and a permanent seat in the council, thus completing the list of the five permanent representatives. The number of mem-

bers elected by the assembly was raised in 1922 from four to six and in 1926 from six to nine. The council meets at least once a year and may deal with any matter affecting the League or the peace of the world. It held its first meeting in Paris on January 16, 1920.

The *assembly of delegates* meets in ordinary or extraordinary session at the capital of the League or in any other convenient place. It held its first meeting at Geneva at the end of 1920. It now convenes for its ordinary, annual session on the first Monday of September. Each state, member of the League, has in it one vote and not more than three representatives. The assembly deals, like the council, with matters within the sphere of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

Membership in the League of Nations is restricted to self-governing states, dominions or colonies which give effective guarantees of their sincere intention to observe their international obligations. More than 50 states now belong to the League of Nations and various commissions, such as the Mandates Commission and the International Court of Justice, exist in connection with it.

Among the chief countries not members of the League are the United States, Mexico, Argentina, Brazil, Egypt, Turkey and the Union of Soviet Republics.

**715. The Conference for the Limitation of Armaments held at Washington (1921-1922).**—Animated by the desire to promote peace and to lighten the burden of military and naval expenditure, the United States government called a conference of nine powers for the purpose of limiting armaments. The meeting was attended by representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, China, Belgium, the Netherlands and Portugal. Though called for November 11, 1921, the conference formally assembled only on the following day owing to the patriotic exercises in connection with the burial of America's unknown soldier.

So far as can be judged at present, the conference was a

striking success. It drafted and approved no less than eight treaties.

Among these treaties were the Four-Power Pact affecting the Pacific Ocean, the Five-Power Naval-Limitation Treaty, the Nine-Power Chinese Treaty and the Chinese-Japanese Shantung Treaty. In the Four-Power Pact the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan pledge themselves to respect one another's possessions and to settle disagreements in the Pacific without recourse to arms. This treaty supersedes the Anglo-Japanese alliance.

The Five-Power agreement is an important step toward the reduction of armaments taken by the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy. It limits the tonnage of capital ships in the American and British navy to 525,000 tons each, in the Japanese navy to 315,000 tons and in the French and Italian to 175,000 tons. It declared a ten-year naval holiday, meaning thereby that no additional capital ships are to be built during that period. The United States, the British Empire and Japan also agreed not to build, in their Pacific possessions, any new fortifications nor to establish any additional naval bases.

The conference went on record as favoring the territorial integrity of China and equal economic opportunities for all powers in that country. Japan promised to withdraw, as soon as possible, from Siberia and to restore the province of Shantung to China.

Owing to France's objections, no limitation in the number of submarines and no reduction of land armaments could be agreed upon by the delegates. But it was decided that submarines should observe the rules of visit and search in dealing with merchant ships and likewise that poison gas should not be used in war.

**716. The Genoa Conference (1922).**—With a view of effecting the sorely needed economic rehabilitation of Europe, an international conference was held in 1922 at Genoa in Italy. It was an all-European meeting to which the United States

refused to send delegates. The conference, so far as its chief purpose was concerned, was a complete failure. European economic conditions were no better immediately after than before the conference. The failure was mainly due to the reluctance of some of the powers to accept as final, in respect of their nationals, the suppression of private property in Russia.

The conference is memorable for two things: for the admission of delegates from Russia and Germany and for the conclusion of the Treaty of Rapallo between these two countries. For the first time in history the Bolshevists were admitted to an international gathering by the governments of western Europe and for the first time since the war German delegates were present on a footing of equality at such a meeting.

In the treaty signed at Rapallo near Genoa by the representatives of both countries, Germany renounced her right to the German-owned property confiscated by the Bolshevists and officially recognized the Soviet government; Russia on her side granted favorable conditions to German commerce and favored economic concessions to German industry in Russia.

The other powers, present at the Genoa conference, were not parties to this treaty, which worked as a disturbing element in the conference. The latter adjourned toward the end of May and reconvened at The Hague in June, 1922, without successful results.

**717. The Contemporary Papacy and the Promotion of Peace.**—Amidst the destruction of war and the confusion of the period of reconstruction, the papacy more than any other institution sought by every means in its power to put an end to the misery and sorrow which seemed to overwhelm a distracted world. Pope Benedict XV (1914–1922), raised to the supreme pontificate a few weeks after the war had set Europe aflame, left no means untried to hasten the end of this calamity. Going to the root of the evil he pointed out the true source of the deplorable conflict: lack of mutual love among men; rejection of authority; unjust quarrels between the various classes; material prosperity become the absorbing

His Holiness, Pope Pius XI

object of human endeavor. He appealed to princes and rulers to return in their conduct and government to Christian principles as the most powerful support of authority and defense of nations.

Proceeding further in this effort to restore peace, he laid definite proposals before the belligerents. He pleaded for the restoration of conquered territory, freedom of the seas, disarmament and the equitable solution of political problems. The moral power of right, he declared, must replace, in international relations, the material force of arms, courts of arbitration must take the place of armed hosts. Had his counsels been followed the world would have been spared much of the present unrest, suffering and fear.

Hand in hand with his efforts to restore peace went efficient work to relieve the distress caused by the frenzy of destruction which seemed to have come over the world. Benedict XV improved the lot of the prisoners of war, intervened in favor of cities and individuals with belligerent governments, secured and conveyed information regarding their soldier relatives to those at home, and assisted, by a systematic distribution of charity, innumerable persons irrespective of nationality and creed.

After the conclusion of peace, he continued his work of relief and reconciliation. The starving children of central Europe as well as the French war orphans were remembered and helped by him. He was zealously working to confirm and make stable the peace of arms by the establishment among nations of a peace of the heart and mind when death removed him from the scene of his labors (January, 1922).

His successor, Pius XI, a son of the people, has taken up the burden of the supreme pontificate with the well-earned reputation of a distinguished scholar and successful diplomatist. His success as papal envoy in Poland and his intimate knowledge of the affairs of eastern Europe augur well for a reign full of glorious achievement. It ought to be the earnest and prayerful wish of every Catholic, nay of every

right thinking man, that the new pontiff may succeed in carrying out his announced programme of *universal pacification*. He hopes to attain this aim by a return of the world to the observance of Christian principles in private, public and international life. In his encyclicals he earnestly pleads with Catholics for expiation of sin, with all Christians for the restoration of genuine Christian unity, and with lawmakers and governments for the recognition of Christ as their Master and King.

**718. Contemporary Movements and Events to 1930.**—(*a*) *The Dawes Plan and Young Plan: the Locarno Agreement and Kellogg Pact.*—At the present writing (1930) the economic reconstruction of Europe, made necessary by the enormous destruction of life and property during the World War, has, despite noteworthy progress, not been completely effected. France's military occupation of the Ruhr industrial region in 1923 to force German reparations' payments did not produce the desired results owing to German unarmed, but determined, resistance. The French troops were withdrawn and a solution of the reparations' problem was attempted by a commission of international experts under the chairmanship of an American, Charles G. Dawes, later Vice-President of the United States. The scheme, now known as the *Dawes Plan*, went into effect in 1924 and proved a success.

It took the collection of reparations out of politics and placed it on an economic basis. Germany was to pay all she could and, in order that she might do so, she was to be placed and be kept in a sound economic condition. The amounts paid for reparations were to vary each year for the first five years.

This period of five years expired on September 1, 1929, on which date the *Young Plan* superseded the Dawes Plan. The Young Plan, named after the American chairman of the Commission which framed it, contains the three following important provisions: (1) Germany must pay in 59 years a total of 27 billion dollars; (2) The payments will be made to

an international bank of settlement established at Basel in Switzerland; (3) All allied troops will evacuate the Rhineland not later than June 30, 1930.

The improved relations between Germany and France for which the satisfactory operation of the Dawes Plan paved the way led to the conclusion of the *Locarno Agreement* between these two countries and also between Germany and Belgium. The treaty derives its name from Locarno, the town in Switzerland where the negotiations were conducted. In this treaty "Germany and Belgium and also Germany and France mutually undertake that they will in no case attack or invade each other or resort to war against each other." Great Britain and Italy guarantee the observance of these obligations.

The Kellogg Peace Pact, named in honor of a former American Secretary of State, is another treaty drafted for the furtherance of peace. It went into effect in 1929 and has been signed by most nations of the world. It contains no stipulation to disarm or to use arbitration, but it declares that the nations accepting it renounce war and will seek the settlement of all disputes, which may arise among them, by peaceful means.

The signing of this Pact was followed by a Naval Disarmament Conference which was held in London, January-April, 1930, and at which the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy were represented. An agreement of some sort was arrived at, but has not yet been ratified by the powers concerned.

(*b*) *National Triumphs.*—In contemporary politics two forces of thought and action must be noted: *nationalism* and *socialism*. The parties trying to occupy a middle position between these extreme opinions tend more and more to disintegrate and disappear.

Nationalism triumphed in *Italy* when Benito Mussolini effected his successful march on Rome and seized the government (October 30, 1922). Although formerly a socialist he

placed himself at the head of the Nationalist forces to suppress Communist disorders and to give Italy a stable and efficient government. He organized the militant young men who enthusiastically acknowledged him as their leader in closely compacted divisions and called them *Fascists* from the fasces of ancient Roman history. They have also become known as the *Black Shirts* from their distinctive uniform.

At their head he overthrew the impotent liberal government and, with the king's consent, became first prime minister, then dictator of Italy. The popular parliament has been suppressed, municipal elections have been abandoned and the officer in control of each municipality is appointed by the central government. The latter also controls the relations between capital and labor, settles disputes between them and has made strikes unlawful. Incompetence and corruption in high places have been suppressed, reform and economy introduced in the management of public services. Religious instruction and religious emblems have been restored in the schools while drastic measures have been taken against Communists, Freemasons and all enemies of Fascism.

The outstanding event in the internal affairs of Italy since the occupation of Rome in 1870 by the Italian troops is the settlement of the *Roman Question* effected on February 11, 1929, by the plenipotentiaries of His Holiness, Pope Pius XI, and of his Majesty, King Victor Emmanuel II. On that day the Lateran Convention was signed in the hall of the Council in the Lateran Palace. This Convention includes two things: a treaty of world-wide significance settling the Roman Question and a concordat governing the ecclesiastical relations between the Holy See and Italy.

The settlement of the Roman Question alone is considered here and was effected on the following terms: (1) The Italian government recognizes the absolute sovereignty and complete independence of the Holy See in international relations; (2) It acknowledges the territorial sovereignty of the Papal

government over Vatican City and some specified extra-territorial possessions; (3) It agrees to the abolition of the Law of Guarantees and to the payment of 90 million dollars for the seizure of the Papal States; (4) The Holy See recognizes the dynasty of Savoy as the legitimate sovereign of the Kingdom of Italy with Rome as capital and cedes to Italy practically all the territory of the former Papal States.

The *coup d'état* of Mussolini was soon imitated by General Primo de Rivera in *Spain*. He rebelled against the government with the avowed purpose of freeing Spain from the ruinous control of professional politicians. A military dictatorship was established by Rivera and accepted by the king. It has since been superseded by a civil administration. Primo de Rivera resigned in 1930 and died suddenly in Paris that same year.

In 1926 Marshal Pilsudski seized power in *Poland* and became dictator of the Polish Republic.

The spread of the nationalist movement to *China* has caused civil war in that country and threatens to produce dangerous complications with foreign powers, particularly Japan. The Chinese Nationalists are determined to free their country from foreign domination and domestic corruption and inefficiency. They are resolved to suppress the favored judicial position of foreigners who are tried only by their own laws and courts, they demand the restoration of their original right freely to raise duties on foreign goods and they seek the return of the territories leased to foreign powers.

At present no one government controls China and no definitive settlement has been arrived at by the Chinese either among themselves or with foreign powers in regard to these aims.

(*c*) *Socialist Successes*.—Socialism, like Nationalism, has scored some important successes since the World War. Ramsay MacDonald, leader of the Socialist or Labor party, assumed for a short time in 1924 the burden of government in Great Britain, a country where conservatives and liberals

had regularly alternated in office for centuries. In the general election of 1929 the Labor Party was returned to power and Ramsay MacDonald became prime minister for the second time.

In *Germany* the Socialists are numerically the most powerful of all the country's political parties, having 152 of the 490 members elected to parliament on May 20, 1928. A Socialist Chancellor, Hermann Muller, headed the coalition cabinet formed immediately after this general election; he was supplanted in 1930 by the Catholic Henry Bruening.

(*d*) *Social Conditions.*—The important economic improvement and the political changes just recorded were bound to react on the social life of the time. Moreover a new invention—*radio*—tends to affect social conditions no less deeply by the easy and quick transmission of thought than the automobile has already transformed them by easy and rapid material transportation. *Aviation,* which rendered such signal services during the war, has since been greatly developed and made much safer. In 1927 the world entered upon a period of long distance flights with the successful completion of a non-stop journey by air from New York to Paris by the young American Charles A. Lindbergh.

(*e*) *Religious Affairs in France and Mexico.*—Separation of Church and State is an accomplished fact in France, with the exception of Alsace and Lorraine, the two provinces recovered after the World War. In these provinces the Concordat concluded by Napoleon I with the Holy See has always remained and is still in force. The evident aim of some French politicians to abrogate the treaty and to interfere with the Catholic religion, notably Catholic education, has met with determined opposition from the inhabitants and has given impetus to the demand for Home Rule for Alsace and Lorraine.

As for the laws enacted in France against religious congregations before the war, they were suspended in their operation in 1914. Though scarcely enforced since the war they

have not yet been repealed. In 1921 the French government resumed diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

An outstanding contemporary event is the persecution of the Catholics of *Mexico* by the cruel, hypocritical and impious tyrant, Calles. This bloody persecution, which has now fortunately ceased, reminded mankind of the cruelties perpetrated against the Christians in ancient pagan Rome. Despite the inhuman treatment meted out to innocent victims, the attempt of Pope Pius XI to arouse the world to indignation and protest produced no results in non-Catholic circles. Catholic protests were numerous, and noteworthy among these was the Pastoral Letter of the American Hierarchy, the following passage of which describes the constitutional position of religion in Mexico: "According to the present Constitution of Mexico, no religious society may enjoy the right of corporate legal existence. Officially, there are no Churches in Mexico; for a Church cannot possess anything, lacks the right of petition for redress of grievances, cannot sue or be sued in civil courts, and in general is entirely without legal standing. Clergymen are disfranchised by the fact of ordination. A Church cannot own the buildings in which its public worship is held. It cannot possess endowments.

"A Church is not allowed to possess houses for its bishops, priests, ministers, teachers or superintendents. Its future may not be provided for, because it cannot have a seminary in which a clergy may be trained to take places made vacant by death or incapacity. If a clergyman even rents a home for himself, the law provides that it may be seized on mere suspicion. Relatives of clergymen are threatened with the loss of their own personal property by confiscation on the ground that such property really belongs to a Church, for the law decrees that mere suspicion in such a case is full ground for the presumption that the property is held for the Church. All property devoted by religious bodies to education or charitable purposes is subject to confiscation. In

order to make it impossible for a Church to secure a building of any kind, it is provided that, in case of seizure, no trial by jury shall be allowed should its real owner appeal for justice."

Although the persecution has ceased and a precarious peace has been concluded between the Holy See and Mexico, the part of the constitution just referred to has not been modified, but is merely being applied with a different interpretation and a different spirit.

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## INDEPENDENT STATES FOUNDED SINCE 1918

| *Name* | *Area (sq. miles)* | *Population* | *Capital* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Albania | 14,000 | 831,877 | Durazzo |
| Armenia | 15,240 | 1,214,391 | Erivan |
| Azerbaijan | 33,970 | 2,096,973 | Baku |
| Czechoslovakia | 54,871 | 13,636,390 | Prague |
| Danzig | 709 | 365,000 | Danzig |
| Esthonia | 38,000 | 1,250,000 | Reval |
| Finland | 132,000 | 3,366,507 | Helsingfors |
| Georgia | 25,760 | 2,372,403 | Tiflis |
| Hejaz | 100,000 | 900,000 | Mecca |
| Jugoslavia | 96,134 | 12,017,323 | Belgrade |
| Latvia | 24,440 | 1,850,622 | Riga |
| Lithuania | 33,000 | 2,293,100 | Kovno |
| Poland | 149,140 | 29,160,163 | Warsaw |

## MANDATED TERRITORIES

| *Territory* | *Area (sq. miles)* | *Population* | *Mandatory* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cameroon (British) | 31,000 | 400,000 | Great Britain |
| Cameroon (French) | 166,489 | 1,750,000 | France |
| Caroline Islands (Yap) | ..... | 35,590 | Japan |
| Marianne Islands | ..... | 5,392 | Japan |
| Marshall Islands | ..... | 9,008 | Japan |
| Mesopotamia (Iraq) | 143,250 | 2,849,282 | Great Britain |
| Nauru Island | ..... | 2,129 | British Empire |
| New Guinea (Late German Guinea) | ..... | ..... | Australia |
| Palestine | 9,000 | 757,000 | Great Britain |
| Protectorate of South West Africa | 322,400 | 227,432 | Union of South Africa. |
| Syria | 60,000 | 3,000,000 | France |
| Tanganyika Territory (Late German East Africa) | 365,000 | 4,107,000 | Great Britain |
| Territory of West Samoa | 1,210 | 37,791 | New Zealand |
| Togoland (British) | 12,600 | 350,000 | Great Britain |
| Togoland (French) | 20,200 | 1,100,000 | France |

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

## I. THE POPES

1. St. Peter, died, 67
2. St. Linus, 67–79
3. St. Anacletus, 79–90
4. St. Clement I, 90–99
5. St. Evaristus, 99–107
6. St. Alexander, 107–116
7. St. Xystus (Sixtus) I, 116–125
8. St. Telesphorus, 125–136
9. St. Hyginus, 136–40
10. St. Pius I, 140–54
11. St. Anicetus, 154–66
12. St. Soter, 166–74
13. St. Eleutherus, 174–89
14. St. Victor, 189–98
15. St. Zephyrinus, 198–217
16. St. Callixtus, 217–22
    Hippolytus, 217–35
17. St. Urban I, 222–30
18. St. Pontian, 230–35
19. St. Anterus, 235–36
20. St. Fabian, 236–50
21. St. Cornelius, 251–53
    Novatian, 251–58
22. St. Lucius I, 253–54
23. St. Stephen I, 254–57
24. St. Xystus (Sixtus) II, 257–58
25. St. Dionysius, 259–68
26. St. Felix I, 269–74
27. St. Eutychian, 275–83
28. St. Caius, 283–96
29. St. Marcellin, 296–304
30. St. Marcellus I, 308–9
31. St. Eusebius, 309 or 310
32. St. Miltiades (Melchiades) 311–314
33. St. Silvester I, 314–35
34. St. Mark, 336
35. St. Julius I, 337–52
36. Liberius, 352–66
    Felix II, 355–65
37. St. Damasus I, 366–84
    Ursinus, 366–67
38. St. Siricius, 384–99
39. St. Anastasius I, 399–401
40. St. Innocent I, 401–17
41. St. Zosimus, 417–18
42. St. Boniface I, 418–22
    Eulalius, 418–19
43. St. Celestine I, 422–32
44. St. Sixtus III, 432–40
45. St. Leo I, 440–61
46. St. Hilary, 461–68
47. St. Simplicius, 468–83
48. St. Felix II (III), 483–92
49. St. Gelasius I, 492–96
50. St. Anastasius II, 496–98
51. St. Symmachus, 498–514
    Lawrence, 498–505
52. St. Hormisdas, 514–23
53. St. John I, 523–26
54. St. Felix III (IV), 526–30
55. St. Boniface II, 530–32
    Dioscorus, 530
56. John II (Mercurius) 533–35
57. St. Agapetus I, 535–36
58. St. Silverius, 536–37
59. Vigilius, 537–55
60. Pelagius I, 556–61
61. John III, 561–74
62. Benedict I, 575–79
63. Pelagius II, 579–90
64. St. Gregory I, 590–604
65. Sabinian, 604–6
66. Boniface III, 607
67. St. Boniface IV, 608–15
68. St. Deusdedit, 615–18
69. Boniface V, 619–25

70. Honorius I, 625–38
71. Severinus, 640
72. John IV, 640–42
73. Theodore I, 642–49
74. St. Martin I, 649–53
75. St. Eugene I, 654–57
76. St. Vitalian, 657–72
77. Adeodatus, 672–76
78. Donus, 676–78
79. St. Agatho, 678–81
80. St. Leo II, 682–83
81. St. Benedict II, 684–85
82. John V, 685–86
83. Conon, 686–87
    Theodore, 687
    Paschal, 687–92
84. St. Sergius, 687–701
85. John VI, 701–5
86. John VII, 705–7
87. Sisinnius, 708
88. Constantine I, 708–15
89. St. Gregory II, 715–31
90. St. Gregory III, 731–41
91. St. Zacharias, 741–52
    Stephen, 752
92. Stephen II, 752–57
93. St. Paul I, 757–67
    Constantine II, 767–68
    Philip, 768
94. Stephen III, 768–72
95. Adrian I, 772–95
96. St. Leo III, 795–816
97. Stephen IV, 816–817
98. St. Paschal I, 817–24
99. Eugene II, 824–27
100. Valentine, 827
101. Gregory IV, 827–44
    John, 844
102. Sergius II, 844–47
103. St. Leo IV, 847–55
104. Benedict III, 855–58
    Anastasius, 855
105. St. Nicholas I, 858–67
106. Adrian II, 867–72
107. John VIII, 872–82
108. Marinus I, 882–84
109. Adrian III, 884–85
110. Stephen V, 885–91
111. Formosus, 891–96
112. Boniface VI, 896
113. Stephen VI, 896–97
114. Romanus, 897
115. Theodore II, 897
116. John IX, 898–900
117. Benedict IV, 900–903
118. Leo V, 903
119. Christopher, 903–4
120. Sergius III, 904–11
121. Anastasius III, 911–13
122. Lando, 913–14
123. John X, 914–28
124. Leo VI, 928
125. Stephen VII, 929–31
126. John XI, 931–35
127. Leo VII, 936–39
128. Stephen VIII, 939–42
129. Marinus II, 942–46
130. Agapetus II, 946–55
131. John XII, 955–64
132. Leo VIII, 963–65
133. Benedict V, 964
134. John XIII, 965–72
135. Benedict VI, 973–74
    Boniface VII (Franco), 974
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[1] The asterisk before a name indicates that the king was never crowned emperor.

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Marshal MacMahon, 1873–79
Jules Grévy, 1879–87 (resigned)
Sadi Carnot, 1887–94 (murdered)
Casimir Perier, 1894–95
Felix Faure, 1895–99
Émile Loubet, 1899–1906
Armand Fallières, 1906–13
Raymond Poincaré, 1913–20
Paul Deschanel, 1920 (resigned)
Alexander Millerand, 1920–24
Gaston Doumergue, 1924–

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**Kings of Italy (since 1861)**

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Charles Emmanuel III, 1730–73
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[1] In 1917, George V, through his grandparents a member of the German houses of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha and Hanover, adopted "Windsor" as the name of his house, at the same time rejecting his German surname, Wettin.

Charles Felix, 1821–31
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William Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire, 1756–57
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John Stewart,Earl of Bute,1762-63
George Grenville, 1763–65
Charles Wentworth-Watson, Marquess of Rockingham, 1766
Augustus Fitzroy, Duke of Grafton, 1766–69
Frederick Lord North (Earl of Guildford), 1770-82
Marquess of Rockingham, 1782
William Petty, Earl of Shelburne, (Marquess of Landsdowne) 1782–83
William Bentinck, Duke of Portland, 1783
William Pitt, 1783–1801
Henry Addington (Viscount Sidmouth), 1801–04
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William Lord Grenville, 1806–07
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Frederick John Robinson, Viscount Goderich (Earl of Ripon), 1827
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Marquess of Salisbury, 1886–92
W. E. Gladstone, 1892–94
Archibald P. Primrose, Earl of Rosebery, 1894–95
Marquess of Salisbury, 1895–1902
Arthur James Balfour, 1902–05
Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, 1905–08
Herbert Henry Asquith, 1908–16
David Lloyd George, 1916–22
Andrew Bonar Law, 1922–23
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